

A GENERAL  
HISTORY of the WORLD,

FROM THE  
CREATION to the present Time.

INCLUDING

All the EMPIRES, KINGDOMS, and STATES; their REVOLU-  
TIONS, FORMS of GOVERNMENT, LAWS, RELIGIONS,  
CUSTOMS and MANNERS; the PROGRESS of their LEARN-  
ING, ARTS, SCIENCES, COMMERCE, and TRADE;

Together with

Their CHRONOLOGY, ANTIQUITIES, PUBLIC BUILDINGS, and  
CURIOSITIES of NATURE and ART.

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By WILLIAM GUTHRIE, Esq;  
JOHN GRAY, Esq;

And others eminent in this Branch of Literature.

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— cui lecta potenter erit res  
*Nec facundia deferet hunc, nec lucidus ordo.*

HOR.

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VOLUME IX.

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L O N D O N:

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MDCCLXV.





A

# GENERAL HISTORY OF THE WORLD.

## C H A P. XXVIII.

RODOLPH, of Hapsburg, the first Emperor of the  
House of Austria.

**G**ERMANY at this time may be said to have exhausted her strength, rather than to have been quieted. *Richard*, duke of *Cornwall*, was dead. The pretensions of *Alphonso*, king of *Castile*, were extinguished. *Ottacar*, III<sup>d</sup> king of *Bohemia*, is said to have refused the empire, which had been now fifteen years vacant. This vacancy was not altogether without its utility; for several of the cities and states of *Germany* formed particular laws for themselves, and confederated together to observe them: many of them are in force at this time. The miseries of the empire arose from the ambition of the princes, who were masters of the great fiefs, and found their account in having no head to controul them. Such was *Ottacar* the III<sup>d</sup>. who pretended to two votes in the election; one as king of *Bohemia*, and the other as duke of *Austria*, which he had violently seized. The princes of the empire, particularly the elector *Palatine*, disputed the validity of the earl of *Cornwall*'s election to the empire, and consequently the *Bohemian* vote for *Austria*; and both he and the other princes thought, that the allowing a double vote to a family already so powerful, was next to rendering the empire hereditary in the house of *Bohemia*.

*Gregory* the X<sup>th</sup> was then pope, and threatened, if the princes delayed to fill the *Imperial* throne, that he would supply it by his own authority. The ecclesiastical princes happened to be wise and moderate men, and the archbishop of *Mentz*, in a diet held at *Franckfort*, had interest and address enough to procure the election to fall upon *Rodolph*, count of *Hapsburg*, who accordingly accepted of the dignity. He was a prince of no powerful family, but of uncommon prudence and courage; and

Disorders  
and anar-  
chy of the  
empire.

*Rodolphus*  
of *Haps-*  
*purg* cho-  
sen empe-  
ror.

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and by a series of rapine, which was sanctified by success, he had very considerably augmented his paternal estate, originally but inconsiderable. He had been great marshal at the *Bohemian* court, and he was befriended by the duke of *Bavaria*, who was constituted the arbiter of the election, and preferred him to two obscure competitors who had been proposed by the other princes, only because they were too weak to be formidable. The electors could not have made a better choice than they did of *Rodolph*, who by his personal valour, and an extraordinary appearance of devotion, had obtained great reputation in the empire. He was besieging *Basil* in a private quarrel, when the bailiff of *Nuremberg* brought him an account of his election; upon which he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned. Many circumstances tend to prove that he was a man of uncommon parts and resolution. He was fifty-five years of age at the time of his election, which had been in vain protested against by the kings of *Castile* and *Bohemia*. When *Henry* of *Neufchatel* heard of his election, he conceived a mortal chagrin, and broke out into the following exclamation: *Sit firm in thy seat, O Lord God, otherwise Rodolph will dethrone thee.* At the time of his coronation, some scruples arising concerning the investiture, because no *Imperial* sceptre was at hand, he snatched a crucifix from the altar; *This*, said he, *shall be my sceptre*, and made use of it accordingly, none daring to contradict him.

His great  
success in  
restoring  
peace to  
the em-  
pire.

His first cares were to restore the safety of the public roads and communications, a province for which he was well qualified by his former course of life. He hanged up all the petty robbers who fell into his hands, and particularly 99 in one day at *Erfurt*; with the more powerful he entered into agreements, upon their promising amendment for the future; and it is said, that his being the father of six handsome daughters, was no mean recommendation of him to the empire, each prince hoping for the honour of his alliance. His son, *Albert*, had married the uterine sister of *Conradin*, and after that young prince's fatal end, he claimed *Alsace* and part of *Suabia* in her right, and by the assistance of his father he made his claim good. The house of *Suabia*, which had been so formidable both to the pope and the princes of the empire, may be now considered as extinct, and *Rodolph* adopted a new system of policy. He made the pope his friend by promising obedience to his holy see, and having no family claim upon *Sicily*, he acknowledged the right of the *Anjouvine* family to that crown. Having thus restored the quiet of the empire, he proceeded against the princes who had protested against his election, particularly *Alphonso* and *Ottocar* of *Bohemia*. By the assistance of the pope he silenced the first, and in a diet at *Augsburg*, *Ottocar* was voted to have usurped *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, and *Carinthia*. This sentence being intimated to *Ottocar*, he turned it into ridicule, saying, *That he owed Rodolph nothing, as he had paid him his wages while he was in his service.* *Rodolph*, how-  
ever,

ever, was not to be trifled with ; he rejected an unmanly proposal made by a nobleman to assassinate *Ottocar*, but marched against him and his friends, the chief of whom was the duke of *Bavaria*, at the head of an army, and subdued them successively in person. Without pushing them to despair, he always left a door open for a reconciliation. He gave one of his daughters in marriage to *Otho*, prince of *Bavaria*, and received from that duke 40,000 ounces of gold, as the price of the marriage. He reduced the marquis of *Baden*, with the counts of *Wurtemberg*, *Neuberg* and *Friberg*, and obliged them to give up all that they had unlawfully seized upon.

The archbishops of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, with other great princes of the empire, afraid that the house of *Hapsburg* should become as powerful as that of *Suabia* had been, interposed partly their authority, and partly their good offices, to prevail with *Rodolph* to accommodate matters with *Ottocar*. It was agreed that the latter should hold *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, as fiefs of the empire ; that he should give up *Austria* to the house of *Hapsburg* ; that his son *Wenceslaus*, though no more than seven years of age, should marry one of the emperor's daughters, and that *Ottocar* should give his daughter in wife to *Rodolph* the emperor's fifth son, together with *Carinthia* and some other provinces : but the chief article of this accommodation consisted in *Ottocar* performing homage to the emperor in the isle of *Camberg*, in the *Danube*. This was a most mortifying circumstance, and *Rodolph* was resolved to be revenged for the insult which had been offered him by his former master. A tent was constructed with close hangings, where the homage was to be performed, while both sides of the *Danube* were lined with *German* princes, courts, and armies. In the middle of the ceremony, the curtains of the tent flew back, and discovered to the surrounding multitudes, *Ottocar*, all blazing in gold and jewels, on his knees, at the feet of the emperor, who was dressed like a plain country gentleman. *Ottocar's* wife, a haughty *Russian* princess, upbraided him with his meanness, and he refused to stand to the terms. *Rodolph* raised an army to chastize him, and though his horse was killed in a battle that followed, yet he fought with amazing resolution on foot, and being remounted, he charged his enemies so furiously, that *Ottocar* was killed, and *Rodolph* obtained a complete victory. The house of *Austria* dates its greatness from that day, for *Rodolph* gave that duchy, with *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, to his son *Albert*, who was thereby incorporated with the college of the princes ; and he bestowed *Suabia* on his son *Rodolph*. As to *Bohemia*, he gave it to young *Wenceslaus*, but appointed the marquis of *Brandenburg* to be his guardian. The house of *Bavaria* thought themselves injured by this destination, and claimed *Austria* ; but though that duke was joined by his brother the count *Palatine*, yet *Rodolph* reduced them both, and not only obliged them to renounce their pre-

Receives the homage of the king of *Bohemia*, as fiefs of the empire ; that he should give up *Austria* to the house of *Hapsburg* ; that his son *Wenceslaus*, though no more than seven years of age, should marry one of the emperor's daughters, and that *Ottocar* should give his daughter in wife to *Rodolph* the emperor's fifth son, together with *Carinthia* and some other provinces : but the chief article of this accommodation consisted in *Ottocar* performing homage to the emperor in the isle of *Camberg*, in the *Danube*. This was a most mortifying circumstance, and *Rodolph* was resolved to be revenged for the insult which had been offered him by his former master. A tent was constructed with close hangings, where the homage was to be performed, while both sides of the *Danube* were lined with *German* princes, courts, and armies. In the middle of the ceremony, the curtains of the tent flew back, and discovered to the surrounding multitudes, *Ottocar*, all blazing in gold and jewels, on his knees, at the feet of the emperor, who was dressed like a plain country gentleman. *Ottocar's* wife, a haughty *Russian* princess, upbraided him with his meanness, and he refused to stand to the terms. *Rodolph* raised an army to chastize him, and though his horse was killed in a battle that followed, yet he fought with amazing resolution on foot, and being remounted, he charged his enemies so furiously, that *Ottocar* was killed, and *Rodolph* obtained a complete victory. The house of *Austria* dates its greatness from that day, for *Rodolph* gave that duchy, with *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*, to his son *Albert*, who was thereby incorporated with the college of the princes ; and he bestowed *Suabia* on his son *Rodolph*. As to *Bohemia*, he gave it to young *Wenceslaus*, but appointed the marquis of *Brandenburg* to be his guardian. The house of *Bavaria* thought themselves injured by this destination, and claimed *Austria* ; but though that duke was joined by his brother the count *Palatine*, yet *Rodolph* reduced them both, and not only obliged them to renounce their pre-



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tensions to *Austria*, but to give up several considerable estates claimed by the emperor upon the river *Ens*.

1297.

*Rodolph's*  
accom-  
modation  
with the  
pope.

The conduct of *Rodolph* was equally prudent as vigorous : he thought it was impracticable to recover all the *Imperial* claims in *Italy*, and he chose to make the popes *Gregory* the Xth, and *Nicholas* the IIIrd, his friends. They accordingly rejected the claims of all his rivals in the empire, and on the 15th of *February*, 1279, he ceded all claims to *Matilda's* estate, either as proprietor or paramount. The more *Rodolph* granted, the more the pope rose in his demands. He required *Rodolph* to take upon him the cross, chiefly that he might remove him from *Italy* : *Rodolph* complied, but had no intention to fulfil his engagements, nor to appear in *Italy*, but at the head of an army. Being necessitated for money, he sold all the *Imperial* claims in *Italy* to the inhabitants of the different states where they lay ; *Lucca*, *Florence*, *Genoa* and *Bologna*, paid for their privileges, but at the same time desired to continue under the *Imperial* protection. *Rodolph*, in fact, gave nothing in return for the sums he received, but lent to the *Italians* his name, which they occasionally made use of against the papal encroachments. The pope saw his drift, and threatened him with excommunication, which he actually pronounced ; but *Innocent* the Vth invited *Rodolph* to a reconciliation. This might have been easily effected, had not new differences started up between *Rodolph* and the king of *Sicily* ; the latter absurdly persisted in asserting his right to the vicariate of *Tuscany*, which he could only hold during the vacancy of the empire, and *Rodolph* claimed from him as fiefs of the empire, *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, which the house of *Anjou* pretended to hold, though *Berengar*, the last possessor, had died without male issue. The pope was in no good terms with *Charles*, who was forced to resign the vicariate of *Tuscany*, but retained the provinces of *Provence* and *Forcalquier*, and the emperor gave his daughter *Clementia* in marriage to *Charles Martel*, one of his *Sicilian* majesty's grandsons ; *Provence* and *Forcalquier* formed the dower of the princefs.

The *Sicilian* vef-  
pers.

The house of *Anjou* became now formidable to the popes, who found that *Charles* was projecting the conquest of *Constantinople* itself ; he governed *Sicily* by his subjects of *Provence*, which, as we have seen, was actually a fief of the empire. They acted in every respect conformably to the bloody and oppressive measures of *Charles* ; and the pope encouraged a design for massacring all the *Provençals* and *French* in *Sicily* at one blow. One *John de Procida*, a noble native of *Salerno*, who exercised the professions of law and physic, but an enthusiast for the house of *Suabia*, undertook to be the agent. He proceeded with incredible address and secrecy ; he went to *Constantinople*, where he put the emperor *Michael Paleologos* on his guard against *Charles* of *Anjou* ; he engaged *Peter*, king of *Arragon*, to make a descent upon *Sicily*, in right of his wife *Constance*, who was daughter to *Mainfroi*, and repairing to *Sicily* he laid his

his scheme so well, that on the third day of *Easter*, 1282, all the *Provençals* and *French*, on that island, to the number of 8000, were massacred in one hour. *Peter* supported this massacre by a descent upon *Sicily*, which owed him for its king.

During this tragedy, the emperor was regulating the affairs of *Austria*, and the other acquisitions which had been lately transacted by his family. This he did in so prudent and so generous a manner, that he met with no opposition from the princes of the empire; and it is said, that about this time, he ordered all the law proceedings of his empire to be carried on in the *German* tongue. In 1283, the pope again pressed the crusades, but very unseasonably; and *Rodolph*, to his great satisfaction, found the princes of the empire, who were assembled in a diet at *Wurtzburg*, averse to all projects of that kind. No state in *Europe* was fond of it, each being imbroiled within itself, even the popes found difficulty in restraining their subjects within the bounds of their duty, and the differences among the ecclesiastics of *Germany* afforded to *Rodolph* a plausible pretext for declining the undertaking. About this time, *Hungary* was infested by the *Cumani*, and *Honorius* the IVth suffered *Rodolph*, upon his relinquishing all his claims on the exarchate of *Ravenna*, to name the bishop of *Basil*, his chancellor, to the vicariate of *Tuscany*. This bishop supplied the presence of the emperor in *Italy*, but could not prevail upon the *Imperial* fiefs there to swear to him in the same manner as if his master had been present. *Rodolph*, on the other hand, had laid it down as a maxim never to venture his person in *Italy*, and made use of no violence in reclaiming the *Tuscans* and his other subjects there to their duty, provided they paid him the moderate contingences they had stipulated for their freedom. The chancellor in the mean while was made archbishop of *Mentz* by the pope, and upon his return to *Germany*, he endeavoured to obtain for his holiness the fourth, for four years, of the income of all the benefices in the empire; but in this he was effectually opposed.

Some civil commotions happening in *Switzerland*, to which the emperor had a particular relation, he sent his son *Rodolph* thither, and afterwards his eldest son *Albert*, who reduced the insurgents, and subdued the abbot of *St. Gall*, who had favoured them. One *Anselmo*, however, lord of *Rupolstein*, behaved with such resolution, and made so great a progress on the borders of *Alsace*, that the emperor was obliged to give him his own terms. The truth is, *Rodolph* was, by this time, grown old, and wanted to compleat his family settlements, which he had projected with so much sagacity. He continued to avail himself of his daughters, one of whom, *Judith*, he gave in marriage to *Wenceslaus*, the young king of *Bohemia*, who, on that occasion, was confirmed in the post of cupbearer to the emperor, but upon the condition of his renouncing all his claims upon *Austria*, *Stiria*, and their dependencies.

<sup>1</sup> 1290. In 1290, *Rodolph*, in a diet at *Erfurt*, terminated the great cause concerning the succession to the landgraviate of *Thuringia*, one part of which was given to the marquis of *Misnia*, and the other to the posterity of the duke of *Brabant*. An affair of still greater consequence was agitated at this diet. The *Cumani* had killed *Ladislaus* the III<sup>d</sup>, king of *Hungary*, and three competitors for his succession started up, of whom *Rodolph* was one; *Hungary*, as he pretended, being a fief of the empire; the other two were *Andrew* the *Venetian*, who was grandson to *Andrew* a former king of *Hungary*, and *Charles Martel*, nephew by his mother to the late *Ladislaus*. The pope pretended that the crown of *Hungary* belonged to him. The emperor gave it to his son *Albert*. The pope conferred it on *Charles Martel*, but *Andrew* took possession of it. *Charles Martel*, as we have already seen, was married to *Rodolph's* daughter, and therefore he relinquished *Albert's* pretensions in favour of *Charles*. The *Hungarians*, however, stuck by *Andrew*, in opposition both to the pope and the emperor. This competitorship never was perfectly decided; for both pretend-ers died, it is said, in the same year, each in possession of a part of that kingdom.

*Rodolph's* success. About this time, *Otho*, count of *Burgundy*, having declared himself a vassal to the king of *France*, was put to the ban of the empire, and after being defeated by *Rodolph*, sued for peace. Soon after, being joined by the count de *Montbelliard*, he renewed the war, and though the king of *France* threatened to come to the assistance of the two counts, *Rodolph* took *Montbelliard*, and besieged *Besançon*, but afterwards granted them peace upon *Otho's* doing him homage. *Rodolph* then cleared *Franconia*, *Suabia*, and *Thuringia*, of the freebooters who infested those provinces, and ordered numbers of them to be executed without regard to their quality, but at the same time he improved his finances by their fines and forfeitures. *Rodolph's* great abilities for government, joined to the passion he had for aggrandizing his family, a quality which seems to have been entailed upon all his posterity, rendered him so formidable to the princes of the empire, that they refused to acknowledge his son *Albert* as his coadjutor, or as king of the *Romans*. *Rodolph*, in disgust, retired to *Spire*, where he died in the 73<sup>d</sup> year of his age, on the 15<sup>th</sup> of *July*, 1291. He was married to *Anne*, the daughter of *Albert*, count of *Hoaberg*, who brought to his family great part of the landgraviate of *Alsace*. Of seven sons which he had, only two survived him, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, and *Rodolph*, duke of *Suabia* and landgrave of *Alsace*. His daughters were *Judith*, married to the king of *Bohemia*; *Clementia*, wife to *Charles*, afterwards king of *Hungary*; *Matilda*, married to the count palatine; *Agnes*, to the duke of *Saxony*; *Hedrige*, to the marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Catharine*, to the duke of *Bavaria*; and *Euphemia*, who was a nun.



Few princes have been known to unite the plainness of man- and character. did. Though elevated to the highest station of any man on the continent of *Europe*, he is said to have practised a primitive, if not a rustic, simplicity. By the dint of strong natural parts, he restored order, government, and tranquillity to the empire, which he found in a state of anarchy. He was an eminent instance of the triumph of natural sagacity over all the refinements of politics. He never disguised his intentions, and he always carried his ends by direct measures. An instance of this he exhibited in the last war he was engaged in; while he was besieging *Besançon*, the king of *France* threatened, that if he did not retire he would march against him at the head of an army: *Let him come, said Rodolph, and we will teach him the respect that is due to the longest sword.* The aggrandizement of his family is said to have led him into some oppressive measures, as he lost no opportunity of amassing money.

*An Interregnum of nine Months.*

*Rodolph* left his great family scheme incomplete, as he had Interreg- failed in persuading the princes of the empire to raise his eldest son *Albert* to the Imperial dignity. The *Austrians* and *Stirians* disliked his government, which they complained of as being arbitrary, and threatened to league themselves with the kings of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and other princes of the empire, to moderate *Albert's* tyranny; but matters were compromised between him and them, by the mediation of *Lewis*, count palatine of the *Rhine*. Some disputes concerning the succession to the dutchy of *Limburg* next succeeded, between the count of *Guelderland* and the duke of *Brabant*, in which the latter obtained a complete victory over the friends of the former, and remained in quiet possession of *Limburg*, which was afterwards confirmed to him by *Henry* of *Luxenburg*, who was afterwards emperor, and married the duke of *Brabant's* eldest daughter.

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C H A P. XXIX.

A D O L P H of Nassau.

THE confusion and anarchy introduced by the interreign *Adolph* is inexpressible. *Albert* of *Austria*, son to the late emperor, had the greatest natural interest, but the archbishop of *Mentz* brought the princes of the empire into his opinion, that the liberties of the empire would be best secured by a prince of no power, and therefore he proposed his kinsman, *Adolph* of *Nassau*, to fill the Imperial throne. He had the reputation of being the best general of his age, and he joined magnanimity to valour. The electors chose him not so much perhaps



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for his qualities, as for his poverty, and he constituted *Boemund*, archbishop, his first minister. By the advice of that prelate, he behaved with great moderation, even towards the friends of *Albert*, though he knew he was a pretender to the Imperial dignity. One of his first measures of government was to try his strength against *Otho* of *Burgundy*, who had sworn allegiance to the king of *France*, and was befriended by *Albert* of *Austria*. The latter refusing to pay his contingency towards the war, *Adolph* entered into his territories, but without any other effect than that of disgusting the princes of the empire by his military turn. This was followed by a revolt of many *Alsatian* noblemen, particularly of *Anselmo*, lord of *Rapoltstein*, whom *Adolph* subdued and imprisoned for life. *Albert* of *Austria* disguised his resentment at being disappointed of the empire, well knowing that *Adolph*, being destitute of civil accomplishments, would soon ruin himself. *Adolph* proposed a marriage between his son *Gerlac* and *Albert's* daughter, but the latter rejected the proposal with an *Austrian* haughtiness. *Adolph* received some support from *Edward* king of *England*, in hatred of the king of *France*, with whom he was at war, and who had dismembered the empire of *Franche Compté*. The money *Adolph* received from *Edward*, enabled him to purchase *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, though to the prejudice of the true heirs. He then made a formal demand upon the king of *France* of the kingdom of *Arles* and other fiefs which he said belonged to the empire. *Philip* dismissed his ambassadors with the utmost contempt, upon which an impotent war ensued, not much to the credit of either party. *Philip* having discovered that *Adolph* was a pensioner of *England*, engaged in his interest the powerful duke of *Austria*, and the true heirs of *Thuringia* and *Misnia*. *Adolph's* affairs became thereby extremely embarrassed in the empire, and the more so as his poverty did not admit of his sharing with the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the other princes who had raised him to the empire, the subsidies he received from *England*. The event was, that the brothers *Frederic*, *Dietman*, and *Henry*, the true heirs of *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, after a three years war, in which they were generally successful, stripped *Adolph* of all *Thuringia*.

His iniquitous purchase of *Thuringia*,

which he loses,

His mis-carriages,

His own private vices completed his ruin, and rendered him so odious, that the archbishop of *Mentz*, *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, the two margraves of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxony*, drew up against him a kind of impeachment, which was to serve as a ground-work for his deposition. They accused him of having given up the rights of the empire in *Italy*; of a mean, lavish, tyrannical, arbitrary behaviour; of his receiving money from *Edward*, king of *England*, without fulfilling the conditions on which he obtained it; of his having encouraged his soldiers to violence and robbery; and of encouraging his officers in oppressing the subjects. All those charges seem to have been built on the same

same basis, which was his poverty, which did not allow him either to keep a proper discipline in the empire, or to fulfil his engagements with *England*. They added to their impeachment a crime of a most inhuman nature, that of not only having debauched many women, married, unmarried, and even nuns, but that he had put many to death, after forcing them to satisfy his brutal appetites. *Adolph*, on the other hand, was befriended by the archbishop of *Triers*, by the count *Palatine*, and the duke of *Bavaria*; so that he, for some time, made head against the confederacy, which chose *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, for their emperor. He raised troops to maintain his pretensions against *Adolph*, whose right was supported by the pope, notwithstanding all the arts made use of at the court of *Rome* to get the sentence of his deposition confirmed. This was so important a point to *Albert*, that his ambassador, the count de *Hohemberg*, forged letters of deposition under the pope's hand and seal, and delivered them as true ones to the princes of the *Austrian* party; but this shameful imposture was soon discovered, by the pope's firm attachment to *Adolph*.

When *Albert* was elected, the archbishop of *Mentz* harangued the people in the great church there. In his speech, which was intended as the act of deposition, he insisted upon *Adolph's* indigence as a good reason for deposing him, and allowed, that for some time after his accession to the empire, he had behaved as a wise and a worthy prince, without specifying the horrid crime of having murdered the women he had debauched: *We are informed*, said he, *that the envoys we sent to Rome, have obtained the pope's sentence of deposition; others tell us the contrary; but, without regarding any authority but what is on, vested in ourselves, we finding Adolph to be incapable of governing the empire, depose him, and elect in his room Albert, duke of Austria, to be king of the Romans.* *Adolph* continuing to be powerfully supported by the princes of his party, assembled his troops, and a bloody battle was fought near *Spire*, between him and his rival. *Adolph*, during the heat of it, singled out *Albert*, and riding up to him, *Now*, says he, *must you resign to me the empire and your life: Both*, replied *Albert*, *are in the hands of God*, and thrust his spear with such fury through *Adolph's* and death. visor, that the latter fell from his horse, and was immediately dispatched. This battle was fought the 2d of *July*, 1298, no more than eleven days after *Albert's* election. Upon the death of *Adolph*, *Albert* ordered the carnage to be stopped, while the count *Palatine* and duke of *Bavaria* escaped by flight. *Adolph* reigned six years; his wife was *Imagina*, daughter of *Jorlach*, count of *Limbourg*, and by her he left two sons, counts of *Nassau*, and several daughters.

When we consider the disposition of the times, and the character of the *German* princes of those days, we are apt to look upon *Adolph* rather to be unfortunate than wicked or criminal in his conduct. He doubtless was brave in his person, and his failure towards the king of *England* was more than probably owing

owing to the opposition he met with, which prevented his marching in person to that prince's assistance against *France*. It was pretty extraordinary, that the partizans of the *French* king in the empire should urge it as a crime against their emperor that he had not assisted their enemies.

## CHAP. XXX.

ALBERT the first, of Austria, called the Triumphant.

Albert confirmed emperor.

He divides his estates with his son.

He is defeated by D'Avenes,

THE spirit of crusading, which had been so unfortunate to the *Germans*, inspired them with the most cruel and vindictive sentiments. Their zeal was influenced by the poverty in which they found themselves upon their return from their expeditions, and without any provocation, or rather upon false pretexts, the Jews were most inhumanly robbed and plundered, not only all over *Germany*, but in the neighbouring provinces. *Albert* had protected such of them as were in his dominions, and they paid him liberally for that protection. His accession to the *Imperial* throne was a favourable period for them; he chose to be recrowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where the crowd was so great, that his brother-in-law, the duke of *Saxony*, was there squeezed to death. The same spirit of disobedience and avarice that had ruined his predecessor, persecuted him. The pope disallowed his authority, and summoned him to appear at his tribunal. The ecclesiastical electors laid hold of this wretched pretence to withdraw their allegiance likewise, because the emperor had required them to surrender the temporalities of which they had defrauded the revenues of the empire. Thus situated, *Albert* had no recourse but to strengthen himself by an alliance with *Philip* the fair of *France*, the pope's mortal enemy. After some negotiations, a marriage was concluded between *Albert's* eldest son *Rodolph*, and the princess *Blanche*, *Philip's* sister, by which *Albert* agreed to bestow upon *Rodolph* and his heirs, *Austria*, *Stiria*, *Carniola*, *Alsace*, and the other territories, as *Imperial* fiefs, and assigned *Alsace* and *Fribourg* as his daughter-in-law's jointure. This match served only more to provoke the pope and the ecclesiastical electors; the former appeared publicly with a sword by his side, and declared, that he knew of no *Cesar* or king of the *Romans* but himself; and the latter formed the atrocious design of accusing *Albert* as the murderer of his predecessor before the count *Palatine*, who, as they pretended, was judge within the *Imperial* palace, and that the emperor himself was answerable to his jurisdiction.

The party against *Albert* was the more encouraged in those unheard of proceedings, by the ill success of *Albert* in a war *D'Avenes*, which he maintained against *John D'Avenes*, who claimed the succession



succession of *John*, count of *Holland*; while *Albert* pretended that it was a reversible fief of the empire. The affair was at last compromised upon *D'Avenes* consenting to pay homage to the emperor for *Holland*, *West Friesland*, and *Zealand*, and to receive the investiture of them from him. This peace was made under the walls of *Cologne*, to which *D'Avenes* had driven *Albert*. He then summoned the ecclesiastical electors to appear before a diet of the empire at *Mentz*, but they answered him only by caballing for his destruction, and retiring to the dominions of the count *Palatine*, before whom they cited *Albert* to appear. *Albert*, on this occasion, discovered himself to be worthy of empire. The princes of *Germany* were shocked at the insolence and absurdity of this conduct, as the chief fact advanced against *Albert* was what his accusers had approved of, and enabled him to execute, we mean the death of his predecessor. Though the king of *Bohemia*, the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Saxony* remained neuter in the quarrel, yet *Albert* raised an army, with which he obliged the ecclesiastical princes to give up their claims, and the count *Palatine* to purchase his peace with a large sum of money. The anti-*Imperialists* in *Germany* had now no resource but to pope *Boniface* the VIIIth, who exerted himself in a manner that was amazingly daring. He redoubled his summonses and ful- and ex-  
minations against *Albert*, and perceiving that he was supported communi-  
by the king of *France*, he persuaded that prince's brother, cated by  
*Charles of Valois*, to accept from him the office of *Imperial vi-* the pope.  
car in *Italy*.

He next declared *Charles* emperor of the *Greeks*, and married him to the daughter of *Baldwin* the 2d, the deposed emperor of *Constantinople*. The throne of *Poland* was then filled by *Wenceslaus*, and that of *Hungary* being vacant by the death of king *Andrew*, the *Hungarians* offered it to *Wenceslaus* likewise. That prince, who was at the same time king of *Bohemia*, recommended to their choice his son, who was actually crowned, and took the name of *Ladislaus*, though he was no more than thirteen years of age. *Albert* had always expressed the most profound regard for the holy see, notwithstanding the pope's insolence, and had made some unbecoming advances to obtain his friendship. Both of them pretended to have the disposal of the crown of *Hungary*, and therefore both of them were equally disgusted with the proceedings of the *Hungarians*. The pope had adjudged their crown to *Mary*, the sister of *Ladislaus*, the third king of *Hungary*, but she resigning her right to her grandson *Charobert*, the pope undertook to support him, as did *Albert* likewise, through the dread and hatred he had for *Wenceslaus*. The latter was one of the most politic, as well as powerful princes, that *Germany* had seen for a long time; but the *Germans* under *Albert* had formed ridiculous notions of the vast wealth to be acquired by their becoming masters of the *Bohemian* silver mines; and they flocked to his standard in such numbers, that *Wenceslaus* could not meet them

1301.  
Affairs of  
*Hungary*.



where *Albert* mis-carries. them in the field. It is said, however, that he found means to poison the waters round the *Imperial* camp, by which *Albert's* army was almost ruined; and he was obliged to fly to *Austria* with its wretched remains.

He is reconciled to the pope. The quarrel between *Philip*, king of *France*, and *Boniface*, breaking out now with more violence than ever, the latter offered to confirm *Albert's* election, but upon very disgraceful terms. He obliged *Albert*, in the most formal manner, to declare that the empire had been transferred by the holy see, from the *Greeks* to the *Germans*; and that all the rights, not only of the electors, but of emperors and kings, are derived from the pope. Such were some of the mortifying concessions upon which *Boniface* confirmed *Albert's* election. Soon after, the partizans of *France* found means to surprize the pope's person at *Anagni*; but though he was delivered by the valour of the cardinal de *Fiesque*, he died a few days after, and was succeeded by *Benedict* the Xth, who died eleven months after his elevation. During the short time of his pontificate, he is said to have been very favourable to the emperor and empire of *Germany*.

Affairs of Hungary, Young *Ladislaus* continued to reign in *Hungary*; but partly through the turbulence of that people, and partly through his own mismanagement, he had no power; and his father, to prevent his suffering a violent death, brought him back to *Bohemia*, by force. *Wenceslaus* soon after died, as it is said, through grief, and his son succeeding him, he resumed his former name of *Wenceslaus*, but was assassinated in his bed-chamber, twelve months after his accession to the *Bohemian* crown. Three thrones, to which the emperor had pretensions, were now vacant; those of *Bohemia*, *Poland*, and *Hungary*, and the subjects of each pretended to the power of electing their kings. The duke of *Carinthia*, who had married the sister of the late king, had a strong party of *Bohemians* in his favour; but *Albert* raised his son *Rodolph*, by force of arms, to that throne. *Henry* of *Carinthia* resigned his pretensions to *Rodolph*, who, having lost his first wife *Blanche*, married the widow of young *Wenceslaus*. *Rodolph* soon after died, and *Albert* endeavoured to procure the *Bohemian* crown for his other son *Frederic*, but he was disappointed. *Henry* of *Carinthia* was recalled, and obtained the throne; upon which *Albert*, after ravaging *Bohemia*, returned with his army to *Austria*.

and Thuringia. We have already seen how the true heirs of *Thuringia* recovered their patrimony from the emperor *Adolph*, who had purchased it from their unnatural father. Upon *Adolph's* death, his brother, *Philip* of *Nassau*, demanded the territories in question from the two brothers *Frederic* and *Dietman*, who held them in *Philip's* claim, was favoured by the emperor, in hopes of his sharing the spoil. The princes were summoned to appear at the *Imperial* tribunal, and all the independant part of *Germany* applauded their spirit, in refusing to submit

submit their property to *Albert's* decision. Both sides raised forces; the princes were put to the ban of the empire; but *Frederic* raised an army with which he fought, and entirely defeated *Albert* at *Luchan*, and obliged him to betake himself to a shameful flight. Notwithstanding his loss and disgrace, *Albert* continued to support *Charobert* in his claim to the crown of *Hungary*, which was disputed by the duke of *Bavaria*; but *Charobert* being befriended by the pope, the *Bavarian* was obliged to renounce his title, and *Charobert* ascended the *Hungarian* throne. He took the name of *Charles*, and held it of the pope, his subjects preferring to be vassals to him rather than the emperor. A civil war, at this time, raged in 1307. the north of *Germany*, between *Gerhard*, count of *Holstein*, Disturb- and his nobles, whom he defeated and besieged in *Lubec*. The ances in *Lubeckers* being strongly supported by the duke of *Saxony* and the north. the king of *Denmark*, made a vigorous defence, though *Gerhard* had built a fort at the mouth of the *Trave* to distress their trade; but the quarrel was at last made up, by the interposition of the *Danish* general, and the emperor *Albert* was to decide, in four years time, to whom the fort was to belong. The *Holsteiners*, however, not being fond of an *Imperial* arbitration, agreed to refer all their future differences to the king of *Denmark*, and the duke of *Mecklenburg*.

We are now arrived at the æra of the *Helvetian* liberty. Rise of The constitution of *Switzerland*, before the accession of the the *Helve-* house of *Hapsburg* to the *Imperial* crown, is little known. It tic liber- is certain that the *Switzers*, by the situation of their country, ty, which is mountainous, and in many places inaccessible, have always been inspired with notions of independency, which they preserved by maintaining a sort of equality of condition among themselves. In consequence of this, they opposed all their overgrown nobility, but submitted respectfully to the *Imperial* authority. Three of their cantons, *Ury*, *Underwaldt*, and *Switz*, had put themselves under the protection of *Rodolph* of *Hapsburg*, before he became emperor, and he maintained them in their independency. The emperor *Albert* deviated from this moderation, and finding all the means he employed ineffectual to reduce them to a state of dependence upon him as head of the house of *Austria*, he filled their country, by virtue of his *Imperial* authority, with a set of *German* monsters, under the title of governors, who exercised all manner of cruelties upon the natives. One *Grisler*, an *Austrian* governor of *Ury*, erected a cap on a pole in the market place of *Altorff*, and ordered that the same homage should be paid to it by the passengers as to his own person. One *William Tell*, an incomparable archer, refused to comply with this tyrannical, but ridiculous, command. He was apprehended and brought before *Grisler*, who condemned him either to be hanged, or to redeem his life by cleaving an apple placed on his son's head, at a certain distance, with an arrow. *Tell* had the good fortune to cleave the apple without touching his son.

*Grisler*

*Grisler* seeing another arrow in his girdle, demanded what he intended to do with that, and *Tell* frankly answered, *To have sent it through thy heart had I killed my son*: upon which *Grisler* condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, within a castle, on an island; and accompanied him in the boat, that he might see him closely secured. A storm overtaking them, the command of the boat was given to *Tell*, who had got his bread upon the water, and rowing the boat near the land, he jumped ashore, and made his escape.

which is  
establisht-  
ed.

Though the *Helvetic* liberty is generally dated from this remarkable story, yet we are apt to think, that its connection with it was only accidental, and that it had a more noble rise. Three *Swissers*, *Arnauld Melchtat*, a native of *Underwald*; *Werner Strauffacher*, of *Switz*; and *Walter Furts*, of *Ury*; (names so uncouth that they have injured their memory) consulted together upon the noble principles of freedom, and resolved to deliver their country from the *Austrian* tyranny. Each brought into the concert three more, and each being bound under an oath of secrecy, engaged others whom oppression had rendered desperate. The *Austrian* governors seem to have facilitated the enterprize of the conspirators, by the contempt they had for the spirit and poverty of the *Swissers*; for though they built forts, they took no care as to the discipline of the garrisons. The conspirators finding themselves strong enough to make their attempt, fixed on the first of *January*, 1308, and almost at the same hour they made themselves masters of the fortresses of *Sarn*, *Altorf*, and *Lowertz*, without the loss of a man. Some historians tell us, that *Tell* escaped to the conspirators, and entering into their confederacy, he struck *Grisler* dead with an arrow. Whatsoever may be in this, it is certain, that the *Austrians*, in a short time, were expelled from the *Swiss* cantons, who have ever since maintained their liberty.

1308.

Conjec-  
ture.

Though we have given the great outlines of this revolution, yet undoubtedly many circumstances are omitted. *Albert* intended to have erected the cantons into a principality, for one of his sons; and we are apt to believe, that *Tell's* punishment was inflicted upon him in consequence of some discoveries being made by *Grisler*, of his being engaged with the conspirators. The death of *Grisler*, by the arrow of *Tell*, who laid an ambuscade for him, seems to be well ascertained, as a chapel was built in commemoration of the event.

*Albert* is  
murdered.

*Albert's* passion for aggrandizing his family, or rather his sons, ruined him. Upon the death of his brother *Rodolph*, duke of *Suabia*, and landgrave of *Alsace*, *Albert* took upon himself the tutorage of his only son *John*, who, after he was at age, could not persuade the emperor to put him in possession of his estates. *John* naturally supposed that *Albert* intended to bestow his patrimony upon one of his six sons, whom he had by his empress; and in this belief he was confirmed by the universal detestation that prevailed against *Albert*, on account of his iniquitous practices in the affairs of *Bohemia*, *Misnia*,



*Misnia*, and *Thuringia*. He employed the bishop of *Strasbourg* to intercede for him with the emperor, who gave him no other answer than that he would consider *John's* case, after he had served for some time in his armies. *Albert* was then marching at the head of his troops, to reduce the revolted cantons of *Switzerland*; and *John* found means to engage in a design of assassinating him, three of *Albert's* favourite domestics, *Rodolph* of *Warth*, *Walter* of *Eschebach*, and *Ulric* of *Palm*. *Albert* having made an entertainment to his courtiers at *Basil*, set out for *Rhinfelden*, and being to cross the river *Rhees*, near *Schaffhausen*, he entered a boat, attended by *John* and the three domestics, while the son and the other courtiers waited on the bank of the river for the return of the boat. The emperor and the conspirators landing, he was proceeding through a new plowed field, when he was struck in the throat by *John*, and wounded by the other assassins in different parts of his body; which put an end to his life in the sight of his son and all his courtiers, who could afford him no assistance. The execution of this conspiracy seems to have been owing to the fumes of wine; for it does not appear that the conspirators had laid down any plan to follow, after it was over. *John*, after lurking a long time in *Italy*, died in a convent, to which the pope had confined him, by way of penance; *Palm* died in a convent likewise; *Eschebach* lived and died a cowherd 35 years after; but *Warth* was broken alive upon the wheel.

Besides the six sons which *Albert* had by his wife *Elizabeth*, daughter to the duke of *Carinthia*, he had five daughters, all of them married to considerable princes. It cannot be denied that *Albert* had courage and understanding; but those historians who praise him for his love of truth, do not consider, that every act of injustice (and *Albert* was guilty of many) is a violation of that divine virtue. His manners and person are said to have been vulgar and coarse, and he made use of his affectation for plainness, as a cloak for his sordid avaricious disposition.

His issue,  
and character.

## C H A P. XXXI.

HENRY the seventh, of Luxembourg.

THE princes of *Germany* seem, for some reigns past, to have industriously avoided chusing for their head, a son or descendent of the immediately preceding emperor. *Clement* the Vth was then pope, and *Philip* the fair, king of *France*, protected him from the *Italians* and *Romans*, who had driven him into exile. Some have even said, that he owed his elevation to *Philip*, who exacted from him a promise that he would favour his pretensions to the *Imperial* crown. *Clement* durst not disoblige *Philip*, but he privately dispatched advisers,

Henry of  
Luxembourg  
chosen emperor,



by means  
of the  
pope.

vices, informing the electors, that if they did not speedily determine their choice, *Philip* would become their head, and receive all the claims, which the descendents of *Charles the Great* had upon the empire. He recommended, at the same time, *Henry*, count of *Luxembourg*, who was accordingly chosen by the six electors, the kingdom of *Bohemia* being then vacant. The names of those electors are of importance. They were the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Triers*, and *Cologne*, who acted as chancellors; the count *Palatine*, and ancestor of the present house of *Bavaria*, who was grand master of the household; the duke of *Saxony*, who was great master of the horse; and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, who was great chamberlain. Before the election they drew up certain articles for the preservation of the fiefs and privileges which were to be confirmed by the emperor elect, who was chosen at *Frankfort*.

His son  
*John* chosen king  
of *Bohemia*.

*Henry* of *Luxembourg* had signalized himself in the empire on various occasions, and was in *Frankfort* at the time of the election; but he appeared to be greatly surprized when he was informed that it had fallen upon himself. Among the first exercises of his authority, was his putting *John* of *Austria* to the ban of the empire, for murdering the late emperor. The *Austrian* dominions were claimed and obtained by *Albert's* sons, *Frederic*, *Leopold*, *Albert*, and *Otho*; and here the iniquity of the house of *Hapsburg* fully appeared; for the princes proved, that the emperor *Rodolph* had left the *Austrian* dominions to their father, who had never dared to avow the injury that was thereby done to their true heir. At this assembly, which was held at *Spire*, *Elizabeth*, daughter and heiress to *Wenceslaus*, king of *Bohemia*, made her appearance. The *Bohemians* had chosen the emperor's son *John* for their king, but upon an express condition which he and his father agreed to, of his marrying this princess, whose story is somewhat singular. Perceiving that the emperor evaded the match, from some scruples he had of her chastity, she came into the emperor's bed-chamber, attended by the chief matrons of the court, and undressing herself, submitted to an inspection, which fully vindicated her chastity; upon which the nuptials between her and *John* were celebrated with vast magnificence; and *John*, after surmounting a vigorous opposition made to him by the duke of *Carinthia*, was, together with his consort, crowned at *Prague*.

*Henry*  
prepares  
to march  
into *Italy*.

*Henry*, while preparations were making for his march into *Italy*, ordered the bodies of his predecessors, *Adolph* and *Albert* to be solemnly interred at *Spire*, and then he sent a splendid deputation, notifying his election to the pope, who readily consented to crown him at *Rome*, upon his promising to confirm all the rights and possessions of the holy see, which had been sworn to by preceding emperors. In 1310, the emperor summoned the count of *Wurtemberg* to appear in a diet at *Spire*; but the count refusing to submit, he was put to the ban of the empire, and divested of his estates. This emperor

1310.

renewed

renewed that persecution against the *Jews*, on pretence of their usury and extortion, and would for the same reason have seized upon the properties of the knights templars, who were immensely rich, had they not been protected by the pope. *Italy* still continued to be torn by the factions of the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins*; but the *Imperial* authority was then but little heard of in that country. The emperor endeavoured to revive it by making the most magnificent promises to the states and people, and appointed his son *John*, king of *Bohemia*, with a proper council, to administer the affairs of the empire during his absence. When he arrived in *Italy* with his army and the chief *German* princes, instead of observing his promises, it was easily perceived that he intended to revive all the *Imperial* claims upon *Italy*. The pope repented of the encouragement he had given him, and formed a strong confederacy to thwart him, but without success. He was received at *Asti*, *Casal*, and *Vercelli*, where he left *German* governors, and encouraged all the *Gibelin* faction to repair to his standards. Entering *Milan* without any opposition, he obliged the inhabitants, who were rich, to pay him a sum of money; and he displaced *Guy de la Torre* from the government of that city, which he gave to *Matthew Visconti*, the founder of an illustrious race. *De la Torre* resented his deprivation, and is said to have entered into a conspiracy for murdering the emperor and his attendants; but this, by others, is thought to be only an invention to justify the massacre that followed of *la Torre's* friends, and the seizure of their estates. *Guy* himself escaped, and *Henry* ordered his own chancellor to be burnt alive, for having secretly plotted with *Guy* for his destruction, and that of the *German* army.

As *Henry* was poor, he put his favours up to sale, at *Parma*, *Vicenza*, and *Placentia*. *Cremona* ventured to oppose him, for which he sacked and plundered it. *Padua* bought her peace with 100,000 crowns, and the *Venetians*, besides a large sum of money, presented the emperor with a magnificent golden crown enriched with diamonds, and other costly regalia. The whole of *Henry's* progress, which is known by the name of the *Roman* expedition, was so alarming to the *Italians*, that the old iron crown was secreted at *Monza*, and *Henry* was crowned with one made on purpose. *Brescia* made a most desperate resistance against the emperor's troops, and under the command of *Thibault de Drussati*, gave him battle. Though the victory was obstinately contested, and the emperor beaten off his horse, yet the *German* discipline carried the day; the *Brescians* were driven back into their city, and *Thibault*, being found just alive on the field of battle, was, for his ingratitude to *Henry*, torn in pieces by horses, for which the *Brescians* hanged fifty of the *German* prisoners over their walls. *Henry*, whose brother had been killed during the siege, pressed it with redoubled fury, and obliged the *Brescians* to surrender at discretion. Instead of inflicting upon them the dread-

and mis-ful penalties he had threatened, he was contented with dismantling their city, and obliging the inhabitants to pay him 60,000 crowns. He appointed a *German* governor in *Brescia*, as he did in *Verona*, *Parma*, and *Mantua*, all which cities he visited, and then he marched to *Genoa*, where he was received as emperor. The pope, who remained still in exile from *Rome*, confederated with *Robert*, king of *Naples*, and the powerful cities of *Florence*, *Bologna*, and *Lucca*, to stop *Henry's* progress. In the mean time, to amuse him, *Robert's* brother, the prince of *Morea*, was sent to *Rome* with a body of troops, on pretence of preparing matters for the pope's reception; but after seizing all the chief posts of the city, he declared that he would not give him admittance.

He is  
crowned  
in *Rome*.

*Henry*, by favour of the *Colonnas*, appeared before *Rome* with his army in battalia; upon which the prince of *Morea* withdrew his troops, and *Henry* entering the city, demanded of the deputation of cardinals sent by the pope to crown him, that the ceremony should be performed in the church of *St. John de Lateran*, because that of *St. Peter's* was in his enemy's hands. The cardinals, with reluctance, complied; and the people of *Rome*, the streets of which ran with blood, were in hopes of seeing their tranquillity re-established. They were deceived. The emperor, instead of giving them the usual largesse, demanded money from them; upon which they ran to arms, killed 2000 of his men, and drove himself out of the city. *Henry* imputed this loss and disgrace to the king of *Naples*, and formed a league with *Frederic* the II<sup>d</sup>, king of *Sicily*, for attacking *Naples*, after he had reduced *Tuscany*. The pope endeavoured, but in vain, to prevent this league, for the emperor proceeded with fire and sword through the *Tuscan* territories; and after besieging *Florence* for forty days, he was forced to abandon the enterprize, and to march his army into winter quarters, while his enemy, *Robert*, was chosen by the *Tuscan* states to be their protector for four years.

1313.

His death

In the spring of the year, 1313, *Henry* summoned *Robert* to appear before him, and not obeying, he was, as his feudatory, put to the ban of the empire, and pronounced guilty of treason. He proceeded in the same frantic manner against the *Florentines* and the *Lucquese*. The reinforcements he expected from *Germany* arriving at last, and the *Genoese* and *Sicilian* fleets being ready, he prepared to march against *Naples*, notwithstanding all the pope could do to restrain him; but he previously sent an apology for his conduct to the king of *France*, who seemed to be alarmed at his progress. *Henry* was so intent upon his *Neapolitan* expedition, that he headed it in person, though his health was then very precarious. Being advanced almost as far as *Vienna*, he died, not without strong suspicion of his having been poisoned in a consecrated host, by *Bernard de Montepulciano*, a *Dominican*. His death happened after he had reigned four years, seven months, and eighteen days, and in the fifty-first year of his age. This

emperor



emperor was married to *Margaret*, a daughter of the duke of *Brabant*, by whom he had *John*, king of *Bohemia*, and four and issue. daughters; *Beatrix*, who was married to *Charles*, king of *Hungary*; *Mary*, the wife of *Charles* the fair, of *France*; *Agnes*, who was married to *Rodolph*, count palatine of the *Rhine*; and *Catharine*, the wife of *Leopold*, duke of *Austria*. We are told by some writers that *Henry*, at the time of his death, was betrothed to *Catharine*, daughter to *Albert* of *Austria*. We can add but little to what we have already observed concerning the character of this prince, whose boundless thirst after power and money, exposed him to the hatred and contempt of the *Italians*. He seems to have pursued a system different from those of his immediate predecessors, by endeavouring to establish that empire in *Italy*, which *Frederic* the II<sup>d</sup> had in vain aimed at. It is difficult to say what the event might have been, had *Henry* lived a few years longer; for though both *Guelphs* and *Gibelines* hated the establishment of the *Imperial* power in *Italy*, yet their interests were so equally ballanced, and the *Italians* in general were so greatly divided amongst themselves that a resolute army of *Germans*, animated by the hopes of *Italian* plunder, might have effected vast revolutions.

*An interregnum of fourteen months.*

The affairs of *Germany*, during the absence of her emperors Interreg- in *Italy*, afford, as it were, a distinct copartment in history, num. especially, as was the case with the last emperor, when they left behind them a delegation of power with a king of the *Romans*, or a proper regency. The absence of the late *Henry* was the æra of the aggrandizement of the knights of the *Teutonic* order, who had already butchered all the *Samogitians* who would not turn *Christians*, and had made some important settlements towards the *Baltic*. In a dispute between *Meßerein* and his younger brother *Wratislaus*, concerning their succession to their father in the duchy of *Pomerania*, the latter had made several considerable concessions to the knights, and tho' they gave them no effectual assistance, the count de *Helderingen*, grand master of their order, being favoured by the pope's legates, was put in possession of the town and castle of *Dantzic*, then belonging to *Pomerania*. *Dantzic*, after this, underwent various revolutions, and passed through several owners, *Brandenburghers* as well as *Poles*. The latter, while they remained in possession of it, were seized by the former. The knights, at the request of the *Poles*, raised the siege, but kept the town to themselves, because their employers could not otherwise pay them. After this, they purchased the *Prussian Pomerania* from the marquis of *Brandenburg*, then a powerful prince in the north of *Germany*. Many other revolutions, belonging to another part of our history, particularly the acquisition which the duke of *Mecklenburgh* made of the city of *Rostock*, happened about the same time.

Order of the *Templars* extinguished But the chief object of attention to all *Europe* in the year 1313, was the extinction of the order of *Knights Templars*. They were put to death with various tortures, and persecuted in many different shapes by the *European* princes; but they found some respite in *Bavaria* and *Austria*, though at last even those followed the fate of their brethren, till their order became extinct. The ridiculous charges brought to justify the cruelties exercised upon them, such as those of witchcraft, sorcery, and idolatry, fully prove that their wealth was their greatest crime; and indeed, when all circumstances are considered, had their extinction been effected without the horrid cruelties attending it, the measure might have been wise and just, as they were by far too powerful and too rich for a religious order.

## C H A P. XXXII.

LEWIS the fifth, of *Bavaria*.

Accession  
of Lewis  
to the Im-  
perial  
throne.

UPON the death of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*, his brother *Lewis* claimed the regency of his dominions, in which he was opposed by *Frederic*, duke of *Austria*, who was obliged to resign to *Lewis* his pretensions. It was soon seen that this quarrel was only a trial of skill between those two princes, each of whom had an eye upon the *Imperial* crown. Those and many other disorders which then prevailed in *Germany*, obliged *Lewis* and *Rodolph*, dukes of *Bavaria*, to form an association for the support of the public tranquillity against those robbers who infested every corner of *Germany*, and which was to last till the *Imperial* throne was filled. It became now a received maxim among the *German* princes, that the election of an emperor belonged to the great hereditary offices of the palace, but the rights of succession among those princes was so confused by marriages, intermarriages, last wills, bans of the empire, and the like, and indeed the right of succession itself was so unsettled among them, that several princes claimed the same services. *Henry*, duke of *Carinthia*, disputed with *John* of *Luxembourg*, the king of *Bohemia*, the service of cup-bearer, and consequently the right of being an elector. The like disputes happened between *John* and *Rodolph*, the two dukes of *Saxony*, each claiming to be grand marshal of the empire; nor would *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, resign to his elder brother, the count *Palatine*, his right of voting. All these contradictory claims being made by independent princes, were not to be determined by a superior tribunal, as none such then existed in *Germany*, nor indeed were they settled till the passing of the golden bull under *Charles* the IVth.

To those political calamities (for such they were on account of their consequences) many natural ones were added.

Plague.

Plague, famine, wild beasts, inundations, and earthquakes, Plague raged in *Germany*, from one end to the other, to such a degree, and other calamities that it is said children and parents eat each other. The princes of the empire made use of the first abatements of those vi- in *Germa- ny*. sitations to assemble at *Franckfort*: they were the archbishops of *Mentz* (who was also count of *Luxembourg*, and brother to the emperor *Henry VII.*) and *Cologne*; with *John*, king of *Bohemia*, son to the late emperor; the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*; and *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, his brother; the marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Rodolph*, son to *Albert II.* duke of *Saxony*; and *Eric*, son to *John the III.* duke of *Lower Saxony*. These electors appear to have come to a tacit compromise, that all their votes should be admitted, though only seven of them could have a right; but authors are even divided as to the number of votes given on this occasion, nor does it appear that the king of *Bohemia* voted at all. The electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, *Bohemia*, and *Brandenburg*, chose *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, who being an elector himself, was upon the spot, and gave his vote to his own party. The other four electors are said to have declared for the duke of *Austria*, who having no vote, remained at *Saxenhausen*, on the other side of the river. *Lewis* availing himself of his majority, was crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* by the archbishop of *Mentz*, as his competitor was at *Bonn*, by the archbishop of *Cologne*. The interest of *Lewis* was strong in *Westphalia* and the *Lower Rhine*, as that of *Frederic* was on the *Upper Rhine*; but the *Swisses* took part with the *Bavarian*, that they might defend their newly acquired liberties against the *Austrian*. *Germany* was again involved in blood and confusion, and we are told that attempts were even made to assassinate *Lewis*. *Bavaria* was laid waste by *Leopold* of *Austria*, and *Lewis* remained in a state of inactivity till he could know the success of an important treaty he was then negotiating with the *Swiss* cantons, which was strongly opposed by *Leopold*, who marched about 20,000 men into their country. The three confederated cantons could raise no more than 16,000 men, and those but poorly armed; but they posted themselves so advantageously in a pass, near *Morgarten*, by which they knew the *Austrians* must march, that the latter were completely defeated, the *Swisses* supplying their want of arms by huge fragments of rocks, which they rolled down from the mountains, and which killed so many of the *Austrians*, and disordered their army so much, that the *Swisses* falling upon them sword in hand, drove them with great slaughter out of their country. This glorious stand for liberty, and the victory that attended it, is justly compared with the noblest that the *Greek* or *Roman* history can produce.

In the year 1316, a battle was fought upon the banks of the *Neckar*, between the two *Imperial* rivals, but victory declared on neither side. *John* the XXIII was then pope, and both parties applied to him, but he took part with neither, and



Italian  
troubles  
revived.

1319.

Battle of  
Muldorf.

declared both of them to be rebels, if they did not appear at his tribunal, and submit to his arbitration. Those proceedings revived the wars between the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* in *Italy*; and though all of them fought for themselves, yet the *Gibelins* declared for *Lewis*, as the *Guelphs* did for *Frederic*, who seemed to have the greatest share of the pope's favour; but the *Visconti* family, who were *Gibelins*, and who conquered for themselves in the name of *Lewis*, were the greatest gainers by the dispute, though they were obliged by the pope and the king of *Naples* to raise the siege of *Genoa*. Matters remained in this indecisive state till the year 1319; *Lewis* had the strongest interest in the empire, but the family of *Austria* was the most powerful. The two armies at last met near *Muldorf*, and *Frederic* proposed the barbarous (but then thought legal) expedient of deciding their differences by a combat of fifteen men on a side. The proposal was accepted, but the champions fought so desperately that all of them were killed on the spot. A general battle naturally ensued, and *Frederic*, not being supported by his brother *Leopold*, was obliged, after a long and obstinate engagement, to repass the river *Inn*; but *Lewis* could scarcely boast of his victory, it was so undecisive. In a few weeks each of them was at the head of a stronger army, but *Frederic* obliged *Lewis* to take shelter under the walls of *Haguenau*.

1320.

*Frederic*  
taken pri-  
soner.

The same superiority was held by the *Austrians* during the year 1320, when they ravaged *Bavaria*. Next year, the *Austrians* made a fruitless expedition into *Italy*; for finding the affairs of the *Guelphs* in a manner desperate, they returned under their general, *Henry* of *Austria*, another of *Frederic*'s brothers, without effecting any thing. *Henry*, on his return, found his brother *Frederic* again ravaging *Bavaria*, where he declared he would fix his quarters between the *Iser* and the *Inn*. *Lewis* having been joined by the king of *Bohemia*, the burgrave of *Nuremburg*, and the other heads of his party, found himself at the head of 30,000 veterans, and resolved to venture a decisive action in the plain of *Vechivis*, between *Muldorf* and *Oettingen*, on the 29th of September, 1322. The *Bavarians* at first were routed, and *Frederic* thought himself secure of victory, when a *Bavarian* captain, one *Schwepperman*, rallying the troops of *Lewis*, led them on to the charge, renewed the battle, and completely defeated the *Austrians*. Duke *Henry* was dangerously wounded and taken prisoner, as was the duke of *Lorraine*; but *Lewis*'s most important acquisition that day, was the person of his competitor, *Frederic*, who was taken prisoner after killing fifty of his enemies with his own hand, and remaining alone on the field of battle. When the burgrave of *Nuremburg* brought him in prisoner, *Lewis* ordered the pursuit to be stopped, and *Frederic* was sent to the castle of *Transnitz*.

1322.

*Leopold* of *Austria* was marching to the assistance of his brother with an army, when he heard of his misfortunes. He

He then retired to his own estate, and negotiated with the pope and the king of *France*, for the delivery of his two brothers. Duke *Henry* and the duke of *Lorraine* were set at liberty, but the former died soon after, and *Frederic* continued a prisoner for three years. *Lewis* may be said to have remained now without a competitor in the empire, and was acknowledged emperor by almost all the princes, excepting *Leopold* of *Austria*, who taking advantage of some commotions in *Bohemia*, was in hopes of mounting that throne. *Lewis* shewed himself placable towards all the princes who were willing to submit, excepting his own brother *Rodolph*, count palatine of the *Rhine*, whose dominions he seized, and forced him to fly to *England*, where he died in want and obscurity. The king of *Bohemia* met with so much trouble that he surrendered his crown to the emperor *Lewis*, who gave him in exchange the palatinate, the inheritance of his brother and family. The *Bohemians* refused to stand to the bargain, which indeed gives us no favourable idea of the princes who made it, and *Lewis* was obliged to cancel it, and the *Bohemians* renewed their oaths of allegiance to *John*.

*Lewis* then assembled a diet at *Nuremberg*, where a strict Diet at statute was enacted against the reversionary grants of benefices obtained at the court of *Rome*; and this increased the animosity between the pope and the emperor. The nature of the *German* fiefs did not favour any alienation of them from the immediate descendents of the last possessor; and *Lewis*, whose resentment probably had subsided by his brother's death, restored the palatinate to his children; but (as we are told) with the express condition, that his and their family should enjoy the electoral vote by turns. By this agreement it would appear as if he had some doubts concerning the validity of his own vote, as his was but the second branch. His proceedings with regard to the marquise of *Brandenburg* were still more unjustifiable. That elector, marquis *Volmar* the third, undertook a pilgrimage to the holy land in the ridiculous manner of those days, and left the administration of his electorate to his brother *John*, who died in less than a month after the departure of the marquis. *Lewis*, as head of the empire, without waiting for an account of *Volmar*'s death, gives his electorate to one of his own sons, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*, in prejudice of the house of *Saxe Lawenburg*, and *Anhalt*, the descendants of the ancient house of *Ascania*, from which that of *Brandenburg* likewise was descended, besides many other competitors of the same line. The aggrandizement of family interests was not peculiar to the houses of *Suabia* and *Austria*; for it seems to have been the ultimate object of *Lewis*, who by his second marriage with *Margaret*, daughter of *William*, count of *Hainault* and *Holland*, acquired not only those two noble earldoms, but *Friezland* and *Zealand* likewise.

*Lewis* was stopped in his career of accumulating wealth and dominions to his family by the continuance of his breach with

The pope the pope, *John* the XXIIId. That pontiff's party was now far superior in *Italy* to the *Gibelins*, and the pope rejecting all offers of accommodation with the *Gibelins*, the emperor acted

Protests against the emperor,

so artfully by his agents with the cities and states who were well affected to him, that they united under his general count *Bertholdi*, who retook *Milan*. The pope upon this published a bull against the emperor, in a strain, if possible, more extravagant than that made use of by the most extravagant and ambitious of his predecessors. He there pretends that the emperor ought to reign by the permission and authority of the pope alone, who may depose him at his pleasure, and therefore he orders all his subjects, of what degree soever, to withdraw their obedience from that tyrant and usurper, *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. The emperor protested against the bull, convoked all the learned ecclesiastics and laymen in *Germany*, to consider it, and they pronounced it to be anti-christian, advising him at the same time to have recourse to a general council. Tho' the emperor was fully convinced that this advice was rational and constitutional, yet he applied for a reconciliation with his holiness, who would grant him no farther time than three months for resigning the title of king of the *Romans*, and withdrawing his countenance from the *Italian Gibelins*. All the emperor could do, was to protest against the papal proceedings, and to endeavour to answer the bulls upon paper.

who exhibits articles against the pope,

The pope, on this occasion, was encouraged by the state of affairs in *Germany*, where *Leopold* of *Austria* not only refused to recognize the emperor's title, but defeated his forces at the siege of *Burgau*, where *Leopold* detained the *Imperial* regalia, which he had seized. On the other hand the *Gibelins* were victorious all over *Italy*, where the people had been forced to preach up another crusade against the *Imperial* party. His holiness upon the expiration of the three months, actually excommunicated *Lewis*, who was supported by the diet of the empire at *Ratisbon*, where the princes threatened to treat all who should pay any regard to the pope's excommunication, as traitors and enemies to their country. *Lewis* went further, for he in his turn exhibited 36 articles against the pope, for which he insisted he ought to be deposed in a general council. *Lewis* does not seem to have properly supported the vigorous measures he proposed. He spent his time too much in endeavouring to gain over the *German* noblemen by the exhibition of magnificent jousts and tournaments at *Franckfort*. Being disappointed in this expedient, he entered into a confederacy with the king of *Bohemia*, the archbishop of *Treves*, and the earl of *Barr*. They took *Metz*, and the pope offered the *Imperial* crown to *Charles* the fair, of *France*, who was to be supported by all the *Austrian* interest in *Germany*. Other *German* princes seemed not ill disposed towards *Charles*, and *Leopold* unadvisedly proposed that *Charles* should give him and them the meeting at *Bar sur Aube*. *Charles* consented, and repaired thither with a magnificent equipage, but was met only by



by *Leopold*, upon which *Charles*, in disgust, threw up all further concern in the project.

*Leopold*, after other fruitless tentatives, was afraid of being deserted by his friends, and voluntarily sent the *Imperial* regalia to *Lewis*; but could not thereby procure his brother's release from prison. This rigour of *Lewis* was equally displeasing to the princes of the empire, and at last he was obliged to set *Frederic* at liberty, upon his promising to relinquish all pretensions to the empire during the lifetime of *Lewis*. The pope absolved *Frederic* from his oath, and the *Austrians* were about to have renewed the war, when *Leopold* died, and *Frederic*, who had contracted a disease in prison, found himself embroiled in family quarrels with his brother *Otho*. Germany thus obtaining some respite, the *Italian Gibelins*, and, among others, the *Romans*, invited *Lewis* to that country, that he might make head against the pope and the king of *Naples*, who continued to be the heads of the *Guelphs*, and that he might receive the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, though without the concurrence of the pope, who remained still at *Avignon*. *Lewis* marched to *Italy* with a small army, but assembling the heads of his party at *Trent*, he found them so strong and numerous, that he ordered the bishops who adhered to him to excommunicate the pope, which they accordingly did. *Lewis* then received from the hands of the bishop of *Arezzo*, the crown of *Italy*, at *Milan*, and then he set forwards towards *Rome*, from whence the people had lately expelled the *Neapolitan* faction, who had surprized their city.

*Lewis* in his march reduced *Pisa*, and obliged the inhabitants to pay him a large sum of money, because they had refused to admit him into their city on account of his being excommunicated. He then proceeded to *Rome*, where he was received with great splendor by *Colonna*, the governor, at the head of the senators, and was crowned in the church of *St. Peter*, by the bishops of *Venice* and *Aleria*. The emperor's behaviour towards the *Romans*, was so noble and engaging, that they presented him with the keys of their city and its fortresses, which he garrisoned with his own troops. It would be superfluous, after what has been already said, to repeat the acrimonious writings and bulls fulminated on this occasion by the pope against *Lewis*, who disappointed him in all his schemes. *Lewis* however, at last, took a resolution, which the most spirited of his predecessors had not ventured upon. He assembled all the princes and prelates of his party, on the 18th of *April*, 1328, and the abbot of *Fuld*, by his order, publicly challenged any one to take part with that wicked tyrant and usurper, *James* of *Cahors*, for so the pope was called before his exaltation, from the place of his nativity, where he had exercised the trade of a cobbler. Nothing that is flagitious or venal was then omitted in the charge against him, and by the authority of the emperor, who presided in the assembly in his *Imperial* robes, he was convicted of every article, and not only sentenced

He pronounces sentence of death upon the pope.

tence of deposition, but of death was pronounced against him, and likewise against the king of *Naples*, as a rebel against the empire, from which he held his crown. *Lewis* then raised a *Cordelier*, who took the name of *Nicholas* the Vth, to the papal throne, by his own authority; and, after shewing him extraordinary marks of esteem, he was recrowned by his hands. Mutual excommunications next passed between the two popes, and *John* excepted out of his only the poet *Petrarch*, on account of his inimitable genius in poetry. *Lewis* was now upon the eve of a terrible revolution in his affairs.

His misconduct.

He and his new pope were incautious enough to burn two persons at the stake for having adhered to pope *John*; and *Lewis*, instead of establishing his authority at *Rome*, where he was hated, invaded the territories of *Robert*, king of *Naples*, where he received so severe a check, that after losing great part of his army, famine obliged him to return to *Rome*, where the cardinal *Ursini*, at the head of the *Guelph* faction, had put that inconstant people in arms against him. *Lewis*, pressed in the rear by the *Neapolitans*, and by the *Romans* in his front, sent his pope to *Todi*, to which he himself soon after fled: From thence he went to *Corneto*, where he had an interview with the king of *Sicily's* son; but in the mean time pope *John* was at *Rome* acknowledged as the lawful pontif, where the names of the emperor and the anti-pope were held in the utmost detestation. One of the chief causes of the emperor's miscarriage was the disappointment he met with from the king of *Sicily*, who had failed in sending him the troops and money he promised him, and with this he bitterly reproached the *Sicilian* prince. *Lewis*, destitute of troops and money, fled next to *Pisa* in the most forlorn condition, and was followed by his anti-pope. At *Pisa* he was amused for some time by proposals from the *Algerines*, but being in hopes of assistance from the king of *Bohemia*, he went to *Bavaria*. He had scarcely left *Italy* when all the *Milanese*, with *Visconti* at their head, the *Pisans*, and the chief of the *Gibelin* cities declared for *John*; so that *Lewis*, in the year 1329, had hardly the shadow of authority in *Italy*. As to the anti-pope, he seems to have been most ungenerously abandoned by his patron. After dragging a life of misery and obscurity, and skulking thro' almost every corner of *Italy*, he presented himself before *John*, with a halter about his neck, abjured the papacy, and had the favour of ending his days in imprisonment.

1329.

Disorders in Germany.

During the emperor's absence in *Italy*, the wars and commotions that had passed in *Germany*, where all civil order was disregarded, made his return to be considered as a public blessing, disgraced and disappointed as he was. The party that had been formed for the restoration of government, was so strong, that the *Germans* in general despised and detested pope *John's* earnest exhortations for them to chuse a new emperor. *Lewis*, without availing himself of those favourable dispositions in men who had opposed him before, most abjectly applied

plied to the pope for a reconciliation, offering to reverse all he had said or done to his prejudice. *John* despised all his advances, and finding he could not shake him in *Germany* by his papal fulminations, he applied himself to other means. He wrote to the king of *Bohemia*, commanding him to depose *Lewis*. That prince, instead of complying, marched into *Italy* at the head of a victorious army, which had before conquered *Lithuania*, declared himself the *Imperial* vicar, and in a short time reduced almost all the revolted cities of *Lombardy*. This did not discourage the pope from renewing his attempts upon the *Bohemian*; and his legate, *Bertraud de Poyet*, had the address to stagger the king's fidelity towards the emperor. This happened in the year 1331, and the correspondence between the *Bohemian* and the pope taking air, all *Italy*, as well as the emperor *Lewis*, was alarmed. The *Guelphs* taxed the pope with having invited the *Bohemian* into *Italy*, and the *Gibelins* reproached him for having betrayed the emperor.

*Lewis*, convinced of the *Bohemian's* infidelity, brought *Frederic*, marquis of *Misnia*, *Otho*, duke of *Austria*, with the kings of *Poland* and *Hungary*, to attack *Bohemia* all at the same time. *John* of *Bohemia* hearing this, left his son *Charles* as his vicar in *Italy*, and returning with amazing expedition to *Germany*, he beat all his enemies there, but without publicly declaring against the emperor. Receiving intelligence that the *Guelphs* and *Gibelins* were united against his son, he repassed the *Alps*, but found the young prince victorious. About the year 1332 the pope finding that the *Bohemian* was irresolute, and afraid or ashamed to own the connections they had entered into together, tampered with *Otho* of *Austria* so effectually, that that prince not only abandoned the emperor, but acknowledged himself and his dominions to be subject to the see of *Rome*. The emperor, at this time, seems to have had very little power in *Italy*, but what respect for his station gave him, and the conveniency which some of the princes had of gaining him on their side in controverted points of succession or interest. *John* of *Bohemia* had the real power, but though ambitious, he knew not how to make use of it. He marched into *Poland* to the assistance of his friends the *Teutonic* knights, and he there took *Cracow* and concluded a peace with the *Poles*. Either through repentance or dissimulation, understanding that *Otho* of *Brunswic* having openly declared himself on the pope's side, and had besieged *Calmar*, he lent the emperor a body of troops, with which he marched against *Otho*. The latter now began to reflect upon the precipitate step he had taken, and that the pope was only using him as the tool of his resentment; he therefore proposed an accommodation with *Lewis*, which was accepted of, and the ratifications exchanged.

This accommodation restored *Germany* to some degree of Success of tranquillity, so far as regarded the operations of her great princes. The common people continued still to be harrassed by the king of *Bohemia*.  
their *mia*.



their petty tyrants, till the cities of *Straßburg*, *Fribourg*, and *Basil*, in imitation of what had been done in other parts of *Germany*, united together to defend the properties of the inhabitants, and to provide for the security of the roads against those public robbers. This state of quiet gave pope *John* vast concern, and being well acquainted with *John of Bohemia's* disposition, he brought him to renew all his engagements with him in an interview they had together at *Avignon*. The *Bohemian* marched into *Italy* with an army against *Robert*, king of *Naples*, who had now declared against the pope, the *Viscontis*, and other *Italian* states who had joined *Robert*; and though the *Bohemian* was supported by a body of *French* troops, he was twice defeated, almost at the gates of *Verona*, and shamefully driven back to *Germany*. The emperor *Lewis* laid hold of that opportunity, finding all the advances he made to the pope ineffectual, to convene a council for his deposition on account of his ambition, wickedness, and heresy; but, in the mean while, the restless pontif died, in the 90th year of his age. He was the prodigy of his time; though his learning and capacity were as mean as his birth, yet he was the terror of *Europe*, and the scourge of its princes. At *Rome* he had never any authority, and he had lost all influence in *Italy* at the time of his death; but by the most flagitious and avowed practice of simony, he left behind him more ready money than all the other princes of *Europe* were possessed of. Such was his vanity, that he added a third crown to the papal tiara, and so great was his ignorance, that he employed his spare hours in writing dissertations upon the philosopher's stone.

1324.

He was succeeded by *Benedict* the XIIth, who renewed all the papal fulminations against the emperor; but the latter had been so much used to such strokes, that he was become callous, and did not feel them. *John of Bohemia*, at this time the greatest prince on the continent of *Europe*, notwithstanding his defeats in *Italy*, had a second son of his own name, who had married *Margaret* the heiress of *Carinthia* and *Tyrole*, and consequently an immense fortune. The lady disliking her husband accused him of impotence, and obtaining a divorce, she married the marquis of *Brandenburg*, the emperor's son. The *Bohemian*, not willing to give up the lady's vast estates, quarrelled with the *Bavarian*, and a war ensued, but at last the former resigned all his right to the lady, and confirmed her marriage with the *Bavarian*.

Obstiracy  
of the bi-  
shop of  
*Straßburg*.

After this, the bishop of *Straßburg*, who on account of the emperor's excommunication had refused to do him homage, gave *Lewis* disturbance, and in fact obliged him to accept an accommodation on his own terms, the prelate being strongly supported by the duke of *Lorrain*, the bishop of *Metz*, with other *German* princes, and accounted to be in his own person one of the best generals in *Germany*. *Lewis*, about this time, made fresh advances to a reconciliation with the papal see; nor was *Benedict* the XIIth at all averse to an agreement; but

## OF THE WORLD.

a new scene now opened in *Germany*. *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup> of *England* laid claim to the crown of *France*, then possessed by *Philip* of *Valois*, and each of those princes thought it of the utmost importance to their affairs to secure a strong interest in *Germany*. The emperor *Lewis* sided with *Edward*, and made such account of his new alliance, that he broke off his negotiation with the pope, who supported the *French* king, in whose territories he still resided, and he brought *Henry*, a prince of the house of *Bavaria*, to declare against *Lewis*, who still stood excommunicated. The kings of *Bohemia* and *Navarre*, the duke of *Lorrain* and the count of *Savoy*, and at last the king of *Bohemia*, who was in hopes that the *Imperial* crown would thereby devolve upon his son *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, embraced the same interests, and brought the kings of *Hungary* and *Poland* to join him. The *Bohemian*, by the assistance of those confederates, invaded *Bavaria*, but was defeated by the emperor, who had declared *Edward* of *England* his vicar in the empire; an office to which he added many ample, and some sovereign, powers.

*Lewis*, more and more encouraged by *Edward*'s friendship, Diet of assembled a diet at *Spire*, consisting of all the electors, excepting the king of *Bohemia*, and made his last application to the pope to have his excommunication taken off. *Benedict* would willingly have complied, had it not been for the *French* king, in whose power he declared himself to be. The diet was adjourned to *Franckfort*, and the pope still refusing them satisfaction, they established an irrevocable law, declaring that the person chosen king of the *Romans* by the majority of the electors, was entirely independent of the pope, and that the consent, confirmation, or approbation of his holiness, were not in the least necessary to enable him to execute the laws of the empire, or to exercise the office of emperor. This spirited proceeding encouraged *Lewis* to annul, by his own authority, all that had been done against him by the holy see, especially as the diet had declared every man to be guilty of high treason, who should affirm that the pope had a right to depose the emperor. This famous constitution was enacted at *Franckfort* on the 8th of *August*, 1338, and carried into execution with so much vigour by *Lewis*, that even the bishop of *Strasbourg* did him homage, notwithstanding his excommunication. This prelate had soon after an opportunity of manifesting his humanity. The common people of *Germany*, headed by an inn-keeper, one *Armleder*, an enthusiast, pretending to revenge the death of our Saviour, massacred the *Jews* with such inhumanity, that to avoid falling into the hands of such monsters, they butchered their wives, their children, and themselves, and buried their riches, in which their chief crimes consisted. This prelate opened an asylum for the survivors in his dominions, and the enthusiastic ringleader, who pretended likewise to be a prophet, was publicly executed.

The

*Edward*  
king of  
*England*  
vicar of  
the em-  
pire.

The vicariate which the emperor had bestowed upon *Edward* of *England*, had enabled that prince to engage in his interest fifty *German* princes, whose territories lay the most contiguous to those of *France*. The emperor repented of his having given *Edward* the vicariate, and recalled it, that he might employ the troops that followed *Edward* in a fresh expedition into *Italy*. The *Germans*, upon this, abandoned the *English* monarch, and the *French* king interceded in favour of *Lewis* with the pope, who would have taken off his excommunication had it not been for the new expedition that *Lewis* was meditating into *Italy*. *John*, king of *Bohemia*, who made so great a figure in the affairs of *Germany* and *Italy*, was now old, and had lost his eye-sight, but not his turbulent disposition. He made his will, and gave his son *Charles*, *Bohemia* and *Silesia*; he bequeathed *Moravia* to *John*; and *Luxembourg*, with his *French* estates, to his son *Wenceslaus*, whom he had by one of his wives, who was a princess of the house of *Bourbon*. The emperor, about this time, began to be more respected than formerly, and had so much authority that he decided the differences that had arisen concerning the crown of *Denmark*, and placed *Waldemar*, who was the true heir, and who had been educated at his court, upon that throne. The public tranquillity of *Germany* being in some measure thus re-established, *Lewis* shewed himself worthy the high rank he held, by his reforming the manners of the *Germans* by his wholesome institutions; by his punishing fraud and violence; but above all by his humanizing (if we may so call it) the princes of his empire, and rendering his own court the seat of splendor, urbanity, and politeness.

*Lewis* a-  
gain ex-  
communi-  
cated by  
the pope.

He was the more enabled to do this, as necessity and the circumstances of his affairs had disabled him from prosecuting his schemes in *Italy*, where his party was now ruined. Pope *Clement* the VIth having succeeded *Benedict*, renewed all the fulminations of his two predecessors against *Lewis*, who, notwithstanding, made advances to him for a reconciliation. He could obtain none, unless the constitution of *Franckfort* was revoked, and the empire declared to be in the gift of the pontif, was made a preliminary. Many other mortifying terms were added, which being laid before the princes of the empire, they stigmatized the whole; and the pope, aided by the king of *France*, after publishing one of the most diabolical bulls against *Lewis* that pride and enthusiasm could inspire, had influence enough to procure an assembly of the *German* princes in his interest, who chose *Charles* of *Luxembourg* king of the *Romans*, and he was crowned at *Bonn*, the city of *Cologne* refusing to receive him. This revolution served only to attach the other *German* princes the more firmly to *Lewis*, especially as it was known, that *Charles* had purchased his new dignity by the most shameful concessions to the pope, and that the votes of the princes which he obtained, had been bought by exorbitant sums of money. Every day en-  
deared



deared *Lewis* more and more to his people, and *Charles* of *Luxembourg* was every where defeated by his troops.

*Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, had by this time conquered *Naples*, to revenge the death of his brother *Andrew*, who, he pretended, had been assassinated by his wife *Jane*; and the *Romans*, under one *Rienzi*, a notary public, had again resumed their ancient republican form of government. Those events prevented the pope from supporting the house of *Luxembourg* in *Germany*; but while faction lay thus expiring at the feet of *Lewis*, he died on the 11th of *October*, 1347. The manner of his death is variously reported. The common opinion is, that having received poison from the widow of *Albert* of *Austria*, it operated while he was hunting, a diversion to which he was excessively addicted, and that he fell dead from his horse. Others say, what is more probable, that he died of a fit of the apoplexy, just after he had received advice of his son *Lewis*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, having defeated his competitor *Charles*, the new king of the *Romans*, near *Tirol*.

The name of *Lewis's* first wife is not known, perhaps, because she died without issue. His second wife was *Beatrice*, daughter of *Henry*, duke of *Glogaw*; by whom he had *Lewis*, marquis of *Brandenburg*; *Stephen*, who was deformed; *Beatrice*, married to *Charles* king of *Hungary*; *Anne*, wife of *Musline Lescalle*, lord of *Verona*; and *Mathilda*, who espoused *Frederic* the severe, marquis of *Misnia*. The emperor's third wife was *Margaret*, daughter of *William* the IIIrd, count of *Holland*, by whom he had *William*, *Albert*, *Otho*, and *Lewis*; *Elizabeth*, first married to *John*, duke of *Low Bavaria*, and afterwards to *Ulric*, count of *Wirtemberg*; *Agnes*, a nun; and *Anne*, wife of *Gunther de Schwartzburg*, who disputed the empire with *Charles* the IVth, king of *Bohemia*.

The history of this prince's life proves that he was more fitted for peaceable than turbulent times. He shewed great weakness in carrying his resentment so far as he did against the pope while he was in *Italy*, and his poverty exposed him at once to the derision and resentment of that people. He appears not to have been so solicitous as many of his predecessors were about aggrandizing his own patrimony; nor did he, like them, live upon the inhabitants of the *Imperial* cities, from one to the other of which they were perpetually moving. He lived mostly in *Bavaria*, and his chief amusements were hunting, love, and the splendor of a court. He was by nature and education well qualified for the exercise of arms, but in his natural composition he had so much passion and levity, and so great a propensity to pleasure of every kind, that he was but ill qualified to be an emperor of *Germany*, especially a poor one. The ecclesiastics of those days, however, revered him for his piety, and thought that the meanest utensil about him, that he used to handle, was hallowed. He reigned 33 years.

## C H A P. XXXIII.

C H A R L E S *the fourth.*

Accession  
of Charles  
to the Im-  
perial  
throne.

**T**HIS prince received his education at the court of *Charles the fair*, of *France*, who changed his name from *Wenceslaus* to *Charles*, at the ceremony of his baptismal confirmation. Before he was of age he distinguished himself as his father's lieutenant in *Italy*; but upon his victorious return from that country to *Germany*, his father gave him the marquisate of *Moravia*, being jealous, as was thought, of his acting longer in a military capacity, and willing that he should be employed in civil concerns of his own. His father, however, found it necessary to employ him, which he did with great success in reducing the feudatories to the crown of *Bohemia*, in his wars with the *Austrians*, the *Lithuanians*, and the *Venetians*. Upon the death of his father, who was killed at the battle of *Cressy*, he was, with the unanimous consent of the *Bohemians*, raised to their throne, and we have already seen by what means he was chosen king of the *Romans*. He had been very solicitous in repairing the checks he met with after he was raised to that dignity, and was marching against *Bavaria* at the head of an army, when he heard of the emperor's death. On this occasion it is said that he returned thanks to God for having prevented him from spilling Christian blood, by taking vengeance of his enemies.

His diffi-  
culties.

He then made a circuit through the *Imperial* cities of the *Rhine*, and is said to have been received as emperor by 26 of them. He was, however, obliged to put up with many insults in some cities, where he had formerly lived, even to his being arrested at *Worms* by a butcher for a debt. The magistrates of *Nurembourg* received him, but the citizens expelled him. Notwithstanding this, he was in general acknowledged as emperor by the inhabitants of those cities, and he acted as such without any farther recognition. But this was far from giving him a right to the empire, and he retired to *Bohemia* to see what turn affairs would take. The great princes of the empire were far from being disposed in his favour. The archbishop of *Mentz*, the count *Palatine*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxony*, met at *Loenstein* (some say at *Cologne*) where they chose for emperor *Edward*, king of *England*, then by far the most powerful and renowned prince in *Europe*; and they sent two counts and two civilians to notify to him that he had been unanimously elected. This extravagant proposal was not at all disrelished at first by *Edward*, because it flattered his ambition. He was then in the career of his victories in *France*, and to have united three powerful empires in his person, *England*, *France*, and *Germany*, opened his way to universal dominion. He sent the earl

The em-  
pire offer-  
ed to Ed-  
ward of  
*England*,

earl of *Northampton* to examine into the state of *Germany*, while the ambassadors remained at *London*. In the mean while, his wife *Philippa* remonstrated to him the folly and madness of his accepting the empire, as it must embroil him with the pope, lose him all the advantages he had gained in *France*, expose him to perpetual contests with the *Bohemian* party, and, perhaps, even shake the allegiance of his *English* subjects. The return and report of the earl of *Northampton* determined him, and he declined the offer, but with the most polite expressions of gratitude towards the electors.

*Edward's* refusal being notified in *Germany*, the same electors proceeded to a new nomination, and their choice fell upon *Frederic*, marquis of *Misnia*, or, as he is called, landgrave of *Thuringia*; (the many titles under which one prince then went in *Germany*, occasions an inexpressible confusion in its history) but *Frederic* refused the dignity, on account of his bodily infirmities: some say that *Charles* bought him off for 10,000 marks of silver. It is not likely that a prince, who had but a few days before been arrested for a butcher's bill, could raise that money; but those facts, if true, convey strange ideas of the wealth of *German* princes in those days. *Bohemia* and its dependencies, formed a great and flourishing kingdom: can that happen without the assistance of money? or, did all the current specie of *Germany* at that time centre in the associated trading cities? while her princes, who were above practising commerce, were contented to receive their incomes in military services, cattle, and the fruits of the earth, and had just as much ready money as provided them with arms, splendid furniture, and apparel. *Frederic* giving thus up his claim, the electors chose *Gunther*, count of *Schwartzenberg*, a *Thuringian* nobleman, merely on account of his virtue and valour, and he accepted the offer. The city of *Franckfort* refused to receive him, because he had not been unanimously elected, and because he had not remained six weeks before the city. *Gunther*, and the electors, raised an army, and after a siege of two months, compelled the citizens to receive him. *Gunther* is said to have been poisoned by *Fredank* his physician, whom he forced to swallow some of the potion before he tasted it. *Fredank* died in three days, but *Gunther* lived for some weeks by the help of emetics. This story is big with improbabilities. Excessive drinking, the *German* vice, often kills as sure as poison; and the time of *Gunther's* short reign, was, no doubt, a season of festivity.

Be that as it will, it is certain that he laboured under infirmities which disqualified him for government; and that upon *Charles's* promising him 22,000 marks of silver, he resigned to him his pretensions, and at his death, *Charles* paid his debt by giving him an honourable interment. The truth is, the *German* princes of those days were venal to the last degree, and were bought off, one by one, from *Gunther*, by the concessions *Charles* made them. *Charles*, being recognized as emperor,



peror, gave the investiture of *Brandenburgh* to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. He disenfranchised *Frankfort* for having received *Gunther*, and like a true needy *German* prince, obliged the inhabitants to repurchase their privileges with 20,000 marks of silver. At the coronation of himself and his empress at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he gave the *Imperial* sceptre to be carried by the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, in preference to the marquis of *Ju-liers*, who had been one of the ambassadors who offered the empire to *Edward* of *England*.

**Persecution of the Jews.** A dreadful plague at that time desolating all the empire and other parts of *Christendom*, the people attributed the calamity to the *Jews*, who, they said, had poisoned the fountains. They were encouraged in this ridiculous belief by their bishops and princes, who owed vast sums to that miserable race, and paid them by the people putting them to death in all the various shapes that inhumanity could invent. A butcher headed the insurrection at *Straßbourg*, erected himself into the supreme and only magistrate, and burnt 2000 *Jews* alive, issuing an edict that none of the *Hebrew* race should be admitted for a hundred years to come into that city; but in the mean time, he and his followers plundered all their effects. The number of *Jews* who perished on this occasion are said to have exceeded 10,000. The persecution only ended when the persecutors had no more objects that could gratify their avarice; but the emperor promised that the debts owing to the *Jews* never should be reclaimed. He himself was at this time in a beggarly situation, through the lavish promises he had made to those who assisted him to mount the *Imperial* throne. The money that had been paid in by the *Jews* for protecting their miserable remains, was soon exhausted, and he laid a tax upon water carriage, which *Straßbourg* and the other free towns refusing to pay, he was obliged to give it up to prevent an universal insurrection. He was more successful in raising money by selling and mortgaging the domains of the empire to all who could purchase them, and the towns of *Alsace* having bought the privilege of being unalienably united with the *Imperial* domain, he established a grand bailiwick in that province, and mortgaged the office to the count palatine of the *Rhine* for 50,000 florins.

**The sect of Flagellants.**

About this time, a set of enthusiasts, who, from disciplining their own bodies, were called *Flagellants*, broke out, or rather revived, in *Germany*. They abjured the company of women, and their numbers growing to some thousands, they traversed the empire, scourging themselves and practising a thousand austerities wherever they came. At last they became so numerous and so formidable, that the cities and princes of *Germany* united against receiving them into their territories, and they dwindled to nothing. We have already mentioned how *Volmar*, elector and marquis of *Brandenburgh*, went to the *Holy Land*, where he actually died, and how his dominions were given to *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. An impostor, called *Mul-ler*

ler *Meincken*, who had been groom to the marquis, now started up; and having the advantage of a resemblance in person, and perfectly imitating all his peculiarities, he pretended to be the real *Volmar* returned from the *Holy Land*. He was befriended by the dukes of *Saxony* and *Mecklenburgh*, the prince of *Anhalt*, and all the enemies of the house of *Bavaria*, who agreed to oblige *Lewis* to restore him his electorate. *Lewis* was supported by his brother-in-law the king of *Denmark*, who equipped a fleet, and ravaged the estates of *Mecklenburgh*, and all the northern provinces of *Germany* were for some time in a terrible combustion, which ceased through the mediation of the king of *Sweden*, and the impostor disappeared. Even the emperor himself issued a decree in favour of the groom, but he afterwards disavowed it in a diet held at *Spreenberg*.

*Charles* held his court in his capital of *Bohemia*, of which *Charles* kingdom he was the legislator, having founded its famous sides in university, and given orders for the learned men of his dominions to compile a body of laws for their government. *The Bohemia.* The empress dowager, who, as we have already mentioned, was the heiress of *Holland*, *Hainault*, and other countries, was then at war with her son *William*, who claimed her inheritance, and whom she defeated by means of the auxiliaries she received from the emperor. She was, however, defeated in her turn, and obliged to take refuge in *England*, and *Edward* obliged her son to put her in possession of *Hainault*, while he kept *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*. It is inconceivable, notwithstanding the many disgraces and losses which the emperors of *Germany* had sustained in *Italy*, and the repeated proofs they received that the *Italians* were constant in no principle but that of interest, that *Charles* should dream, at this time, of reviving the *Imperial* claims in that country; but he was encouraged to this by the state of it in 1351. *Italy* 1351. was then torn in pieces by numbers of petty tyrants, all of them pretending to be independent, both of the emperor and the pope. Of those, *John Visconti*, archbishop of *Milan*, was the most formidable. He had seized the city of *Bologna*, and disregarded all the excommunications thundered out against himself and his family on that account. *Charles* informed the pope that he was ready to march with an army into *Italy* to chastize *Visconti's* rebellion; but this effected a reconciliation between *Visconti* and his holiness, who dreaded such a visit. Notwithstanding this, *Charles* continued his preparations, which for some time were delayed by the troubles which broke out between the duke of *Austria* and the inhabitants of *Zurich*, who had made the count of *Hapsburg* a prisoner, expelled their magistrates, and entered into the *Helvetic* confederacy. Matters were at last compromised, but the differences soon breaking out again, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, applied to the emperor, who sought in vain to persuade the people of *Zurich* to submit again to the *Austrians*. *Charles*,  
D 2 after

after taking a progress through *Alsace*, where he established many excellent regulations, raised an army, and marched against the confederate *Swisses*, who were now strengthened by the accession of the canton of *Lucerne*, and were prepared to fight him, when a dispute happening between the duke of *Austria* and the bishop of *Constance*, just as the armies were about to join, obliged *Charles* to retreat, and to leave those brave republicans in possession of their rocks and their liberties.

1354.

*Innocent* the VIth was then upon the papal throne, and appeared to be in a very good understanding with *Charles*, whose cares were now wholly employed in restoring the tranquillity of *Germany*, so as that it might not be broken into during his absence in *Italy*. For this purpose, he made up all the differences in the interior parts of the empire. He gave the *Lusatians* the same privileges with the *Bohemians*; he confirmed the old privileges of the church of *Treves*; he renewed his alliance with the house of *Bavaria*; and *Lewis* of *Brandenburgh* at last delivered up to him the *Imperial* regalia. He next appointed his father-in-law, the count *Palatine*, vicar of the empire; and upon *Epiphany* day, 1355, he was crowned king of *Lombardy* at *Milan*, and on *Easter* day he and his empress received the *Imperial* crowns at *Rome*. Even at that time, the *Roman* citizens would willingly have submitted to the emperor rather than the pope; but *Charles* had not courage enough to break with his holiness, and he confirmed *Innocent* in all his arrogant claims. This rendered him so contemptible in the sight of the *Italians*, that they not only insulted his person, but massacred his attendants, especially after it was publicly known that he had renounced to the pope all jurisdiction in *Rome*. Not contented with this, though he was affronted by every petty state and city through which he passed, whether the inhabitants were *Guelphs* or *Gibelins*, yet he lent a body of troops to the pope to reduce his own party, whom he accused of contumacy to the holy see.

1355.

*Charles*  
crowned  
king of  
*Lombardy*

Falls into  
contempt.

1356.

The famous diet  
of *Nuremberg*.

When *Charles* returned to *Germany*, he found the northern parts of it involved in war, which his presence, in some measure, quieted; but he was now called upon to a far more arduous task. The right of electing an emperor was yet undetermined, and it was necessary to fix it. This brings on one of the most important periods in the *German* history. In the year 1356, *Charles* convoked a diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*, in which all the branches of the *Bavarian* family were excluded from the right of electing an emperor, excepting the count *Palatine*. This arrangement meeting with less opposition than could have been reasonably expected, the princes of the diet proceeded to farther regulations, and by degrees the golden bull, which is the fundamental law of the empire, was formed for settling the right and number of the electors, their functions and privileges, and whatever belongs to the due government of the empire. This famous edict is composed of thirty



thirty articles, twenty-three of which were then published at *Nuremberg* in presence of the emperor sitting on his throne, and cloathed in his regalia, and seven more were added at *Metz*, with equal formality. Not to leave the smallest ground to dispute this fundamental constitution of the empire, (for so it was) the emperor prepared a festival, in which the electors were to officiate in the several capacities which gave them a right to chuse an emperor. The three ecclesiastical electors of *Metz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, appeared on horseback as chancellors of the empire, each with a letter in his right hand and a seal depending from his neck. *Wenceslaus*, duke of *Saxony*, carried in his right hand a silver peck, full of oats, and as archmarshal of the empire regulated the places and precedencies of the other electors. The marquis of *Brandenburg* presented the emperor and empress with water in a ewer and bason of gold. The count *Palatine* served up the victuals in plates of the same metal; and the king of *Bohemia* as chief butler presented wine in a golden cup to his *Imperial* majesty. During this ceremony, which was performed in the market place of *Metz*, the emperor's table was three feet higher than that of the empress, and her's was three feet higher than those of the electors. The marquis of *Misnia* and the count of *Schwartzenburg* officiated as great huntsmen of the empire, and killed a bear and a stag in the emperor's presence.

As to the golden bull itself, it is so called from a little golden box containing the seal of it; and ever since the time we treat of, it has been esteemed as sacred in the *Imperial* constitutions. It was composed by *Bartolus* the civilian, and is preceded, as well as concluded, by verses, which mark the pedantry of the age. Seven mortal sins, seven gifts of the Holy Ghost, and the seven branches of the mystical candlestick are typical of the seven electors. The chief principle of this institution consists in the indivisibility of the right of electing, which is rendered hereditary in the person of the eldest son in the male line. In the 7th article, the emperor acquires a right to the vacancies of electoral principalities, by which we are to understand, that when an electoral principality becomes extinct or forfeited, the emperor may fill it up as he pleases. By the original bull, no appeal was admitted to the *Imperial* chamber from the king of *Bohemia*, but this prerogative has been extended to other electors.

The golden bull, which, since its first institution, has proved so salutary to the empire, did not give at first universal satisfaction. The house of *Austria*, and the younger branches of that of *Bavaria* thought themselves injured by it, and confederated to annul it; but the emperor was so well supported in maintaining it, that he forced them to renounce their alliance. Some of the cities likewise (particularly that of *Strasbourg*) complained of their privileges being abridged, as the golden bull debarred them from giving the freedom of their city to aliens. Scarcely was this great institution confirmed,

An account of the golden bull.

War with Austria.

when *Germany* was overrun by robbers. This æra is less attended to in history than it ought to be. It produced great events in *Europe*, though few in the countries where it took its rise, from the following occasion. The war between *Edward* the III<sup>d</sup> of *England*, and the *French* king, had employed most of the troops in *Europe*, and when peace succeeded, the only resource of the disbanded soldiers was rapine. They formed under several heads, and being, by the emperor, driven out of *Germany*, they marched to *Italy*, where their presence and valour, as we shall have occasion to observe, created vast revolutions. The empire getting rid of those pests, *Charles* applied himself to accumulate riches, and to enlarge the boundaries of his hereditary dominions. For that purpose he incorporated the provinces of *Silesia* and *Lusatia*, with his kingdom of *Bohemia*. This produced a war between him and the duke of *Austria*, whose generals and servants are said to have betrayed him, and who was superior to *Charles* in the field. When the traitors came to demand their reward from the emperor, he drove them from his presence, and threatened to give them up to their master. Stretching his *Imperial* power to the utmost, he sold new privileges to some cities, and increased those of others. In short, he had not a prerogative that was not venal, and from which he did not raise money.

Avarice  
and ambi-  
tion of  
*Charles*.

His good  
qualities.

1359.

Notwithstanding those failings, *Charles* had many excellent virtues. He was the patron of literature, being himself a man of learning. His administration of justice was exemplary, and he repressed the ridiculous pride and ostentation of the clergy. Instead of ruining himself by hunting after the *Imperial* dominions in *Italy*, he sold them to the best bidders, without endeavouring to recover them from the *Venetians*, who had laid hold of *Padua*, *Verona* and *Vicenza*. About the year 1359, the *German* universities began to hold up their heads against the pope; and *Charles* demanded of *Clement* the VI<sup>th</sup> that he should forbear to stile the empire a fief of the holy see, or the emperors its vassals. The pope, instead of desisting, instituted new claims, and sent a bishop into *Germany* to demand a tenth of all the ecclesiastical revenues for the use of his holiness, and intimated to the emperor, that the vassalage of the empire to the pope was become a fundamental law of the church. *Charles* did not chuse to embroil himself, and called a diet at *Mentz*, where the members flatly refused to comply with the pope's demands. He durst not, however, carry his differences with *Innocent* the VI<sup>th</sup>, then pope, any farther, and instead of following out his plan for reforming the clergy, he published what is called the *Caroline* bull, by which he retracted all that had been done against them, so far as interfered with the pope's authority over them. *Italy*, on the one hand, and the northern parts of *Germany* on the other, were at this time harrassed by war. The duke of *Sleswic*, and the counts of *Holstein*, supported the *Futlanders* against *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, who was at last obliged to submit. *Waldemar* then fell upon  
the

The north  
of *Ger-  
many* in  
arms.

the commerce of the *Hanse* towns, which the emperor refused to protect. Thus abandoned, they leagued themselves with the king of *Norway*, and the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, and carrying the war to the gates of *Copenhagen*, they obliged the *Danish* monarch to indemnify them for all their losses.

The small revenues arising from the *Imperial* dignity, rendered *Charles* little solicitous about becoming popular in *Germany*. Being passionately fond of his own dominions, he rendered *Bohemia* rich and flourishing by residing there, and spending all his money with his hereditary subjects, whose trade and manufactures he improved. His court was magnificent and luxurious, and the empress being delivered of a son in the year 1361, the rejoicings made on that occasion, exceeded any of the like kind that had been seen in *Germany* for many years. *Charles*, at the same time, still continued to heap up money, by disposing of the *Imperial* privileges and immunities to any man or body of men who could purchase them. The *German* princes remonstrated to him upon his manner of behaving, and put him in mind of his duty; but all the answer he gave them, was, that he was by no means disposed to maintain an emperor of *Germany* upon the revenues of *Bohemia*. His venality in adding *Alsace* to the bishopric of *Strasbourg*, occasioned a war between that prelate and the inhabitants of *Haguenau*; but the difference was accommodated by the interposition of the margrave of *Magdebourg*. *Lewis*, duke of *Bavaria*, dying about this time, he was succeeded by his son, an infant, who dying soon after, his wife *Margaret*, who was the heiress of *Carinthia*, made a cession of her fortune to the duke of *Austria*, in prejudice of *Stephen*, brother to *Lewis*. This produced a war between the two houses; but by the intercession of the pope, they concluded a truce for three years. The emperor continued still to pass his time in pleasure and tranquillity in *Bohemia*, and refused to interfere in the affairs of *Peter de Lusignan*, king of *Cyprus*, who was in great distress, and was earnestly recommended to *Charles* by the pope. To make some amends for this contumacy, he assisted the pope against *Barnabo Visconti* so effectually in *Italy*, that he obliged him to submit to the holy see.

About the year 1364, *Charles* had a short quarrel with *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, on account of some disrespectful words the former had spoken of the latter's mother; but it was moderated by pope *Urban*, who was passionately fond of serving peace among all the princes of *Europe*, that they might the more effectually assist the king of *Cyprus*. *Charles*, at this time, married the duke of *Pomerania*'s daughter at *Cracow*, where the magnificence of their nuptials could only be equalled by the splendor of her reception at *Prague*. He still continued to prosecute schemes for the benefit of learning; and his projects for adorning and aggrandizing his capital, even to the joining the *Danube* to the *Moldau* at *Prague*, were truly stupendous,



1365.

pendous, but impracticable, at least to a prince of his power. A fresh inroad of the freebooters we have already mentioned, called *Malandrin's*, roused *Charles* in 1365 from the indolence he had so long indulged. They were commanded by one *Arnold de Carnolle*, called the high priest, and did incredible mischief in *Lorrain* and *Alsace*. *Charles* marched against them at the head of an army, and drove them into *Burgundy*, where, and in other parts of *Europe*, they continued their ravages, till *Arnold* was assassinated by his followers, who dispersed of themselves. The emperor now listened to the advice of the princes of the empire, because it fell in with his own avarice, by resuming the rights of the empire in *Italy*. Proposing to do this, he formed a project of a confederacy with pope *Urban* the Vth, and actually had a conference with that pontif at *Avignon*. The interview was very cordial; *Charles* was crowned at *Arles*, and a treaty was concluded between him and his holiness, and some of the *Italian* princes, for the recovery of their respective dominions that had been seized upon by usurpers. The pope would gladly have laid hold of that opportunity to have engaged *Charles* in the interest of *Lusignan*, but he excused himself; and the assembly separated without coming to any precise resolution, either on that subject, or that of the banditti. As to the *Italian* treaty, it had no effect till three years after; but all the pope's importunities could not prevail with *Charles* to march an army against the *Visconti*, who still continued to harass the holy see.

He  
marches  
to *Italy*.

1368.

*Charles*, the better to preserve his own tranquillity, endeavoured to maintain that of the empire. The truce between *Austria* and *Bavaria* was now elapsed, and their armies were again in the field; but *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, being sent by *Charles* to both competitors, prevailed with them to renew the truce. Soon after, the house of *Austria* acquired the important city and territory of *Friberg*, by the cession of one of its counts or avoyers, in consideration of 12,000 florins. The house of *Visconti*, in the mean time, made so rapid a progress, that it threatened the conquest of all *Italy*, and the emperor, in the year 1368, at last crossed the *Alps*, at the head of a noble army. He was attended by the duke of *Austria*, who was equally jealous of the *Viscontis*, or the ducal house of *Milan*. They took *Verona* and *Vicenza*, but by the mediation of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*, a treaty was concluded between them and the *Viscontis*, who paid a sum of money to the confederates. This treaty left *Charles* at liberty to raise vast sums from the *Imperial* towns in *Italy*, who had sided with the *Viscontis*, and whom he threatened to deprive of all the privileges granted them by his predecessors, if they did not re-purchase them with money. *Charles* next paid a visit to *Rome*, where he held the pope's stirrup, and led his horse at the ceremony of the coronation of his empress. After this he spent some months in *Tuscany*. In this expedition, he carried with him a train of artillery. The *Germans* boast of being the first who  
invented

invented gunpowder, but nothing can be more certain, than Origin of that it had been known many ages before to the *Chinese*, as gunpow- well as the use of great guns; and it probably was imported der. into *Europe* by some of the *Europeans* who served in the armies of *Jenghiz Khan*.

Upon the return of *Charles* to *Germany*, he held a diet at *Franckfort*, where he passed an ordinance to pacify the dissen- A diet and tions then raging among the princes of the empire. The trou- regulation of the em- bles of *Italy* were now renewed, and the pope applied to the king of *Hungary* for assistance. The emperor was jealous of that prince, and not only refused him permission to pass the *Alps*, but obliged his holiness to conclude an accommodation with the *Visconti*. In 1370, *Charles* received into his protec- 1370. tion *Waldemar*, king of *Denmark*, who had been expelled his dominions by the king of *Sweden* and the counts of *Holstein*; but all that *Charles* did for his restoration, was to give him recommendatory letters to the marquis of *Misnia*, and the duke of *Stetin*. *Waldemar* was equally unfortunate in his application to the new pope, *Gregory* the XIth. He was afterwards restored by the assistance of his hereditary subjects the *Mecklenburghers*. A war about this time broke out between *Wenceslaus*, duke of *Luxembourg* and *Brabant*, and the duke of *Fuliers*, in which the former was defeated and taken prisoner. *Charles* was then indulging his natural passion for pleasure and letters in *Prague*; but on this occasion he raised a formidable army to march against the duke of *Fuliers*. The ecclesiastical electors, and some princes of the empire, had their reasons for not wishing to see *Charles* too formidable in that quarter. They interposed with him, and the duke, after setting *Wenceslaus* and his other prisoners at liberty without ransom, appeared in person, and asked pardon on his knees of the emperor, who raised him up and forgave him. *Charles*, who had great civil talents, finding that the commotions in the empire still continued, called a diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*. He there published an edict, called the regulation of sixty days, which was the term ordered to every *German* prince or nobleman to abstain from hostilities after receiving an injury or insult from any of his neighbours, during which time he was to apply for the legal methods of redress. This edict was attended with excellent effects.

*Charles*, retiring again into *Prague*, gave up all further *Wenceslaus* thoughts of *Italy*, and rather than break in upon his pleasures, chosen he impolitically refused to march with an army into *Hungary*, king of where the *Turks* were making a most formidable progress. the Ro- Though the life of pomp and magnificence which *Charles* mans. led, had cost him immense sums, yet he reserved money sufficient to secure the *Imperial* crown to his family, by paying 100,000 crowns to each of the electors, who chose his son *Wenceslaus*, a boy of no more than 15 years of age, king of the *Romans*; and he was accordingly crowned at *Aix la Chapelle*. This important point being secured, he sold to several princes

1377.

princes of the empire the remaining *Imperial* towns and tolls he was still possessed of, which, among the common people, gave rise to the proverb, *That he had plucked the eagle*. *Charles*, upon his return to *Prague*, received a letter from the pope, desiring him to mediate a peace between *France* and *England*, in 1377. He pretended to have this matter so much at heart, and to be so fond of seeing *Charles* the Vth of *France*, that he set out for *Paris*, attended by his son the king of the *Romans*. Some assign a more ridiculous motive for this journey, which was the performance of a vow he had made to St. *Maur*, in the neighbourhood of *Paris*, that he might be cured of his gout. Others, with more probability, say, that his true reason was to treat with the *French* king concerning the disposal of the vicariate of the empire in the old kingdom of *Arles*, which he confirmed to the dauphin. After he entered the confines of *France*, he was most magnificently entertained by order of the *French* monarch, till his arrival at *Paris*, which he entered on horseback at the right hand of that king. During his residence in *France*, a private gentleman, one *Erguerent de Couci*, a descendent of the house of *Austria* by the female side, obtained leave of him, to reclaim by arms the inheritance of his mother, who was grand daughter to the emperor *Albert*.

Death,

1378.

issue,

*De Couci*, notwithstanding the romantic air of his attempt to wage war with the most powerful prince in *Germany*, found friends and followers who embarked in this scheme; and the king of *France* furnishing him with some companies, he ravaged the *Austrian* estates in *Switzerland* and *Alsace*; but his army advancing too far in the mountains of *Switzerland*, it perished with cold, in such numbers, that he was obliged to abandon his enterprize. *Charles*, in leaving *France*, paid a visit to *Wenceslaus* duke of *Luxembourg*, who having no children, left all his estates to the house of *Bohemia*. *Charles* then returning to *Prague*, died on the 20th of *November*, 1378, having lived sixty-four, and reigned thirty-one years. He was first married to *Blanche*, daughter to *Charles*, count of *Valois*, and then to *Agnes*, daughter of *Rodolph*, count *Palatine*. His third wife was *Anne*, daughter of *Bogislaus*, duke of *Swenitz*, and by that marriage he obtained that duchy, with the county of *Javarin*. His issue, by that marriage, was *Catherine*, who was married to the duke of *Austria*, and *Wenceslaus*, who succeeded him in the empire. He was a fourth time married to *Elizabeth*, daughter to the *Pomeranian* duke whom we have mentioned. His issue by her was *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, afterwards emperor; and *John*, duke of *Gorlitz*. His daughters were *Margaret*, wife of *Lewis*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*; *Elizabeth*, married to *John Galeazzo*, duke of *Milan*; *Anne*, married to *Otho*, duke of *Bavaria* and margrave of *Brandenburgh*; *Margaret*, married to *John* the II<sup>d</sup>, burgrave of *Nuremberg*; *Elizabeth*, wife of *Albert*, duke of *Austria*; *Margaret*, wife of *Amadeus*, count of *Savoy*; *Agnes*, married



to *William* the ambitious, duke of *Austria*; and *Helena*, queen of *Henry* the IVth of *England*.

The character which historians have given of this emperor and character is less favourable than what he seems to have deserved. His greatest failing was an attachment to the interests of his own family, and the kingdom of *Bohemia*, both which he aggrandized at the expence of the empire; but on the other hand *Germany* was indebted to him, besides the golden bull, for many excellent laws and edicts, of which she reaps the benefit at this day. In many cases he consulted the good of the empire along with his own profit; for some of the great offices, which he sold for money, were fixed in families, so as to prevent intrigues and disputes about the disposal of them, which had often disturbed the tranquillity of the empire, not on account of any revenue they brought in, but of the great privileges annexed to the exercise of them. His love for letters, and his encouragement of them, especially in his university of *Prague*, has been already mentioned. The frequent charges brought against him for neglecting the affairs of *Italy*, receive great alleviations from the consideration of the misfortunes that attended the emperors who had minded them too much. It is allowed on all hands, that he was humane, merciful, polite, and magnificent; and though he is accused of being too indolent, yet we find him upon several great occasions exerting himself in person with vast vigour and success.

## C H A P. XXXIV.

### W E N C E S L A U S.

WHEN this prince came to the empire, the great schism of the west, as it is called, was begun. One *Prignano*, a *Neapolitan*, had been chosen pope by the *Italian* cardinals, and took the name of *Urban* the VIth. The haughtiness and fierceness of his manners disoblged the other cardinals so much, that they left *Rome*, declared that *Prignano* was chosen while they were under force, and elected *Robert*, the son of *Amadeus* the IIIrd, count of *Geneva*, who took the name of *Clement* the VIIth, and he established the seat of his pontificate at *Avignon*. This schism threw all *Europe* in a flame. The emperor, with the kings of *Portugal*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, *England*, *Bohemia*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, with the states of *Italy* and *Flanders*, stuck by *Urban*. *France*, *Spain*, *Scotland*, *Savoy*, and *Joan* queen of *Naples*, declared for *Clement*; and the dispute between those two worthless competitors and their abettors was attended, for above thirty years, with the effusion of the best blood of *Christendom*.

*Wenceslaus* was but seventeen years of age when he mounted the Imperial throne. His father had given him *Bohemia* besides, *Wenceslaus*.

sides, as he did *Brandenburgh* to *Sigismund*, and *Lusatia*, with the two *Silesias*, to his third son *John*. *Wenceslaus*, upon his accession, declared himself for *Urban* the VIth, in a diet which he held at *Franckfort*; and the plague raging in *Bohemia*, he lived for some time at *Aix la Chapelle*, where he gave most inauspicious proofs of his future reign and worthless disposition. Fresh swarms of freebooters now invaded the empire, and *Wenceslaus*, instead of chastizing them, consumed the great treasures left him by his father in profligacy and debauchery. He imitated, and exceeded, his father, in his rapacious methods of raising money, and gave blank patents, signed and sealed, to those who could purchase them, and they were at liberty to fill up the vacancies left in them with whatever names they pleased. The consequence was, that all *Italy* instantly became a scene of rapine, tumult, and confusion, and in every quarter the powerful oppressed the weak. The plague abating in *Bohemia*, the emperor repaired to *Prague*, where he received a deputation from his electors, desiring that he would reside in other parts of the empire. His answer was, that if they had any business with him, they must come to *Bohemia*. Upon receiving this answer, the great princes of the empire confederated together to maintain the public tranquillity, which they in some measure effected. *Leopold* of *Austria* was at this time engaged in a war with the *Swiss*, and the confederate towns who had withdrawn themselves from his allegiance. But he was defeated, and lost his life in the quarrel. This encouraged other towns to join in the confederacy, and *Germany* was soon filled with wars, between the inhabitants of confederated cities and the subjects of great princes. In the mean while, *Wenceslaus* was rendering himself at once ridiculous and detestable. Among the other cruelties he practised, he ordered his wife's confessor to be drowned, because he would not reveal her confession.

His imprudence.

Troubles of *Bohemia*.

The emperor's brother, *Sigismund*, was then signalizing himself in *Hungary*, and upon the death of *Charles Durazzo*, he mounted that throne. His success did not appease the troubles of *Bohemia*, where *Wenceslaus* engaged a body of the freebooters, whom we have so often mentioned, to protect him from the resentment of his subjects, who were in arms against him. A persecution of the *Jews*, which happened at almost every period of confusion in *Germany*, then took place. They were burnt at *Prague*, butchered at *Spire*, and plundered all over the empire; but, at last, they found an asylum in the territories of the duke of *Lithuania*, who was in love with a young woman of their nation. Several towns in *Germany*, at the same time, took arms against the princes whom the late emperor had placed over them, on pretence that he had no right to dispose of their privileges and properties. The *Straßbourghers* waged war against the count *Palatine*, and were put to the ban of the empire, but purchased their peace with

with a present of 30,000 florins paid to the emperor. *Bavaria* was, by a family compact, divided among three of its dukes, *John*, *Stephen* and *Frederic*; and *Wenceslaus* proceeding from tyranny to a kind of frenzy, ordered the common executioner to cut off the heads of the magistrates of *Prague*, without process or trial. This madness is said to have been occasioned by poison, which affected his brain, without destroying his life; and it proceeded so far, that he made the executioner his intimate companion. In one of his computations with this man, he was curious to know the state of the human mind immediately before death; and to make the experiment in his own person, he blind-folded himself, and falling upon his knees, stretched forth his neck to have his head cut off by the hand of his friend. The executioner struck him with the flat of his sword, and the emperor ordering him to be blinded in his turn, struck off his head with the same sword. At another time, he is said to have ordered his cook to be roasted alive. All these, and other frantic acts, this emperor was guilty of, may, without recourse to poison, be attributed to the effects of drunkenness, to which it is universally allowed he was immoderately addicted.

His brother *Sigismund*, king of *Hungary*, as well as his subjects of *Bohemia*, considering him as a mad-man, confined him. Obtaining leave to bathe himself, attended by a female keeper, both of them, being naked, they got hold of a boat, into which they threw themselves, and reached a fortress, where they were received. His subjects mistook some lucid intervals, which he discovered after this adventure, for the cure of his mind, and suffered him to remount the throne; but his extravagancies returning, the *Bohemians* invited *Sigismund* into their country with an army, and declared him regent of the kingdom. *Wenceslaus* was once more shut up in prison, but his presence in *Bohemia* stirring up daily disturbances, the custody of his person was committed to *Albert*, duke of *Austria*, who confined him in one of the towers of *Vienna*. Observing, from the window of his prison, that a fisherman, one *Grundler*, daily visited the other prisoners, he found means to engage him in his interest. *Grundler* furnished him with a silken cord, by which he descended from the window of his prison, and escaping across the *Danube*, he reached *Prague*, and by the assistance of a powerful faction of the nobility, he resumed the government, professing great abhorrence of his past misdeeds. About the year 1397, upon the death of *Clement* the VIIth, his party chose *Benedict* the XIIIth into the papacy, in opposition to *Boniface*, who was then pope at *Rome*. A diet was held at *Franckfort*, where the princes of the empire, being seconded by the deputies of the *French* king, agreed to send commissioners to both popes, to persuade them to abdicate the papacy, and to wait the result of a regular election; but this proposal was evaded by *Boniface*. A messenger was then sent from *Wenceslaus*, and the *French* king,

Frenzy of  
*Wences-*  
*laus*,

but es-  
capes.

1397



king, who had conferred together at *Rheims*, to *Boniface*, repeating the proposal, and he agreed to it, provided his competitor should consent to abdicate the papacy likewise; but *Benedict* rejected the terms, upon which the *French* besieged him in *Avignon*, where he was made prisoner, and kept in confinement five years.

Affairs of  
the north.

*Wenceslaus* seems, about this time, to have recovered some degree of sanity. He ennobled and enriched his deliverer, *Grundler*, and his family, and was chosen umpire to terminate the war that had been for some time carried on between the knights of the *Teutonic* order, and *Margaret* queen of *Denmark*, *Sweden* and *Norway*, commonly called the *Semiramis* of the north. Their dispute was concerning the island of *Gothland*, which *Wenceslaus* awarded to be delivered up to the queen upon her indemnifying the knights with a sum of money. About this time *Wenceslaus* married *Sophia*, daughter of *Stephen*, duke of *Bavaria*; but becoming, if possible, more extravagant than ever, he renewed his practices of extortion, and sold to *Galeazzo*, of *Milan*, the direct sovereignty of that noble country, with the title of duke, without consent of the princes of the empire; who resented this proceeding so much, that in two several diets, held by their own authority at *Franckfort* and *Mentz*, where they summoned *Wenceslaus* to preside, they resolved, all other expedients failing, to force him to abdicate the empire, and to chuse a new emperor. The leaders in this diet were, the archbishops of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Treves*, the count palatine of the *Rhine*, and the duke of *Saxony*. They proceeded with great regularity in deposing the emperor, and the sentence of his deposition, besides the malversations we have already mentioned, charged him with having sold *Genoa*, and its territory, to the *French*, and with murdering a number of prelates, priests, and persons of distinction; with having made a league in favour of the *Tartars* against the *Teutonic* order; and with having destroyed the university of *Prague*, which had been founded by his father.

Marriage  
of *Wen-*  
*ceslaus*,

who is  
deposed.

The duke  
of *Brun-*  
*swic* cho-  
sen in his  
room, is  
murdered.

The princes then proceeded to the choice of a new emperor, and it fell upon *Frederic*, duke of *Brunswic* and *Lunenburg*; but he was murdered by the count of *Waldec*, as he went to receive the *Imperial* crown. Upon this they chose *Robert*, count *Palatine*, in his place. *Wenceslaus*, before this, had done all he could to allay the storm that threatened him. He had yielded to the house of *Bavaria* all their claims upon the higher *Palatinate*, and the towns which his father had seized; but he was now so much hated and despised, that all *Germany* confederated against him, and approved of his deposition; the act which bears date the 20th of *August*, in the morning, 1399. *Wenceslaus*, on receiving the news of his deposition, behaved with an insensibility, which in another prince would have been termed philosophy. *We are glad*, said he, *to be eased of the empire,*

1399.

empire, that we may have the more leisure to attend the affairs of our kingdom.

The truth is, there is something extremely mysterious in this deposition, and it is hard to account for the reasons why the princes of the empire bore with him so long as they did, if he was such a monster as he is represented to have been. Perhaps they were willing that he should remain in *Bohemia*, and practise his extravagancies there, that they might be more at liberty to tyrannize over their inferiors in *Germany*. As to his capital crime, that of having sold the dukedom of *Milan*, we find no law of the empire that could restrain him. After his deposition, he reigned nineteen years in *Bohemia* with tolerable moderation; and it is said that he was indulgent to the progress of the reformation preached up by *John Huss*, professor of theology in the university of *Prague*, who was the convert of the *English Wickliff*, the forerunner of the reformation. He was twice married, first to *Jane*, daughter to the duke of *Bavaria*, and next to *Sophia*, daughter to *Stephen*, another duke with the same title. He died without male issue; but, it is said, he had a daughter, *Euphemia*, who was the wife of *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*.

Reflections on the deposition of *Wenceslaus*.

#### C H A P. XXXV.

ROBERT, Count Palatine of the Rhine.

THIS prince is reckoned the 36th emperor of *Germany*, because of the intervention of the duke of *Brunswick*, who had been elected, but not crowned. Though *Robert*, by some called *Rupert*, had been regularly chosen, and consecrated, yet he was obliged to lay the city of *Aix-la-Chapelle* under the ban of the empire, and to appear before it with an army, the dread of which forced the inhabitants to open their gates to receive him. The reason they gave for their opposing him, was, that *Wenceslaus*, to whom they had sworn allegiance, was still alive. Other cities of *Germany* were under the like scruples, but the inhabitants of *Nuremberg* bought off their allegiance to that prince, by sending him a pipe of excellent wine. It appears, however, as if *Wenceslaus* had now returned to a sane state of mind. He applied to the *French* king, who interposed so far in his favour, as to offer to become umpire between him and *Robert*; but the association of the princes who had deposed him was so strong, that the proposed mediation came to nothing. The king of *Hungary*, and some *Bohemian* noblemen, next offered to interpose their good offices in his favour; but *Wenceslaus* was so shocked at the sordid terms proposed by his brother, that he rejected his assistance, and left him without taking leave.

Difficulties of the emperor *Robert* on his accession.

In

His expedition to Italy.

From whence he returns with disgrace.

Confederacy against Robert.

1405.

An account of Hufs.

In the mean while *Robert* endeavoured, in a diet held at *Franckfort*, to re-establish the tranquillity of the empire, and to re-annex to it the dominions that had been severed from it during the late reigns, particularly the dutchy of *Milan*. For this purpose he raised an army, towards which the pope, *Venice*, and *Florence*, offered to contribute large sums, and advanced to *Tirol*. From thence he wrote a challenge to *Galeazzo*, in which he styled him simply, count of *Verona*. *Galeazzo*, in his answer, called himself duke of *Milan*, by the grace of God and *Wenceslaus*, and gave the emperor no other title than *Robert* of *Bavaria*, but promised to beat him back to *Germany*. *Robert* continued his march to *Brixen*, in the *Milanese*; but though he received considerable reinforcements from *Germany*, he was so harrassed by *Galeazzo's* cavalry, that, after losing above half his army, he was obliged to return to his own dominions, without attempting one stroke of importance. To colour his disgrace, he pretended that the archbishop of *Mentz* had prevailed with the princes to fail in their engagements, and had withdrawn their affections from him. *Robert's* reputation, at this time, was so low, that *Ladislaus*, king of *Naples*, who had expelled pope *Boniface* from *Rome*, formed intrigues for the empire, and chose for his motto, *Aut Cæsar aut nihil*; meaning that he would be *Cæsar* or nothing.

The death of *Galeazzo* delivered *Italy* from the fear of receiving a master who probably would have given laws to the pope himself, and have become one of the most independent and powerful princes in *Europe*. The emperor *Robert* might have made vast advantages of his death, had he immediately crossed the *Alps* at the head of an army; but he was underhand crossed by the pope, who excited the ecclesiastical electors to oppose the payment of the tenth, which was to enable him to undertake the expedition. *Robert* was therefore obliged to apply himself to regulate the internal affairs of the empire, and to improve his own patrimonial estates; in which he sometimes met with opposition. He reduced, by force of arms, the marquis of *Badon*, who had presumed to impose tolls in his dominions. The marquis, after this, associated himself with the count of *Wirtemberg*, the city of *Straßbourg*, and the towns in *Suabia*; a confederacy that subsisted during all this emperor's reign, notwithstanding all the measures he took to break it. A peace about the year 1405 was established between the city of *Basil* and the confederated *Swiss* cantons on the one part, and the house of *Austria* on the other, after a bloody war had raged between them for above two years. But the eyes of all *Europe* were now turned towards *Bohemia*, where the reformation from the gross errors of popery, was making a rapid progress under *John Hufs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, who were protected by *Wenceslaus* and his queen, notwithstanding the anathemas thundered out against them by the pope and the archbishop. The city of *Prague* taking part with *Hufs*, pope



*John XXIII.* laid it under an interdict during the residence of *Hufs* there, and cited him to appear at *Rome*, which *Hufs* refusing to do, he was excommunicated, but offered to submit himself to the judgment of the university of *Prague*. All *Bohemia* and great part of *Germany* were thrown into confusion by the new doctrines, and *Hufs* is said to have formed a strong party in the university of *Prague*, which occasioned many of the *German* doctors and scholars to retire from thence. The schism between the two popes still continuing, neither pope *John* nor the emperor had power enough to compose those troubles, which brought on a most bloody scene of perfidy and inhumanity.

In the course of this contention, a civil war arose on account of a competition about the bishopric of *Liege*, one of the candidates, *John* of *Bavaria*, having been recommended by *Gregory*, and the other, *Theodoric de Pervis*, by *Benedict*. The cities of *Liege*, *Louvain*, *Brussels*, and the towns of *Brabant* raised 50,000 men for *Pervis*, who defeated his antagonist, and shutting him up in *Maestricht*, he would have taken that town, had not the duke of *Burgundy* relieved it, and defeated *Pervis*. *John* was then conducted in triumph to *Liege*, where he behaved with incredible barbarity. He cut off the heads of 120 noblemen. He ordered 24 more with the officers of *Pervis* and *Benedict*'s legate to be thrown into the *Meuse*, obliged the city to pay him 200,000 crowns, and annexed all its secularities to his own see. Cardinal *Cossa*, now called *John XXIII.* had been a pirate and a free-booter, and openly kept a mistress; but he had been lawfully elected by the council of *Pisa*, tho' *Robert* still declared for *Gregory*. We can perceive that *Wenceslaus* by this time was greatly reformed in his morals. He had so much influence, that the prelates who composed the council of *Pisa*, gave him the title of king of the *Romans*, which was, in fact, refusing to acknowledge *Robert* as emperor. This incensed *Robert* so much, that he disowned the authority of the council, and he complained to the princes of the empire of the indignity done him, but he received very little satisfaction. A war at this time was raging between *Ladislaus* king of *Poland* and the *Teutonic* knights, in which the latter were not only defeated, but lost all the *Polish Prussia*. *Robert* called a diet at *Frankfort*, where the proceedings of the council of *Pisa* were condemned, and he and the members demanded another council. In this, they appeared to be so unanimous, that the emperor might have carried his point by putting an end to the schism, which instead of two had now three heads, had he not been thwarted by the archbishop of *Mentz*, who had been always his declared enemy.

*Robert* was preparing to reduce that haughty prelate by arms, when a fever seized him at *Oppenheim*, and carried him off in the ninth year of his reign, *May 10, 1410.* Before his death, he named seven executors of his will, by which he

A war between two prelates,

and between the Poles and the Teutonic knights.

1410.  
Death, issue, and character of *Robert*.

distributed his dominions among his children. *Lewis* with the long beard, his eldest surviving son, inherited the *Palatinate* and the lordship of *Amber*. To *John* he bequeathed *Sultzbach*, *Iruburg*, and the county of *Oham*. The dutchy of *Deux Ponts* was allotted to his son *Simmerin*. *Stephen* inherited *Lutzelfstein*, as *Otto* did *Sintzheim*. *Robert* took to wife *Elizabeth* daughter to the burgrave of *Nuremberg*, and besides the sons above mentioned, he had daughters, *Elizabeth* married to a duke of *Austria*, *Agnes* to the count of *Cleves*, and *Margaret* to the duke of *Lorrain*. With regard to *Robert's* character, we do not find that after his accession to the empire he disappointed the good opinion of his electors. He was in his person (which was remarkably short) vigorous and active. He was far from being deficient in military accomplishments, and by disposition he was pious, just and humane. To his natural sagacity, which is said to have been uncommon, he added the improvement of letters, and the greatest blemish of his character was his love of money.

## C H A P. XXXVI.

## J O D O C U S or J O S H U A.

Short  
reign of  
*Jodocus*.

**T**HIS prince is by some denied a place in the list of *German* emperors; but as he certainly was elected after *Robert's* death, we have admitted him as a real emperor, tho' it is said he never was formally acknowledged as such. *Jodocus*, before his elevation, was marquis of *Moravia*, and claimed *Brandenburg* likewise. He was elected by *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, by which we suppose is meant his own vote, while *Sigismund* king of *Hungary* was almost at the same time elected emperor, by the elector *Lewis* with the long beard, the archbishop of *Triers*, and himself. Each competitor protested against the other, and *Wenceslaus* against both. The dispute might have been bloody, as *Sigismund* was preparing to invade *Moravia*, had not *Jodocus* died at *Brinn* about three months after his election.

## C H A P. XXXVII.

## S I G I S M U N D.

*Sigismund*  
recogniz-  
ed emper-  
or,

**W**E cannot with any propriety enter on the history of this prince as emperor, without touching upon it as king of *Hungary*, where, before he was elected emperor, he had reigned 27 years. After his being betrothed to *Mary* princess of *Hungary*, her father dying, his widow, queen *Elizabeth*, took upon her the regency; both *Mary* and *Sigismund* being too young

young to govern, nor was their marriage yet consummated. his extra-  
*Elizabeth* being influenced by *Gara*, a wicked minister, the ordinary  
*Hungarian* nobility made an offer of their crown to *Charles* history  
*Durezzo*, king of *Naples*, who was related to *Mary*. He ac- while king  
cepted the offer, but *Elizabeth* in the mean time gave *Mary's* of Hun-  
dand to *Sigismund* in marriage; and sent the bridegroom to *gary*.  
*Bohemia*. *Charles*, by this time, was arrived in *Hungary*, where  
he was crowned king with the consent not only of the nobles,  
but of the two queens. The great men were disgusted at his  
government, and *Elizabeth* inviting him into her apartment  
under a shew of friendship, caused him to be murdered, and  
resumed the reins of government without opposition. Soon  
after, she and her daughter setting out on a progress through  
their dominions attended by *Gara*, they were intercepted by  
*Hiornard*, who by *Charles* had been appointed governor or  
justiciary of *Croatia*, and who cut in pieces *Gara* with the mur-  
derers; while *Elizabeth*, notwithstanding the most moving en-  
treaties which she and her daughter used, was dragged by the  
hair to a neighbouring rivulet, where she was drowned by  
*Hiornard's* order. As to *Mary*, she was shut up in prison.  
*Sigismund*, hearing of this catastrophe, marched into *Hungary*  
with an army, and *Hiornard* delivered *Mary* from prison, upon  
her swearing not to deprive him of his life and dignity. *Sigis-*  
*mund* being received and acknowledged king, did not think  
himself bound by his wife's oath, and ordering *Hiornard* and  
all his accomplices to be seized, they were put to death with  
the most exquisite tortures that ingenious cruelty could  
devise.

*Mary* soon after died, and *Sigismund* ordered all the noble-  
men who had invited in *Charles*, and who thought them-  
selves too secure and powerful to be called to account by *Si-*  
*gismund*, to be arrested. Being brought before him, they refused  
to behave with common deference to his character, and 32 of  
the most eminent among them were instantly beheaded. This  
cruelty disgusted the *Hungarians* so much, that many of them  
revolted to *Bajazet* the *Turkish* sultan, who defeated *Sigismund*  
at the head of 100,000 *Hungarians*, in the famous battle near  
*Nicopolis*. *Sigismund* escaping from the carnage, sunk into a  
life of indolence, and his noblemen confined him under the  
custody of the two sons of *Garris*, one of the noblemen  
whom he had put to death. *Ladislaus* son to *Charles* was then  
proclaimed king of *Hungary*, tho' not universally received as  
such, and *Sigismund* acted with so much address, that he pre-  
vailed upon the widow of *Garris* to persuade her sons to set  
him at liberty, upon his making oath to give them the in-  
vestiture of part of *Moravia*, as soon as it should be in his  
power. *Sigismund* escaping into *Bohemia* assembled an army,  
by which he remounted his throne, and reforming his con-  
duct, he became the darling of his subjects. His reputation  
was very high when he was called to the empire; and on the  
death of *Jodocus*, he was recognized emperor by the unani-



1411. mous voice of all the electors at *Frankfort*. He signalized the first months of his reign, by his attention to the internal quiet of *Germany*, and his endeavours to abolish the schism that still continued to divide *Christendom*.

He dis-  
posed of  
the mar-  
quisate of  
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burg*,

threatens  
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ther.

Being margrave of *Brandenburg*, he gave that province to *Frederic of Hohenzollern*, burgrave of *Nuremberg*, for 400,000 florins of gold; but with a reservation of a right in his own family to redeem it, if the burgrave's male issue should become extinct. He then effected a reconciliation between two warlike prelates, who had spent streams of their followers blood in fighting for the possession of the archbishopric of *Cologne*, to which each had been nominated by a rival pope. Understanding that his brother *Wenceslaus* was relapsed into his irregularities, he threatened to put him to the ban of the empire; but he found it too difficult to execute his menace, which would have rendered himself king of *Bohemia*. The war between the *Poles* and the *Teutonic* knights still continued; and the latter finding means to bring over to their interests *Wenceslaus* and the duke of *Lithuania*, the *Poles* were obliged to purchase an accommodation, by giving back *Prussia* to the knights. *Sigismund* then grew jealous of their power, and secretly leagued himself against them with *Ladislaus* king of *Poland*, making the khan of the *Tartars*, at the same time, a party in the treaty.

His war  
with the  
*Venetians*.

The *Venetian* successes in *Dalmatia*, called *Sigismund's* attention to that country. He summoned the princes of the empire to attend him; but they did not think themselves interested in the quarrel, and none of them stirred out of *Germany*. *Sigismund*, however, at the head of his *Hungarians*, defeated the *Venetians*, and recovered the countries they had conquered; but not finding himself supported by the empire, he made peace with them. The treaty being concluded, he had an interview with pope *John XXIII.* at *Placentia*, and the emperor persuaded him to agree to the calling of an oeconomic council at *Constance* the first of *November*, 1414, for terminating the schism. He intimated this council to all christian princes, inviting them to repair to it, as he did the other two popes, *Benedict XIII.* and *Gregory XII.* who both exclaimed against it. *Gregory* was protected by *Laudislaus* king of *Naples*, the same who had been *Sigismund's* rival in the kingdom of *Hungary*, who had made himself master of *Rome*, and of the papal dominions, and aspired to become so of all *Italy*, when he was carried off by poison in an expedition against the *Florentines* and pope *John*. *Sigismund* was all this time labouring with indefatigable zeal to reconcile all differences, not only in *Germany* but among the princes of *Christendom*, that his council of *Constance* might be opened with the greater lustre and celebrity. He confirmed the privileges of the *Alsatian* towns that had been united to that prefecture. He made a progress through *Germany*, and compromised all differences between the bishop and citizens of *Strasburg*.

*Sigismund*

*Sigismund* is an eminent proof how far an appearance of Account dignity, pomp, splendor, regularity and order, joined to the of the advantages of a fine and majestic person, can operate upon council of mankind. His capacity for business was but very con- *Constance*. fined, and yet he did vast things, and held a superiority over all the princes in *Europe*. When the time approached for opening the council of *Constance*, he granted *John Huss* a safe conduct for his appearance, to give an account of his faith, before the members there. *Sigismund*, then, together with his empress, who was daughter of a count of *Cilloy*, was crowned with great splendor at *Aix la Chapelle*, and he arrived on the 23d of *December* at *Constance*. Modern history scarcely can parallel the pomp and magnificence, which attended the opening of this assembly of the humble successors of the apostles, who by their proceedings, deserve to be considered as the disciples of *Satan*. The duke of *Saxony* carried the *Imperial* sword before *Sigismund*, and other princes were appointed to other offices, the assembly not being *Imperial* or *Germanic*. No fewer than 100,000 lay-attendants waited upon the princes and the prelates; and the emperor provided not only for order and regularity among them, but for their subsistence. *Sigismund*, cloathed in the *Imperial Dalmatic*, assisted in quality of deacon, at a mid-night mass performed by pope *John*. The fate of *John Huss* had been fixed before. The emperor was startled, when it was proposed that he should be burnt, but yielded, when he reflected, that being inferior to the council, who were judges of matters of faith, he had no right to interfere in their decisions. In short, vanity and bigotry entirely engrossed *Sigismund's* mind. Five hundred jewellers attended his court with the like number of musicians, and that no luxury might be wanting, 718 ladies of pleasure were licensed and protected by the civil magistrate. The pope deposed.

The real intention of *Sigismund* appears to have been to erect the empire of *Italy* into a popedom. *John's* pretensions stood chiefly in his way, and he obtained from him a promise to resign, provided that it was found to be for the good of the church. He no sooner made this promise, than *Sigismund* threw himself at his feet and kissed them; but *John* repenting, eluded the guards that were placed over him by the emperor, and escaped on the 20th of *March* from *Constance*, in habit of a postilion, and fled to *Shaffhausen*, where he was protected by the duke of *Austria*. *Sigismund* hearing of his flight, supported the authority of the council, which confirmed the sentence of *John's* deposition, and declared itself to be superior to the pope. Their firmness obliged *John* to resign in earnest; and *Sigismund* not only put *Frederic* duke of *Austria* to the ban of the empire, for assisting him in his escape, but gave the *Swiss* confederacy leave to conquer his estates, and they actually made themselves masters of *Torgaw* which they kept. The fate of *John Huss* and his colleague,

*Jerome of Prague*, now came to be determined, and both of them, to the eternal infamy of the emperor and the council, were condemned to the stake, where they most heroically suffered death. *Sigismund* at first attempted to resent this proceeding, but he soon acquiesced in all. *Peter de Luna*, who still resided in *Spain*, was now the only competitor for the popedom, for he refused to resign his pretensions, and it is almost incredible, that *Sigismund* actually performed a journey into *Spain* in person, to persuade that prelate to a resignation, or to engage the kings of *Arragon* and *Navarre* to renounce all obedience to him, if he continued obstinate. *Sigismund* prevailed with the kings, but could not with *Peter de Luna*. *Sigismund* leaving *Spain*, came to *Chambery*, where he erected *Savoy* into a dutchy. *Peter*, called *Benedict XIII.* was deposed, and *Otho Colonna*, being elected pope by the council, assumed the title of *Martin V.*

The  
emperor  
visits  
*France* and  
*England.*

Affairs of  
*Austria,*

The emperor's zeal and love of pomp, now induced him to pay a visit in person to the kings of *France* and *England*, then at war with each other. As he affected the character of pacificator of the church, so he did that of the arbiter of *Europe*. *Charles V.* was then on the throne of *France*, where *Sigismund* was received with so much respect, that he sat in the *French* parliament as if it had been his own court, and made knights. When he came to *England*, the nobility waded into the water with their swords in their hands to carry him to shore; but *Henry V.* their king treated him with reserve and contempt, and rejected all his proposals towards an accommodation with *France*. *Sigismund* perceiving this, sought to make *Henry* his friend, and offered to assist him in his claims upon *France*, provided *Henry* would reinstate him in certain fiefs that formerly belonged to the empire. During *Sigismund's* absence, *Frederic* duke of *Austria*, who had asked pardon of the emperor upon his knees, quarrelled with the council of *Constance*, and his own brother *Ernest*, who had taken from him the *Tirolese*. The council complained to the emperor of his having imprisoned the bishop of *Trent*, and deprived him of his estates. *Sigismund* upon this ordered *Frederic* to be put to the ban of the empire; but an accommodation was effected by the mediation of the neighbouring princes, between him and his brother *Ernest*, who restored to him the *Tirolese*. The council of *Constance* was still sitting when the emperor returned to that city, and gave, to the archbishop of *Mentz*, the elector of *Saxony*, the count *Palatine*, the duke of *Pomerania*, and several other princes, the investiture of their fiefs. He confirmed to the burgrave of *Nuremberg*, in consideration of another large sum, the electorate of *Brandenburg*, though the *Bohemians* pretended that that country was a fief of their kingdom, and the *Brandenburgers* were unwilling to acknowledge him; but the burgrave's address and moderation got the better of all difficulties.



A quarrel at this time broke out between *Frederic* the war-like margrave of *Misnia*, one of the most magnificent and powerful princes of the empire, and *Sigismund*, about some *Bohemian* fiefs claimed by the former, and refused by the latter, who was heir to that crown. The margrave left *Constance* to do himself justice by arms, and *Sigismund* was forced to appease him, by giving him the electorate of *Saxony*, then vacant by the death of the last elector of the house of *Hainault*. *Sigismund* soon perceived, that he had got a master in the person of pope *Martin V*. In that pontiff's procession to be inaugurated, the emperor, after prostrating himself at his feet, held one of the reins of his horse, as the elector of *Brandenburg* did the other. *Martin* soon found the weak side of *Sigismund*, and that his extravagance and vanity, had rendered him so miserably poor, that he could not be formidable. *Martin* assumed the place of arbiter of *Germany*, and absolved the duke of *Austria* from his excommunication, but obliged him to pay 70,000 florins to *Sigismund*, who promised to restore him all the *Austrian* estates that were in his hands. At last, *Sigismund*, though he omitted no method of getting money, became so poor, that *Martin*, who had his reasons for supporting him gave him a grant, of a tenth of all the ecclesiastical effects, in *Germany*, which had almost occasioned a civil war in the empire. A war at this time raged in *Holland* between *Faquelina*, daughter and heiress of *William* duke of *Friesland*, and her uncle *John* of *Bavaria*, bishop of *Liege*, who pretended to succeed to her estates. After the war had been carried on with various fortune for some time, it was terminated by the interposition of *Sigismund*, who took part with *John* of *Bavaria*, whom *Faquelina*'s husband, the duke of *Brabant*, was obliged to appoint governor of *Holland*, *Zealand* and *Friesland*, for three years, besides giving him several other estates. But the emperor renounced all pretensions of being lord paramount of *Hainault*, and it remained with *Faquelina*. *Sigismund* made the greater dispatch in accommodating those differences, that he might attend to the affairs of *Bohemia*, which were now in a most dreadful situation.

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low coun-  
tries.

The *Bohemians*, no sooner heard of the death of *John Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, than they resolved to revenge them. The decrees of the council of *Constance*, against the followers of the new doctrines, as they were called, were supported by *Wenceslaus*, who was still alive. The *Hussites* ran to arms, forced the town-house, and murdered the magistrates who had published the royal mandates; and their proceedings so greatly affected *Wenceslaus*, that he was struck with a fit of the apoplexy, of which he died, and *Sigismund*, who was acknowledged king of *Bohemia*, appointed *Sophia* his brother's widow, to the regency of that kingdom. He had an army on foot with which he intended to oppose the *Turks*, who had made great progress in *Hungary*; but he was obliged now to employ it against the *Hussites*. The latter had chosen for

Death of  
*Wenceslaus*

Exploits  
of *Ziska*  
chief of  
the *Huf-*  
*sites*.

their leader, the famous general, called *Ziska*, because he was blind of both his eyes, but he was a brave and a successful warrior. His followers assumed the name of *Thaborites*, and they most severely revenged upon their enemies, the death of their two apostles, even to a degree of inhumanity, by destroying all the priests and ecclesiastics, who fell into their hands, and burning down their churches. The regent had been forced to shut herself up in a fortress, but was relieved by the *Imperial* forces, who thought themselves sure of a cheap victory; but they were entirely defeated by *Ziska* through a stratagem, in which the women of his party were chiefly instrumental. *Sigismund*, pressed by the *Turks* on the one hand, and by *Ziska* on the other, gained some respite by the former turning their arms against the *Greeks*. A short truce he had made with the *Hussites* being expired, and he still continuing to refuse them the liberty of conscience, *Ziska* reassembled his army at the village of *Thabor*, defeated the two *Imperial* generals, *Albert of Austria*, and *Henry* governor of *Moravia*, and took the city of *New Prague*.

The north of *Germany* was at this time equally full of commotions. The princes of the house of *Holstein*, supported by the dukes of *Mecklenburg*, *Pomerania*, *Brunswic*, and other powers, withdrew their homage from the crown of *Denmark*, and though *Sigismund* pronounced sentence in favour of his *Danish* majesty, yet the latter was defeated and forced to apply to *Sigismund's* mediation for a peace. All *Germany* soon after entered into a kind of a crusade against the *Hussites*, and *Sigismund* being strongly reinforced, undertook the siege of *Prague*, but was again defeated by *Ziska*, and forced to fly into *Moravia*. *Ziska* then besieged the important fortress of *Wisrade*. *Sigismund* having recruited his army, attacked the *Hussites* in their entrenchments, but the *Imperialists* were once more completely defeated, and most of them cut in pieces; after which the fortress of *Wisrade* was surrendered to the *Hussites*.

Affairs of  
*Bohemia*.

It appears as if those enthusiasts thought *Ziska*, because he was blind, an improper person to be their king. It is certain, that they sent a solemn embassy, with an offer of their crown, to *Jagello*, king of *Poland*, who declined the honour in favour of *Corebut*, a *Lithuanian* prince, whom he recommended to their choice. They accepted of *Corebut*, and appointed a regency of twenty persons till his arrival in *Bohemia*. In the mean while, in 1421, *Martin* the Vth ordered a new crusade to be preached against the *Hussites*, rather than grant them the liberty of making use of wine in the sacrament; and the archbishop of *Treves* entered *Bohemia* with an army of those crusaders, who were beat by *Ziska*, at the head of no more than 200 men. *Sigismund* now offered them terms, but they rejected them, and again beat his army with vast slaughter, and drove himself into *Hungary*. *Corebut* was, by this time, arrived at *Prague*, where the *Hussites* were far from being unanimous

nimous among themselves. The most moderate among them were for recognizing *Corebut's* election; but the *Thaborites*, who were attached to *Ziska*, refused to submit to the government of a single person. *Corebut* proceeded as if he had been king, but suffered in his reputation by a check which he received from the *Imperialists* at *Carlestein*. Returning to *Prague*, he proceeded with great severity against some *Thaborites*, who were accused of having formed designs against him in his absence; upon which *Ziska* declared himself his enemy. It was the interest of *Sigismund* to keep up this division, but *Ziska* defeated his general the count of *Wirtemberg*, and took the city of *Graditz*. He then drove *Albert* of *Austria* out of *Moravia*, and after defeating *Corebut*, whom he forced to renounce the crown of *Bohemia*, he made a triumphant entry into *Prague*; but soon after catching an infection, he died in the arms of victory, in a journey to meet the emperor, who offered to give him his own terms. Perceiving his end was approaching, he desired his body to be left in the open fields, because he chose that it should be the food of birds rather than of worms; and he ordered his followers to make a drum of his skin, because the sound of it would strike their enemies with terror.

*Ziska* was succeeded in his command by a priest called *Pro-Procopius*, who had long acted as his partner in the the priest war, and who used to march at the head of the army with a chosen sword in one hand, and a chalice in the other. The troubles head of in the north of *Germany* again breaking out, the emperor, the *Bohemian* who was idling away his time at *Buda*, was visited by *Eric, mian* *Husking* of *Denmark*, who obtained from him a full sentence in *favours*. Several other princes applied to him at the same time, and obtained the investitures of their estates. The power of *Sigismund*, however, at this time, was little more than nominal, and served only to colour the pretences of the contending parties. He could not assist the *Teutonic* knights, whose order was now greatly degenerated, and who had lost all *Prussia* to the *Poles*, nor could he repel the *Thaborites*, who, under *Procopius*, filled all *Silesia*, *Hungary*, *Poland*, and *Austria*, with their ravages. *Procopius* appeared to be a successor worthy of *Ziska*, but exceeded him in cruelty against the catholics. His followers were now divided into *Thaborites*, *Orphans*, and *Horebites*; but they all united against the *Imperialists*. They again defeated the duke of *Austria*, great part of whose dominions they kept possession of, and obtained a compleat victory over a numerous army headed by the princes of the empire, who attacked them in their intrenchments. They laid *Graditz* in ashes, took *Kamenitz* and *Ritzen*, routed *Maisonneuve*, another *Imperial* general, and carried their arms into the heart of *Austria*. In short, *Procopius* triumphed every where, and was every where irresistible; and being now absolute in *Bohemia*, he forced the favourers of *Corebut* to shut that prince up in a monastery. He then carried his arms



arms into *Silesia*, where he reduced most of the forts, defeated a new army of crusaders under the cardinal of *Winchester*, ravaged the circle of *Glatz*, and laid the whole province under contribution.

Offered  
terms by  
the emper-  
or ;

The emperor continued as weak, as proud, as poor, and as bigotted as ever. Finding himself now in a manner deserted, he offered terms to *Procopius*, who summoned the heads of his party to meet at *Prague*. After some negociations, they agreed to a truce for three months, and sent a deputation, at the head of which *Procopius* appeared, with proposals to the emperor at *Presburg*. They demanded the liberty of communicating in both kinds, and a confirmation of their privileges, to which *Sigismund* was to swear. He gave evasive answers to both demands ; pretending that the first was not in his power to grant, and that they had not been sufficiently explicit as to the second. Upon this, the *Hussites*, whose army now amounted to 30,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, headed by *Procopius*, *William de Rostka*, and *John Smirzlik*, recommenced hostilities, entered *Misnia* and *Franconia* with fire and sword, defeated the armies of the empire, and laid its princes under contribution wherever they marched. But in order to account the more clearly for their success, it is necessary to take a view of the state of the empire in other parts.

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terposes in  
the affairs  
of Den-  
mark.

The emperor's sentence, in favour of *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, had very little weight with the prince of *Holstein* and the northern states, and he was obliged to raise an army. *Sigismund* interposed, and required them to unite against the *Hussites*, which they could not do so long as the war in the north continued. The *Holstein* princes laughed at this injunction, and demanded *Sleswic* to be declared an hereditary fief, while *Eric* offered to submit every thing to the emperor. After various altercations, conferences were opened at *Nikoping*, but though they proved ineffectual, yet the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburgh*, and the duke of *Lunenburgh*, taking part with *Eric*, the cities of *Stralsund* and *Rostoc* detached themselves from the *Holstein* confederacy. Other divisions in the empire contributed to the progress of the *Hussites*. The electors of *Saxony*, and the count *Palatine*, refused to act under the archbishop of *Mentz* as vicar of the empire. The landgrave of *Hesse* was then at war with the same archbishop. Two rival prelates for the see of *Triers* were filling it with blood and confusion, and the dukes of *Bavaria* were at war among themselves ; while the *Turks*, under *Morad* the II<sup>d</sup>, were carrying all before them in *Hungary* and *Servia*. *Sigismund*, surrounded by so many distresses, proposed a confederacy between himself, *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*, and his brother *Withond*, great duke of *Lithuania* ; and a meeting was accordingly held at *Lutsko*. *Uladislaus* hated *Sigismund*, because the latter had supported the *Teutonic* knights against him ; and he really dreaded the *Hussites*, who were now deemed to be invincible ; nor did he chuse to provoke the *Turks* ; so

that,

that, upon the whole, he declined all *Sigismund's* proposals. *Sigismund* then applied to *Withond's* vanity, and, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of *Uladislaus*, entirely won him over, by offering to erect *Lithuania* into a kingdom. *Uladislaus*, and the *Poles*, to whom *Lithuania* is a fief, opposed this, and not only arrested the emperor's envoys, as they were proceeding to the coronation, but laid a restraint upon *Withond* himself, who died soon after.

The progress of the *Hussites* was now so formidable, that Cardinal it struck terror into *Rome* itself. The popes, *Martin* the Vth, *Julian* and *Eugene* the IVth, ordered the warlike cardinal, *Julian*, sent to who was legatee *a latere* in *Germany*, to renew the crusade, *Germany*, which he did, with such success, that in 1431, the princes 1431. raised an army of 80,000 men, half of which consisted of cavalry. This army invaded *Bohemia*, and more than repaid upon the *Hussites* the barbarities which the latter had inflicted upon the catholics. No sooner, however, did the *Hussite* army appear, than their enemies were seized with a panic, and, notwithstanding the exhortations of the legate, who was is defeated borne down in the general flight, they fled with such precipitated by the tation, that the whole of their baggage and money, even to the *Hussites*, cross of the legation, and *Julian's* vestments, fell into the hands of the *Hussites*. The latter had, at this time, an army in *Austria*, which beat *Albert*, and plundered his country. This army was under the command of another *Procopius*, surnamed the Little, to distinguish him from the great *Procopius* the shaven. The two *Procopii* joining, entered *Hungary*, where they acquired vast booty; but here the *Orphans* and the *Taborites*, splitting about religious or other matters, the *Taborites*, with the great *Procopius*, retired to *Moravia*; while the *Orphans*, under the little *Procopius*, giving battle to the *Hungarians*, were so entirely defeated, that scarcely 3,000 of them returned home. Notwithstanding this defeat, the great *Procopius*, at this time, actually gave laws to the empire. Cardinal *Julian*, finding the *Hussites* invincible, sought to divide, or win them over, and invited them to send deputies to the council of *Basil*. *Sigismund* held a diet at *Presburg*, in which he who send proposed to redress all the grievances of the *Hussites*, provided deputies they would recognize him as their sovereign. The *Hussites* to *Basil*. sent deputies to *Presburg*, who conferred with those of the emperor, but without the gates; and plainly intimated, that they had not forgot the *Imperial* treachery towards their two martyred apostles; nor would they agree to send their deputies to *Basil* without having the strongest security for their safety. *Sigismund* seemed to blush at the recollection, and promised them satisfaction in a diet held at *Egra*, where the princes and deputies present, engaged for the safety of the *Bohemian* deputies, and they received passports of their own wording.

*Sigismund* thus obtaining a short respite from the terrors of the *Hussites*, went to *Milan*, where he was crowned by the The emperor goes to Italy. archbishops with the iron crown; but he plainly perceived that

that *Philip*, the duke of *Milan*, was not his friend, though *Sigismund* was so impotent, that he neither durst resent the palpable affronts put upon him by *Philip*, nor enter into any vigorous measures for reducing his power. The emperor, therefore, returned to the sphere in which he shined, by making up a breach between the council of *Basil* and pope *Eugene*, whom the fathers threatened to depose; and *Sigismund* then took the first opportunity of being crowned at *Rome*. The council continued to sit at *Basil*, where the *Hussites*, who were 300 in number, all of them well armed, were greatly respected, and their deputies had seats in the council. *Procopius* the shaven was at the head of the *Bohemians*, and the fathers of the council hailed him as the conqueror of the church and of the empire. The proceedings of the council are foreign to this part of our history. It is sufficient to say, that the debates between the *Hussites* and the *Roman* catholics continued fifty days, without any appearance of an accommodation; and then the fathers of the council agreed, that ten of the most learned of their body should treat with the *Bohemians* in a diet to be held at *Prague*. The event was, that the council relaxed so far as to indulge the *Bohemians* with the cup at the sacrament. *Sigismund*, after his coronation at *Rome*, made *Gonzaga*, who was before lord of *Mantua*, marquis of the same. Upon his return to *Basil*, he met with a *Turkish* embassy, with proposals of peace, and magnificent presents, which he received in public, seeming to be well pleased with the terms, and requiting the *Turk* with other presents, equally magnificent.

and re-  
turns to  
*Germany*.

Affairs of  
*Bohemia*.

*Sigismund*, when he returned to *Germany*, had the pleasure to understand that the dissensions among the *Bohemians* were daily encreasing; that the *Bohemian* barons had separated from *Procopius* and his military leaders, and that the latter, for some time, had been engaged in the siege of *Pilsen*. The barons chose *Mainard de Maisonneuve* for their leader, and appeared well satisfied with the decision of the council; but the violent *Hussites* entered into a league with the king of *Poland* against the *Teutonic* knights, and laid waste the new marche of *Brandenburgh*. *Sigismund* advanced to *Ulm*, that he might be at hand to take advantage of the *Bohemian* divisions. The *Hussites* being now separated, *Maisonneuve*, at the head of the *Bohemian* nobles, cut in pieces 20,000 of the *Orphans* and *Taborites* in *Prague*. *Maisonneuve* and *Risemberg*, another general of the *Bohemians*, then attacked *Procopius* the shaven at *Pilsen*, and utterly defeated him; he himself was mortally wounded, his namesake, the Little, was killed on the spot, no quarter was given, and the sect never could appear again in arms. Thus, through their own frantic divisions, the *Bohemian Hussites* were in a manner exterminated, after maintaining one of the most glorious rebellions, if we may use the expression, that history can produce. *Sigismund* now thought himself once more king of *Bohemia*; for though the *Bohemian* noblemen



noblemen in general were jealous of their privileges, and extremely averſe to the papal power, yet they were tractable, and not tinctured with enthufiaſm; ſo that they ſent their deputies to the general diet of the empire, held at *Ratiſbon*, where they performed their homage to *Sigismund*. The duke of *Bavaria* was, at this time, under the ban of the empire for contumacy, and the neighbouring princes were ready to have fallen upon him, had he not, by his money, found means to perſuade *Sigismund* to refer their demands to an approaching diet at *Franckfort*.

An affair of the greateſt internal concern to the empire occaſioned the holding of this diet. The *Aſcanian* branch of the electoral houſe of *Saxony* was now extinct by the death of *Albert the III*d, its laſt elector, and four competitors claimed the honour. The competitors were, *Frederic* the warlike marquis of *Mifnia*, the count *Palatine*, the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*. The emperor, in conſideration of 100,000 florins, had given the marquis of *Mifnia* the provisional adminiſtration of the electorate; but the duke of *Saxe Lawenburg*, abſurdly appealed to the pope, a proceeding ſo much reſented by *Sigismund*, that he brought the princes of the empire over to ſtrengthen his authority, and ſentence was given in favour of the houſe of *Mifnia*, in whoſe deſcendents that electorate ſtill continues. In this diet, a propoſal was drawn up by ſome *German* patriot-princes for aſcertaining the bounds of the *Imperial* authority, and thoſe of the ſubject's obedience; and likewise for reſcuing the former from the contempt it laboured under through the meannefs of its revenues. Sixteen articles of grievances were at the ſame time preſented, but as the princes, who enjoyed the eſtates that had been alienated by former emperors, reſuſed to agree to a reſumption, the whole of the propoſal came to nothing. *Sigismund* thinking himſelf now ſecure in the empire, entered into a treaty of marriage between young *Ladiſlaus*, king of *Poland*, and his grand-daughter, daughter to *Albert* of *Austria*, whom he had deſigned his ſucceſſor in the empire. While this negotiation was depending, the ſtates of *Bohemia* laid before the emperor the terms which they demanded for their future ſecurity; one of which was, that neither he, nor any of his ſucceſſors, ſhould ever alter their coin; offering, if thoſe terms were granted, to renew their homage to him, to acknowledge *Albert* as his ſucceſſor, and to be reconciled to the *Romiſh* church. All which was formally effected, and a ſolemn compact was thereupon entered into, between the emperor and the people. After this, *Sigismund* dedicated his endeavours to win the hearts of the *Bohemians*, and he was moſt magnificently crowned at *Prague*, on the 24th of *Auguſt*, 1436; after which he received homage, and oaths of allegiance, from all the barons and the deputies of the cities.

*Sigismund's* good fortune was owing to the prudence and condeſcenſion with which he had been inſpired by his diſtreſſes

Good fortune of *Sigismund*. tresses and poverty. He recalled all the catholic clergy, and endeavoured to restore them to their former power. He hanged up a hundred of the enthusiastic *Hussites* who held out; but the city of *Gratz*, who refused to acknowledge him, held out a long siege, and the inhabitants at last obliged him to give them honourable terms. As to the *Thaborites*, he wisely enlisted them in his armies, and persuaded them, that it was as meritorious to serve against the *Turks* as against the catholics. They accordingly did him excellent service in *Hungary*, where they drove the Infidels with the loss of above 20,000 men, from all the district between the *Save* and the *Drave*. Whatever appearances of moderation *Sigismund* put on, they vanished with his danger, and he still remained the slave of superstition and despotism. He now relapsed into all the violences that had brought on his former dangers and disgraces, and endeavoured to compel his subjects to give up the privileges they had so dearly bought, by employing force to make them abjure their religion, and to subdue their consciences. This detestable conduct made him so odious through all *Bohemia*, that he prepared to leave it for the safety of his life. In the mean while, he was seized with a distemper, which was thought to be the effect of poison. One of his toes was cut off, and it was plain that he had not long to live. His empress, *Barbara*, had some time before been crowned queen of *Bohemia*, at *Prague*; and we are told, that while her husband was dying, she formed a party among the *Bohemian* grandees, for obliging *Sigismund's* successor to marry her, as the only means of preserving the public tranquillity. The emperor, who had been carried to *Znain* in *Moravia*, hearing of this confederacy, ordered the empress to be arrested, and sending for all the nobility of his court, he nominated, for his successor, his son-in-law, *Albert*, duke of *Austria*; after which he died, on the 9th of *September*, 1437, in the 70th year of his age, having been king of *Hungary* 50 years, emperor 27, and king of *Bohemia* 17.

His death.  
1437.

Account  
and vindication of  
his em-  
press.

Though we have given the conspiracy of the empress as it is related by bigotted catholics, we cannot help thinking, that it is full of the most ridiculous improbabilities. She was not of a family to be, in her own person, of any consequence to the tranquillity of the empire, or of *Bohemia*; nor does ambition at all coincide with that character of lewdness with which she is, perhaps with equal injustice, branded by the same authors. *Barbara*, very possibly, might be somewhat unguarded in her behaviour, and that she durst think with freedom, appears from her having been the avowed friend and patroness of the *Hussites*. As such, it was natural for her, when her husband's life was given over, to apply to the chief *Bohemian* noblemen, to obtain from *Sigismund's* successor, some previous stipulations in behalf of those poor people, as the best means of insuring the public tranquillity. All this is the more probable, as we find that the succeeding emperor, so far from ex-

pressing

pressing resentment against her, set her at liberty; and many of the facts charged upon her as the most atrocious crimes, are not only consistent with virtue, but shew her to have been a woman of sense and spirit.

*Sigismund* left only one daughter, whom he had by his second wife *Barbara*, and she was married to the emperor *Albert* the II<sup>d</sup>, of *Austria*, who thereby united to his kingdom, the crowns of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, of which she was heiress. *Sigismund* was, in his person, remarkably handsome, and being himself no enemy to the fair sex, he is said not to have been very strict as to the conduct of his empress *Barbara*. We have already, on several occasions, taken notice of his true character, which his adherence to forms and pomp, his regard for the holy see, and above all, his perpetual affectation of the character of a mediator, kept above contempt in the eyes of the public. Though unfortunate in war, he is said to have been personally brave, and his contemporaries have praised him for his love of learning, and learned men, and his hatred of adulation; qualities, which however plausible, have often ostentation and vanity for their roots. Upon the whole, *Sigismund* was possessed neither of true honour nor true wisdom, and impartial history will always rank him in the class of weak princes.

His issue.

## CHAP. XXXVIII.

### ALBERT the second, of Austria.

THE male line of the *Bohemian* royal family being extinct, it was necessary, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, that the throne should be filled by election. *Albert* of *Austria* was chosen by one party, and *Casimir*, brother to the king of *Poland*, by another, who crowned him in the city of *Prague*. This competition produced a war, and the *Poles* joining *Casimir*, were, at first, victorious. *Albert* made the marquis of *Brandenburgh*, who was called the *German Achilles*, his general, and he defeated the *Poles* and the *Calixtins* (for so *Casimir's* party was called) so often, that *Albert* was crowned at *Prague*, and at last acknowledged king by his rival's party. The estates of *Hungary*, who pretended likewise to the right of electing their king, chose *Albert*, upon condition that he should not accept of the *Imperial* crown; but understanding that he had been chosen emperor by the diet of *Franckfort*, and that *Albert* was resolved to stand by his wife's hereditary right, they receded from their pretensions, and recognized him as their sovereign.

Accession of *Albert* to the empire;

The differences between the pope and the council of *Basil* who takes still continued, and the princes of the empire resolved upon a the council neutrality; but *Albert* was no sooner seated on the *Imperial* of *Basil* throne, than he took the council under his protection. Being under his crowned protection.



His death.  
1439.

crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, he reformed the tribunal of the *Austregues*, or arbitrators, and abolished the infamous, but old custom, called the secret judgment, practised in *Westphalia*, by which a man might be condemned to death, and yet be ignorant of his sentence till he came to the fatal spot where he was to suffer. Other customs, still more cruel and unjust, are said to prevail in some parts of *Germany* to this day. All the arts, however, employed by the pope, could not divert the *German* princes from their neutrality; and they insisted upon a new council being summoned at another place. By this wise conduct, the princes brought both the pope and the council to depend on them, and a peace was effected between *Hungary* and *Poland*. This had no influence upon *Morad*, the *Turkish* sultan, who besieged *Semendria*, belonging to the despot of *Bulgaria*, which was the bulwark of the *Austrian* dominions on that side. *Albert* raised an army for the assistance of the despot, but the emperor's activity overheating his blood, he died on the 27th of *October*, 1439, and thereby disappointed the high expectations the public had conceived from the preceding part of his life. He left by his wife two daughters; *Elizabeth*, who was the wife of *Casimir*, prince of *Poland*; and *Anne*, who was married to *William*, duke of *Saxony*; and a posthumous son, *Ladislau*, who was crowned king of *Hungary*, four months after his father's death. It was during this emperor's short reign, that the empire was divided into circles, in which the dominions of the electors are not included. *Albert* is said to have possessed many noble qualities, both of body and mind, that fitted him for empire; and from him, by his marriage with the emperor *Sigismund's* daughter, the house of *Austria* derives its present greatness.

## C H A P. XXXIX.

### FREDERIC the third, of Austria.

Frederic  
the third,  
guardian  
to young  
*Ladislau*.

**A**LBERT, at his death, left both the empire and his other dominions in great confusion. The electors assembling at *Franckfort*, offered the *Imperial* dignity to *Lewis III*, of *Hesse*; but he declining it, their choice fell upon *Frederic* of *Austria*, of the *Stirian* line of that family, and cousin-german to the late emperor; nor indeed was the empire worth accepting of but by a prince who could maintain the *Imperial* dignity by his own hereditary power, which was far from being the case with this *Frederic* of *Austria*. The late empress put her infant son under his tuition, as the crown of *Hungary* had been offered to *Ladislau*, king of *Poland*; and that of *Bohemia*, where great divisions then subsisted, to *Albert*, elector of *Bavaria*, who refused it; while the emperor declared, that he would maintain the right of the late emperor's son, to both those crowns.

crowns. The *Bohemians*, upon this, chose two administrators, one a *Hussite*, and the other, *Maisonneuve*, a catholic, who each of them, protected the subjects of his own persuasion, for some time, in tolerable quiet. *Ladislaus* of *Poland* continued to assert his right to the crown of *Hungary*, and defeated the troops of the empress-dowager; but a *Bohemian* officer, called *John Gisor*, stopt his progress. It appears at this time, that the emperor and the great princes of the empire, considered the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* as belonging by hereditary right to the infant *Ladislaus* of *Austria*. Cardinal *Julian*, by order of pope *Eugene*, endeavoured to bring about a peace, which he did on these terms, that the king of *Poland* should be the administrator of *Hungary* during the non-age of *Ladislaus*, and succeed him if he should die without issue.

The differences between the states of *Prussia* and the *Teutonic* order still subsisted, and were referred to the emperor, who gave sentence in favour of the knights, upon which the states acknowledged his *Polish* majesty for their king. *Frederic*, like many of his predecessors, applied himself, in the beginning of his reign, to reform and settle the internal policy of the kingdom, and to compose the differences of the church. The council of *Basil* had chosen *Amadeus* duke of *Savoy* for their pope, and he assumed the name of *Felix*, and both parties courted the friendship of the emperor and the *German* princes, but they adhered to their neutrality, to the great disappointment, both of *Felix*, and his competitor, *Eugene*. *Frederic* however had an interview with *Felix*, who offered him his beautiful daughter in marriage, with a fortune of 200,000 ducats; but *Frederic*, though poor, rejected the proposal with disdain, saying at the same time, that "*Felix*, could he find any one to sell him holiness, was very willing to purchase it." About the year 1442, (a period distinguished, if not for the discovery, for the introduction of printing into *Europe*) *Frederic's* brother *Albert*, on pretence that he had been wronged in his patrimony, put himself at the head of a party of free-booters, and ravaged the dominions of the emperor, who purchased his peace from them, by giving them 70,000 ducats, and putting his brother in possession of *Swabia* and other estates. The towns of *Lubec*, *Hamburg*, *Lunenburg*, and *Wisnar*, about this time submitted to *Eric*, king of *Denmark*, but he was deposed by his states, and the duke of *Bavaria* was chosen in his room, because *Eric* had declared that he would leave his crown to the duke of *Pomerania*. In 1443, *Frederic* renewed his family pretensions, upon *Switzerland*, and applied for assistance to the princes of the empire; but they refused to interfere in the quarrel.

The emperor then engaged *Charles VII.* of *France*, to send his son the dauphin to his assistance. *Charles*, glad of that opportunity, to get a footing in *Alsace* and the empire, sent 40,000 men, who were encountered by no more than 4000

*Swiss*. The latter killed double their own number, but were all cut in pieces except one man, who upon his return home was beheaded for cowardice. Such a love of freedom approaches to ferocity and ingratitude. But though the *Swiss* received other checks, the dauphin could get no footing in their country, and he seized some cities in *Alsace*, which explained the reason of his father's giving him 40,000 men, instead of 5000, as had been stipulated. The emperor *Frederic* is accused of an indolence at this time, which gave the ambitious *Ladislaus* of *Poland* an opportunity of becoming king of *Hungary*, in prejudice of the infant *Ladislaus* of *Austria*. One general of the *Polish* *Ladislaus*, was the famous *Hunniades* who defeated the *Turks*, and another of his generals, *Gisora*, who took the town of *Sophia*. Those advantages raised the character of *Ladislaus* so highly, that the *Turk* offered him terms very humiliating to his pride and ambition, which *Ladislaus* accepted of, and solemnly swore to observe. The mistaken religion of the times, and papal illusion made him imagine, that he might be absolved from the obligation of his oath. He broke the treaty, resumed his arms, and in the battle of *Varna* against the *Turks*, he lost at once his life and his glory. After this *Hunniades* was chosen administrator of *Hungary*. He demanded young *Ladislaus* from the emperor to be educated in *Hungary*; but meeting with a refusal, the *Hungarians* invaded *Austria*, and carried their ravages to *Vienna*, and all that, the emperor, whose indolence still continued, could obtain, was a three years truce, through the interest of the count de *Cilley*.

*Hunniades*  
chosen ad-  
ministrator  
of  
*Hungary*.

Affairs of  
*Bohemia*.

The *Bohemians* were almost in the same situation as the *Hungarians*. Their two administrators quarrelled, and they demanded from the emperor, their king, the young *Ladislaus*. A troop of free-booters, called *Armagnacs*, under the dauphin of *France*, under the colour of the late treaty of alliance against the *Swiss*, by which they had got footing in *Alsace*, ravaged the empire, and demanded pay for the 40,000 men the *French* had lent to the emperor, who said he had only contracted for 5000. The difference was compromised, but the *Brandenburghers* who were the mediators, the *Imperialists* and the *French* continued still to ravage *Alsace*, the property of which was looked upon as very disputable. Pope *Eugene*, at this time, had exercised some unwarrantable severities against the *German* prelates who adhered to pope *Felix*. *Frederic* sent his secretary, *Aeneas Sylvius*, to reprimand *Eugene*, who was brought to a submission, and reversed the deposition he had pronounced against the archbishops of *Triers* and *Cologne*. *Frederic* still refused to send young *Ladislaus* into *Bohemia*, where *Podiebrand* the *Hussite* administrator carried every thing before him, and imprisoned *Maisonnewe*, who died in his confinement. The continued indolence of the emperor, as to the affairs of war and policy, made *Germany* at this time a scene of blood and confusion; but he succeeded



ceeded in terminating the schism of the church, by persuading pope *Felix* to resign his dignity. In 1447, articles under the term of *Concordata*, were drawn up and agreed to by the emperor and the *Germanic* body, and approved of by pope *Nicholas*, for putting an end to the grievances which the *German* prelates complained of from the see of *Rome*. The emperor then required the fathers at *Basil* to break up their assemblies, and sent a mandate to the magistrates of that city to the same purpose. The continuance of the council there was too gainful for them to obey, but *Frederic* making preparations to force them, the fathers removed themselves to *Lausanne*.

*Albert*, marquis of *Brandenburgh*, was at this time at war with the city of *Nuremberg*, who very justly pretended to be entirely independant of him, and both sides being equally powerful and resolute, they pushed each other to debility; so that the emperor at last brought them to a reconciliation. In 1449, *Hunniades* was defeated by the *Turks*, and the states of *Bohemia* again demanded their young king *Ladislaus* from the emperor. Meeting with only evasive answers, they proposed to elect a king out of their own body. *Frederic* disliked this measure, and sent *Æneas Sylvius* to *Bohemia*; and he not only diverted them from their resolution, but brought over *Podiebrand* to *Frederic's* interest. The emperor at the same time promised to send *Ladislaus* to *Bohemia* as soon as he was of age to govern. *Frederic*, by those means having gained a short interval of tranquillity, turned his thoughts towards *Italy*, where the noble dutchy of *Milan*, upon the death of *Philip Maria*, was torn to pieces, among different claimants. *Alphonso* king of *Naples*, the duke of *Orleans*, and *Francis Sforza*, who had been adopted by *Philip Maria* and married to his natural daughter, together with the *Venetians*, and the duke of *Savoy*, were the chief competitors. *Sforza*, a man of great abilities both in war and peace, besieged *Milan*, and the inhabitants offered to put themselves under the protection of the emperor; but *Frederic* being too impotent to defend them, they opened the gates to *Sforza*. That prince sought to create a misunderstanding between the pope and the emperor, who wanted to receive the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, but it was removed by the address of *Frederic's* trusty agent *Æneas Sylvius*. *Hunniades* defeated.

Besides *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, the states of *Upper Austria* War in the claimed young *Ladislaus* as their sovereign. A gentleman, one *Upper Austria* *Eisfinger*, who had been wronged by *Frederic* in a purchase, stirred up the *Austrians* to demand *Ladislaus* from the emperor, and he was obliged to employ his brother the duke of *Austria*, to quell the insurrection, which had got to a great height. *Frederic*, notwithstanding his indolence, was vain and covetous. He set out this year, for *Italy*, attended by young *Ladislaus* and the flower of the *Hungarian* and *Bohemian* nobility. The *Venetians* had possessed themselves of *Placentia*, *Cremona*, and *Lodi*.

*Lodi*, which had belonged to the *Milanese*; and it was their interest to make *Frederic* their friend. They invited him to their city, and presented him with a magnificent service of glass dishes. His jester by a private intimation shook the table and broke them all to pieces, and the emperor with great coolness observed, that had the service been of gold instead of glass, they would not have been subject to that misfortune. Impotent as *Frederic* was, such was the state of *Italy* at that time, that his countenance was of vast importance to each of it's jarring states. At *Sienna*, he met with the princess *Eleonora* of *Portugal*, to whom he was contracted in marriage; but the pope's legates obliged him, before he entered the dominions of the holy See, to take an oath of observance of all it's rights and privileges. In his journey to *Rome*, he intercepted a packet addressed to the pope, from *Eisinger* and the *Upper Austrians*, complaining of him as a tyrant, and of withholding from them their lawful prince, *Ladislaus*. *Frederic*, possessed of this intelligence, afterwards made so artful an apology to the pope, that he entirely gained over the court of *Rome* to his side. Arriving at *Viterbo*, the populace endeavoured to strip him and his attendants of all that was about them, and it was owing to his own activity and those of his retinue, that he saved his furniture and jewels from pillage. He was received with great magnificence at *Rome*, where, notwithstanding the remonstrances of the *Milanese*, he was crowned king of *Lombardy*, and soon after was married to the princess of *Portugal*. Before he left *Rome* he recommended a general confederacy of the Christian powers against the *Othman* infidels, who were now making an incredible progress in *Europe* as well as *Asia*. He left *Italy* with the grief of not being able to resume the noble possessions there, that had formerly belonged to his predecessors in the empire. All he could do, was to extort some money from different states for the liberty of using his name.

The emperor  
crowned  
at Rome.

Disorders  
of Ger-  
many.

When *Frederic* returned to *Germany* he found the *Austrians* and *Bohemians* in arms under *Eisinger*, who besieged him in *Neustad*, and compelled him to agree to give up *Ladislaus* to the tuition of the count of *Cilley* his uncle. This produced a rivalry between that count and *Eisinger*, who acting on more popular principles, drove the count from his guardianship, and solemnly crowned *Ladislaus* at *Prague*. This period is fatally distinguished by the loss of *Constantinople*, which was taken by the *Othman* Sultan, *Mohammed* II. The *German* princes were then disunited among themselves, and regardless of the emperor; so that though their common danger obliged them to hold many diets, they came to no unanimous resolution for stopping the progress of the infidels. *Hunniales* in *Hungary* was still the bulwark of *Germany*. The princes there sent him some reinforcements, which assisted him in raising the siege of *Belgrade*, and giving a dreadful overthrow to the *Turks*. His death, which happened a few days after the action,

action, threw the christians into the utmost consternation; out of which the pope wanted to recover them, but the indolent *Frederic* remained insensible of his own and his country's danger. *Calixtus III.* was then pope, and the *German* nation in general complained of the venality and tyranny that it suffered from him and his predecessors. Those were so flagrant, that even *Frederic* was roused out of his lethargy, and would have joined the princes, had not *Æneas Sylvius* artfully disposed his ministers to favour the court of *Rome*.

After *Ladislaus* was freed from his pupillage, he resented the manner in which he had been treated by his guardian the emperor, so much that a war ensued, and the pope prevailed upon the duke of *Bavaria* to be the mediator between them. *Ladislaus*, at this time, was contracted to *Magdalen* daughter to the king of *France*; but before the consummation of the marriage, he died at *Prague*. Two competitors for the crown of *Bohemia*, both of them suspected of having poisoned the late king, started up. The one was *Rockizane*, a violent *Hussite*, and the other *Podiebrad*, who was chosen, though the emperor, the duke of *Saxony*, prince *Casimir*, and several other princes pretended a right to that succession. The count de *Cilley* had been murdered in *Hungary*. The two eldest sons of the great *Hunniades* had been beheaded, and the third, *Matthias*, was a prisoner in *Bohemia* on that account. Upon the death of *Ladislaus*, the *Hungarians* in gratitude chose *Matthias* for their king, and *Podiebrand* set him at liberty on the condition of his marrying his daughter. The dominions of the *Upper Austria*, which had belonged to *Ladislaus*, next came in dispute, between the emperor, his brother *Albert*, and *Sigismund*, count of *Tirol*; but after much bloodshed and ravages, each had a portion of the succession assigned to him, by the mediation of *Lewis* count *Palatine*.

*Æneas Sylvius* the active agent of the emperor, and the formidable opposer of the papal power, was now chosen pope, and assumed the name of *Pius II.* He was zealous for the union of the christian princes against the *Turks*, but their dissensions, particularly those of the *German* princes, prevented it. The *German* empire was now environed with dangers. *Christiern*, king of *Denmark*, had seized upon the dutchies of *Holftein*, and *Sleswic*, but did homage for them to the emperor. *Podiebrand* in *Bohemia*, found strong opposition to his elective sovereignty, and the *Hungarians* were so superstitious, that they repented their choice of *Hunniades* for their king, because *Frederic* detained from him the *Hungarian* crown, an implement of his inauguration. The pope preached up a crusade against the *Turks*; but no regard was paid to it among the princes of *Europe*; and the indolence of the emperor *Frederic* was such, that the princes of *Germany* deliberated upon setting him aside. But though indolent as to the affairs of the empire, *Frederic* was far from being so with regard to the interests of his own family; for in 1453, he prepared to

Death of  
*Ladislaus*.

A crusade  
against the  
*Turks*, but  
fruitless.

1453.



erect *Austria* into an archduchy. The duke of *Burgundy* attended the diet of the empire, and being then one of the most powerful princes in *Europe*, he offered to head a crusade against the *Turks*. Crusades were not then, as formerly, expeditions of vanity and ridiculous enthusiasm, but measures of self-defence against an infidel power, that threatened to subjugate all *Christianity*; but the princes of the empire and of *Europe*, were too much engaged in their own quarrels to mind the exhortations of his holiness. The emperor would gladly have seconded him, but he was become so much despised, that he was obliged, for the preservation of his own dignity, to have recourse to the friendship of *Albert of Brandenburg*. In short, nothing but the dissensions of the princes of the empire among themselves, could at this time have kept *Frederic* upon the *Imperial* throne.

Disorders  
of the em-  
pire.

They acted in all respects as if they had no head. *Lewis* duke of *Bavaria-Landsbut*, supported by other electors and princes, took the town of *Donawert*. *Frederic* complained of his disrespect to a diet held at *Nuremberg*. By their assistance he raised troops, and gave the command of them to the *Brandenburg Achilles*, who acted with vast spirit and prudence, and retook *Donawert* from the *Bavarian*. The latter appealed to a diet of *Nuremberg*; but his behaviour there, in tearing the patent of his office before the emperor's face, gave *Frederic*, listless as he was, so much offence, that he put him to the ban of the empire. The *Hussites* of *Bohemia*, *Austria*, and *Bavaria*, took part with the *Bavarian*; who after a three years war, was joined by many other respectable princes of the empire, and at last utterly defeated the *Brandenburg Achilles*, to whom the execution of the *Imperial* ban was committed. *Podiebrand* king of *Bohemia*, interposed for peace, which was at last brought about in a treaty at *Prague*, greatly to the advantage and honour of the *Bavarian*.

Disputes  
about the  
archbisho-  
prie of  
*Mentz*.

*Diethric*, count of *Ysembourg*, and *Adolphus*, a prince of the house of *Nassau*, were at this time competitors for the archbishopric of *Mentz*, and both maintained their pretensions by force of arms. *Diethric* was favoured by the canons, as *Adolphus* was by the pope; but *Diethric* was obliged to give way to the prevailing fortune of his antagonist. As if there had been no end to the troubles of the empire, a quarrel broke out between the emperor and his brother, *Albert of Austria*, who was supported by the house of *Bavaria*, on pretence of *Albert* having been wronged in his share of the succession, and of the emperor violating the privileges of the *Austrians*. The king of *Bohemia* would gladly have made up this quarrel likewise; but though he obtained a short cessation from hostilities, they broke out afresh, and *Albert* appeared with an army at the gates of *Vienna*. The magistracy of that city was divided, some favouring *Albert*, and some the emperor; but *Albert* was obliged to retreat, and *Frederic*, upon certain conditions, was admitted into that capital. Here  
behaving

behaving in an arbitrary manner he lost all his authority, especially after the inhabitants found he had not money, either to pay his soldiers, or to reduce a body of free-booters who insulted him and ravaged the country, because they had been defrauded of their pay. The emperor demanded a sum from the inhabitants of *Vienna*, but they were so far from complying, that they ran to arms, and drove him, his empress, and his young son *Maximilian*, into the castle, which the insurgents either would have taken, or starved all within it to death, had not *Podiebrand* interposed, and effected an accommodation between the two brothers, upon terms to which neither of them would stand. *Frederic* refused to suffer his brother to be governor of *Lower Austria*, in which *Vienna* was comprehended, and *Albert* refused to restore what he had taken from the emperor.

The emperor besieged in *Vienna*.

The other princes of *Austria*, the duke of *Bavaria*, the empress, and the pope, endeavoured to bring about a reconciliation; but all was to no purpose, and *Albert* at length beat his troops in the field. It is difficult to say, what the event might have been, had not *Albert* died suddenly, by which the emperor remained in peaceable possession of the disputed territories. Those wars lasted till the year 1464, when the *Hungarians*, without regard to the house of *Austria*, chose for their king, *Matthias Corvinus*, the son of their brave defender *Hunniades*. The emperor claimed that throne by hereditary right, and not only detained in his own jewel-house the sacred crown, without which the *Hungarians* thought their election invalid, but declared war against them. In this he only exposed his own weakness; for *Matthias* insisting upon the crown, *Frederic* was obliged to give it up, and to enter into a kind of family compact, by which the kingdom was to return to the house of *Austria*, in case the race of the *Hunniades* should become extinct. In short, *Frederic* adopted *Matthias* for his son, and *Matthias* acknowledged *Frederic* for his father.

1464.

*Matthias Corvinus* chosen king of *Hungary*.

In the year 1465, the progress of the *Turks*, who had now conquered *Constantinople*, was so formidable, that pope *Paul II.* demanded of the empire 32,000 troops, as it's contingent to serve against those infidels. He made a like demand of the king of *Denmark*, but neither of them was complied with, and *Scanderbeg*, the brave prince of *Albania*, was left to oppose the *Turks*. *Denmark* was engaged in a civil war, and the pope himself had in a manner disabled the *Germans* from taking the field against any enemy, but their own countrymen. *Podiebrand* espoused the cause of the *Hussites* so warmly, that he adopted the worst part of popery by persecuting papists; for he punished such of his subjects as refused to communicate in both kinds; for which he was excommunicated by the pope, and his subjects were absolved from their allegiance. Thus his holiness, instead of succeeding in opposing the *Turks*, armed the christians against one another. He issued his bulls for a

1465.

Formidable progress of the *Turks*.

crusade against *Podiebrand*, and gave his crown to *Matthias* of *Corvinus*. While *Bohemia* was thus involved in war, the emperor succeeded in effecting a reconciliation between the *Poles* and the *Teutonic* knights, who acknowledged themselves feudatory to the king of *Poland*. The indolence and impotence of the emperor at this time was such, that he suffered *Philip* duke of *Burgundy* to annex the dutchy of *Lunenburg* to his dominions, and the inhabitants of *Liege* to rebel against their bishop, who was supported by *Philip* and *Charles* the dukes of *Burgundy*. The *Liegeois* were entirely defeated by duke *Charles*, who made an absolute conquest of their city, and laid the bishopric under severe contributions.

The catholics of *Bohemia*, though glad of the pretext of the papal bulls for withdrawing their allegiance from *Podiebrand*, could not agree among themselves who was to succeed him. The king of *Hungary* had declined the pope's offer, for fear of disobliging the emperor. A diet was held at *Nuremberg* to deliberate on the state of *Bohemia*, and a war with the *Turks*. Here *Podiebrand's* interest appeared to be very strong, and some of the princes proposing, that *Podiebrand's* crown should be given to the emperor; the powerful duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* publicly declared, that it was more proper to transfer the *Imperial* crown to *Podiebrand*. All therefore that was done in the diet, was to vote 20,000 men to serve against the *Turks*. It now appeared that *Frederic* had an eye upon the kingdom of *Bohemia* for himself; but when the crown was offered him by the *Bohemian* and *Moravian* catholics, the pope prevailed with *Matthias* to enter those countries at the head of an army, where he committed great ravages. He was, however, several times beat; and after having had a personal interview with *Podiebrand*, in sight of the two armies, he retired to *Hungary*. The emperor all this time was convoking assemblies, and holding diets, for restoring peace among the princes and states of the empire, but all was to no purpose, their interests being incompatible; and *Podiebrand* still refused to give that toleration to the catholics, for which his own party, the *Hussites*, had but a few years before bravely contended. Differences still continued between the duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* and the elector of *Brandenburg*; *Sigismund* duke of *Austria* was at perpetual war with the *Swiss* cantons, and the *Liegeois* tired of the *Burgundian* yoke, broke into *Tongres*, where they made their own bishop prisoner, butchered the canons, and were guilty of a thousand other barbarities. Those were soon retaliated in kind by the duke *Charles* of *Burgundy*, who suspecting that *Lewis XI.* of *France* had privately fomented the revolt, in a manner forced that prince to serve as a voluntier in his army, with which he entered *Liege*, and after ordering the inhabitants to be put to the sword without distinction of sex or age, he laid their city in ashes, and proceeded in the same manner in the county of *Franchecompté*. The emperor seemed insensible as to all those calamities;

Affairs of  
*Bohemia*

and *Liege*.

Diet of  
*Nurem-*  
*berg*.

Duke of  
*Burgundy*  
subdues  
*Liege*,



calamities ; but under some devotional pretext, he undertook a journey to *Rome*, where he held some idle conversations with the pope, about the means of opposing the *Turks*, and then returned to *Germany*, where he found every thing in greater confusion than ever.

*Hunniades* had renewed his inroads into *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and the duke of *Burgundy*, by far the most powerful prince and intrigues to in the continent of *Europe*, was forming parties among the princes of the empire, to be chosen king of the *Romans* ; in which he probably would have succeeded, had he not been secretly king of thwarted by *Lewis XI. Podiebrand*, still maintained himself the Ro on the throne of *Bohemia* ; and the emperor, whose interest man. it was to check *Matthias*, persuaded him to hold an assembly of the states at *Prague*. There *Podiebrand* proposed, in prejudice of his own family, that the succession of the crown should be settled upon *Ladislaus*, son to *Casimir* king of *Poland*. So disinterested a proposal was embraced by all parties, and *Podiebrand* again defeated *Matthias*, and drove him out of *Bohemia*. In a diet at this time, which was held at *Ratisbon*, at which ambassadors from the duke of *Burgundy* assisted, some very vigorous measures against the *Turks* were proposed and agreed to ; but all of them were ineffectual, because the head of the empire had neither the spirit to support or to execute them. In the year 1471, died *Podiebrand* king of *Bo-* 1471.  
*hemia*, and *Ladislaus*, who was no more than fifteen years of Death of age, was crowned at *Prague*, notwithstanding a vigorous op- *Podie-*  
position made to him by the party of *Matthias*. The death of *brand*  
pope *Paul* succeeded soon after, and he was succeeded by king of  
*Sixtus IV.* who renewed all the vigorous efforts of his pre- *Bohemia.*  
decessor for a general war against the *Turks*, but they were again damped by the emperor, whose natural indolence on this occasion, was greatly influenced by political and family considerations.

The duke of *Burgundy* still continued his intrigues, to be chosen king of the *Romans* ; but besides the opposition he met with from the emperor and the *French* king, the princes of the empire disliked so powerful a head. The duke then treated with the emperor to be made king of *Burgundy*, and vicar of the empire in those parts, and to give his only daughter *Mary* in marriage to young *Maximilian*. He thought himself so secure of succeeding in this negotiation, that he repaired to *Triers* with all the regal ornaments for his coronation. The emperor seemed to agree to the match, but intimated, that it ought to take place before the coronation. *Charles* demurred to this, but at last agreed to perform homage for *Guelderland*, and the other places he held of the empire ; the emperor consenting to crown him next day. The homage was performed, but the emperor evaded the coronation, by hurrying off to *Cologne*. This behaviour created various speculations. Some have thought, that *Frederic* was influenced by the *French* king, others, that he was incited

Marriage  
of *Maxi-*  
*milian*  
with the  
heirefs of  
*Burgundy*,  
proposed.

at

at *Charles* assuming the arms of *Austria*, because he had purchased from *Sigismund* part of the dominions of that house; but the most probable opinion is, that he had reason to believe, if *Charles* was crowned, he would disregard the performance of the match. Be this as it will, it is certain, that he prosecuted his views with unrelenting ardour. He took part with the count *Palatine*, who disputed the archbishopric of *Cologne*, with *Herman* landgrave of *Hesse*, and besieged the town of *Nuys*, which was bravely defended by *Herman*, for a whole year, when he raised the siege, being partly obliged to it by the troops of the empire, and partly by the remonstrances of the *English*. The power of *Charles* encreasing every day, and the empire declining to make themselves a party against him, with the *French* king, the latter found means to engage the duke of *Lorraine*, *Sigismund* duke of *Austria*, the *Swiss* cantons, and some other states in a confederacy against him. This was the commencement of the union between the *Swiss* cantons and the *French* kings.

The  
*Swiss*  
unite with  
the *French*

1476.

They de-  
feat, and  
kill *Charles*,  
duke of  
*Burgundy*.

1477.

In 1476, one *Hagenbach*, the *Burgundian* governor of the *Alsatian* towns belonging to *Charles*, drove the inhabitants into an insurrection, and forced *Hagenbach* to fly to *Brisac*, where he was seized upon by the garrison and the inhabitants, and being formally tried and condemned, for a design he had formed to massacre the natives, and for the murders he had already committed; his head was publicly cut off by torch light. The confederacy against the duke of *Burgundy* gathered strength, not only from the apprehensions the confederates entertained of his power, but of his cruel ferocious disposition. The *Swiss* every where defeated his generals, and he himself taking the field in 1477, lost two brothers, and in a second, which was fought near *Nancy*, he was again defeated, and being mortally wounded, he was found dead next day upon the ice. On his death the *French* king resumed such of his dominions, as had been dismembered from his crown, on pretence that they could not be inherited by a female. The inhabitants of *Ghent*, laid hold of his daughter to prevent her being married to the dauphin of *France*. Upon the death of *Adolphus* duke of *Guelderland*, whom the *Ghentois* designed to be her husband, many rivals appeared for her hand. Among others, was the *English* earl of *Rivers*, whose birth was not thought to be sufficiently illustrious to merit that honour; her subjects were still averse to her matching with the dauphin; she herself hated the son of the duke of *Cleves*, another of her lovers, and during that indecision, *Frederic* renewed his claim in favour of his son *Maximilian*, to whose person and parts nothing could be objected. His addresses were favoured, by his ambassadors producing a letter and a ring, which she had formerly sent to *Maximilian* with her father's consent, by the mother's prepossession in his favour, but above all, by her own inclinations.

*Maximilian*  
marries  
the heiress  
of *Bur-*  
*gundy*.

The

The marriage being celebrated and consummated, though his education had been neglected through his father's sordid avarice and indolence, *Maximilian* shewed great talents for government, by taking part with the *Flemings* against the *French* king, who was obliged to restore to him *Quesnoy* and *Bouchain*. The war continued still to rage in *Bohemia*, where *Matthias* king of *Hungary* defeated *Casimir* king of *Poland*; but upon the interpolation of the pope, a compromise was made, by which, *Matthias* was suffered to retain the title of king of *Bohemia*, during his life time, together with the possession of *Moravia* and *Silesia*; but the sovereignty of the kingdom was to remain with young *Ladislaus*, whom, in case of his dying without issue, *Matthias* was to succeed. The emperor resented this treaty, but made no preparations for war, and was quite unprovided when he was besieged in *Vienna*, the capital of his hereditary dominions, by *Matthias*, from whom he was forced to purchase his peace, by renouncing all claims upon *Hungary*, besides paying *Matthias* 150,000 crowns, and giving him the investiture of all his *Bohemian* estates. *Frederic* by those concessions, pretended to be disabled from assisting his son *Maximilian*, who was then at war with the *French* king; but being unsupported, he had the worst in the dispute. *Maximilian* applied to the diet of the empire at *Nuremberg*, where he exhorted the princes to arm against *Lewis*, who thought proper to yield up *Cambray*, *Bouchain*, and *Quesnoy*, which had been formerly under the protection of the empire, and *Maximilian*, about the same time, found means to fix the *Liegeois* in his interest.

The *Turks*, in the mean while, had taken *Otranto*, which made the pope tremble in the *Vatican* at *Rome*, and new proposals for confederacies against them were set on foot, when *Mohammed* the II<sup>d</sup> died at *Nicomedia*, just as he was meditating an irruption into *Germany* through *Hungary*. While those great events were depending, *Maximilian* was carrying on a most prosperous war against the *French* in the *Low Countries*, for the recovery of all that had been dismembered from the dutchy of *Burgundy*; and his progress was so rapid, that *Lewis* thought fit to employ the famous historian *Philip de Comines*, to set on foot a negotiation, which probably would have been ineffectual, had it not been for the sudden death of the dutchess of *Burgundy*, *Maximilian's* wife, who left behind her a son, *Philip*, and a daughter, *Margaret*. Great disputes, the particulars of which are foreign to this part of our work, happened about the guardianship of the young prince and princess; and *Maximilian's* government now began to be distasteful to the *Flemings*, who complained that he gave all their best posts and places to foreigners. This dispute terminated in the revolt of the cities of *Ghent* and *Bruges*, who secured the person of young *Philip*, and called the *French* king, *Charles* the VIII<sup>th</sup>, to their assistance. At last, after a three years ruinous

His suc-  
cesses in  
the low  
countries.

Death of  
the Turk-  
ish em-  
peror.

Affairs of  
*Burgundy*,



ruinous war, *Maximilian*, upon certain terms, was suffered to remain tutor to his son.

1485.  
and the  
*Tirol* &c.

*Albert* of *Bavaria*, and his brother *Christopher*, had territorial disputes about the estates of *Landsparg*, which were not terminated without bloodshed. *Albert* then persuaded the inhabitants of *Ratisbon*, though a free Imperial city, to submit to his authority; and having married *Cunigunda*, the emperor's daughter, he received in dowry with her the *Tirol*, from her uncle *Sigismund*, to the great disgust of the emperor, who had not been privy to the match. *Matthias*, king of *Hungary*, had courted the same princess, and having met with a disagreeable repulse from the emperor, who continued to make use of the arms of *Hungary*, he made a powerful irruption into *Austria*, where he made himself master of all the strong places, excepting *Cornembourg* and *Vienna*. *Frederic* retired to *Gratz*, where he convened his estates; but they heard his complaints without relieving him, because they knew him to be possessed of vast sums. Seeing, however, that he was on the point of losing all his hereditary dominions, he raised an army, which marched to the relief of *Cornembourg*, then besieged by *Hazi*, a *Hungarian* general, who defeated his troops, and resumed the siege of the place, which was at last obliged to surrender. *Matthias* then assembling his army, besieged and took *Neustadt*, by which he completed the conquest of the *Lower Austria*.

The Hun-  
garians  
conquer  
*Austria*.

A diet at  
*Franck-*  
*fort*, where  
*Maximili-*  
*an* is cho-  
sen king  
of the Ro-  
mans.

The indolence and indifference with which the emperor beheld those calamities of his dominions, were amazing; but the other princes of the empire beginning to be afraid of *Matthias*, he was obliged first to agree to a truce, and then to an accommodation, by which he was to keep possession of *Austria* till he was reimbursed in the expences of the war, and for certain other demands he had upon *Frederic*. The latter was, at this time, paying a visit to his son *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, and upon his return, he bestowed the investiture of *Fuliers* and *Bergau*, upon *William* the young, and received the oath of allegiance from the prince of *Cleves*. The emperor then held a diet at *Franckfort*, where his son *Maximilian* was chosen, and afterwards crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle* king of the *Romans*. The king of *Bohemia* resented his not having been invited to the ceremony, but the other electors found means to appease him, by authentically recognizing the validity of his vote. It is said that *Frederic* was far from being fond of his son's elevation, being afraid of the activity of his spirit. To keep him as much aloof as possible from the affairs of *Germany*, he lent him a body of troops to support himself in *Flanders* against the *French*. They committed vast disorders in that country, where the inhabitants were greatly discontented that the education of their young sovereign was trusted entirely to the dutchess dowager of *Burgundy*, sister to *Edward* the IVth of *England*, and other foreigners. Their dissatisfaction rose to such a height, on this and other ac-  
counts,

counts, that when the states of *Flanders* assembled at *Bruges*, He is imprisoned *Maximilian* in the castle, and beheaded four prisoners of his chief counsellors. The inhabitants of *Ghent* followed at *Bruges*, their example, by beheading ten others for being accessory to *Maximilian* entering their city with too strong an armed force. The states were convened at *Mecklin*, in the name of young *Philip*, to deliberate on his father's enlargement; but instead of that, they brought against him very heavy accusations. The pope and the emperor were obliged to interpose, and *Maximilian*, after suffering ten months imprisonment, was not set at liberty till he signed a treaty by which he confirmed the rights of the *Flemings*. Soon after he arrived at *Brabant*, and being joined by his father, the dukes of *Saxony*, *Bavaria*, *Brunswic*, *Brandenburgh*, and other princes of the empire, he retracted what he had done. They endeavoured to bring the duke of *Cleves*, who was the sworn guardian of *Maximilian's* engagements, to be of their party; but like a man of honour, he withstood all solicitations and threatenings; and was, by the emperor, most solemnly put to the ban of the empire. *Frederic* then besieged *Ghent*, but was obliged to give over his enterprize on account of a new invasion of *Austria* by the *Hungarians*. On his return to *Germany*, having left the command of his army to the duke of *Saxony*, he erected *Austria* into an archduchy, the first duke being *Philip*, *Maximilian's* son.

The *Hungarians* had been provoked at the non-payment of War by the subsidies lately stipulated by *Frederic*, and a negotiation between them was set on foot between him and *Matthias*, who then lay in a very declining state of health at *Vienna*, of which he still kept possession. *Matthias*, instead of abating, rose in his demands; *Maximilian* was for purchasing peace on any terms, and for clearing *Austria* of the *Hungarians*. This created a coldness between him and his father, who every day expected the death of *Matthias*; which accordingly happening, instead of purchasing peace, he laid claim to the throne of *Hungary*, in which he was supported by many of the *German* princes. The *Hungarians*, on the other hand, elected for their king, *Ladislaus* king of *Bohemia*, and he purchased peace of *Frederic* for 100,000 florins. A family compact, at the same time, was entered into between them, by which *Frederic* was to remain in sole possession of *Austria*, and the inheritance of the crown of *Hungary* was settled upon *Maximilian* and his issue, in case *Ladislaus* should die without legitimate children. *Frederic*, though a prince of very moderate parts, by perseverance in an obstinate attachment to avarice and his family interest, did great things, of which his posterity found the benefit. He annulled his brother *Sigismund's* gift of the *Tirolese* to his son-in-law, the duke of *Bavaria*, and put that family to the ban of the empire, the execution of which he committed to the elector of *Brandenburgh*; but he found himself unable to carry his point against the *Bavarian*. *Maximilian* opposed all his

his father's fordid measures, and at last prevailed so far, that the city of *Ratisbon*, which had been put to the ban of the empire for taking part with *Bavaria*, was re-enfranchised. The district of *Abensperg* was given to the duke of *Bavaria*, together with a sum of money, as a dowry with the princess *Cunigunda*, upon his ceding the *Tirolese* to the emperor.

Affairs of  
France.

*Charles VIII.* was then on the throne of *France*, and, like the emperor, was intent on the aggrandizement of his own family; and a contract had been entered into between him and *Margaret*, *Maximilian's* daughter, which he sought to break, and to marry the heiress of *Britany*, who had been actually married to *Maximilian*, though the nuptials never had been consummated. With this view, he invaded *Brittany*, and made himself master of the person of the dutchess, whom he married, the pope dispensing with his former contract. *Maximilian*, thus disappointed of his bride, and his pride wounded in the affront offered to his daughter, was exasperated beyond all measure, and appealed to the princes of the empire and the *Swiss* for assistance to repair his injured honour; but a peace was concluded at *Senlis*; and *Margaret*, who had been educated at the *French* court, was sent to her brother the archduke; but the *French* king gave up to *Maximilian* the counties of *Artois* and *Burgundy*, retaining four cities in the former till *Philip* was of age to ratify the agreement. *Ladislaus*, whose father *Casimir*, king of *Poland*, died in 1492, continued to reign peaceably over *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and the emperor having so vigorously, to the surprize of all *Germany*, exerted himself against the house of *Bavaria*, was preparing to pass the rest of his days in sequestered tranquillity, when he was attacked by a distemper from his indulging himself too much in eating of melons, which carried him off in the 79th year of his age, in the year 1493. Before his death, a mortification happening in his leg, it was amputated; and he had, for some time, amused himself with the study of chemistry, astrology, and other fashionable deceptions, which in *Germany* go under the name of learning.

Death of  
the emperor.

1493.

His character and  
epitaph.

This emperor, though as to his genius he was an abject being, raised his family to the amazing grandeur it now enjoys by his provident measures, all which have succeeded. Though far from being warlike, he was quarrelsome, and he had ambition without resolution to support it. He was remarkably abstemious, so that being always master of his faculties, he employed the low natural talents he enjoyed to great advantage. The greatest happiness of his life, was his indulging his fondness for the grandeur of the house of *Austria*; and he chose for his device the five vowels, *a, e, i, o, u*; the initials of which lead to the words, *Austriae est imperare orbi universo*: in *English*, It belongs to *Austria* to command the whole world. The *English* of the inscription on his tomb at *Vienna* is as follows: "*Frederic III. emperor, pious, august, sovereign of Christendom, king of Hungary, Dalmatia,*"



"*tia*, *Croatia*, archduke of *Austria*, duke of *Stiria*, *Carinthia*, and *Carniola*; count, prince of *Hapsberg* and *Tirol*,  
 "landgrave of *Alsatia*, prince of *Suabia*, marquis, &c. a  
 "prince most religious, who governed the empire 38 years with  
 "great wisdom and moderation; and who, by the emperor  
 "Maximilian, his son, to the most serene lady *Mary*, daughter  
 "and heiress to *Charles*, duke of *Burgundy*, has united  
 "to the house of *Austria*, all the dutchies, provinces, lord-  
 "ships, and demesns which that duke possessed by sea and  
 "land, and which the emperor *Maximilian* preserves with his  
 "sword."

## C H A P. XL.

## MAXIMILIAN the first.

THIS emperor was covered with glory when he mounted the throne. He had beat the *French* at the battle of *Guine-  
 gaste*; he had recovered from them the patrimony of his son *Philip*, and having been cured of some imperfections of nature, which, till the tenth year of his age, made him be considered as an ideot, he was looked on as a prodigy, because he knew several languages, could speak and write fluently, and was brave and active in person. To do him justice, he established academies, or prevailed with other princes to establish them, all over the empire; and he was so vigorous in his preparations against the *Turks* after his accession to the *Imperial* throne, that he checked their progress. Being a widower, he married *Blanche Maria*, niece of the famous *Lewis Sforza*, furnished the Moor, duke of *Milan*, with whom he had in dowry 460,000 ducats, about 250,000 *l.* but he privately conferred the investiture of *Milan* upon the Moor, who was suspected of having poisoned his ward, the son of his elder brother. *Maximilian's* son *Philip*, was at this time considered as the hereditary prince of the *Low Countries*, and the deputies of their states had taken an oath of fidelity to him as their governor.

The revival of literature, and the discovery of printing, with the introduction of gunpowder, and many other useful arts, had given, at this time, a new face, not only to *Germany*, but to all *Europe*. *Maximilian* held a diet at *Worms*, where he fixed the *Imperial* chamber, but he could not prevail upon the princes, either to engage in a war with the *Turks*, or to oppose the progress of the *French* in *Italy*, under *Charles* the VIIIth, who laid claim to the crown of *Naples*, and they confined their deliberations entirely to the internal tranquillity of *Germany*. The *Suabian* confederacy, which had been formed for preserving the peace of the empire, and was now very powerful, was confirmed. *Wurtemberg* was elected into a dutchy;

dutchy; *Sforza's* investiture was ratified; and *Rene*, duke of *Lorrain*, who claimed at the same time to be king of *Jerusalem* and *Sicily*, took an oath of fealty to the emperor, after a particular form, and received the investiture of the dominions, for which he paid homage. As this duke had a strong claim upon *Naples*, *Maximilian* offered to support him in it, if he would join him in a war against *France*; but *Rene* declined the terms. Upon the whole, all that the states of the empire could be brought to, was, a resolution to defend themselves if attacked by the *French*, who had, by this time, made themselves masters of *Naples*, *Sienna*, and *Florence*. Their rapid progress gave rise to a confederacy, in which *Maximilian*, the pope, and other princes of *Italy*, were parties against

*Charles*. *Maximilian* took that opportunity of marrying his son *Philip* to the infanta *Joanna*, daughter to the king and queen of *Arragon*, *Castile* and *Naples*; a match which had afterwards great and unexpected consequences.

*Charles*, to prevent the ill effects of this confederacy, set out for *France*, and defeated the allies at *Fornova*, about four miles distant from *Parma*; but being obliged to take law from his *Swiss* mercenaries, he clapt up a peace, and returned to his own kingdom; upon which *Ferdinand*, the catholic king, recovered *Naples*. *Maximilian*, dazzled with the promises made him by *Lewis* the Moor, passed the *Alps* with an army, which was too weak to do much more than pull down the *French*, and erect the *Imperial* arms at *Pisa*. He then attempted to besiege *Leghorn*, but being unsupported by the princes of the empire, he grew despicable in the eyes of the *Italians*, and returned to *Germany*, where the princes, in two diets held at *Lindaw* and *Worms*, still refused to join his schemes. On the contrary, the elector of *Mentz* pathetically lamented the disordered state of the empire, and the great master of the *Teutonic* order complained that the *Prussians* had desolated *Livonia*. *Maximilian's* weakness induced the *Frieslanders* and *Guelldrians* to assert their independency upon the emperor and the empire, and *Maximilian*, to reduce them, appointed the duke of *Saxony* their podesta or governor; but the *Frieslanders* drove him out of their country, and called to their assistance the duke of *Guelderland*. *Maximilian*, in a diet held at *Fribourg*, complained of the *Frieslanders* as well as the *Swiss*, for having violated the *Suabian* confederacy; but could meet with no effectual satisfaction. The *Poles* applied to the diet for assistance against the *Turks*, and the princes recommended them to the pope, whose agent had most iniquitously raised immense sums in *Germany*, which they desired should be employed for the relief of *Poland*. The diet complained likewise of the extortions of the papal ministers in *Germany*, and threatened to do themselves right, if his holiness should not relieve them.

The abuses on the part of the pope, whose agents most scandalously converted to his or their own use, the money raised

raised to support the war against the infidels, and were guilty of the most infamous venality, alienated the minds of the Germans from the holy see long before *Luther* appeared. *Maximilian*, by this time, had disappointed his subjects in the high opinion which they had entertained of his abilities, upon his accession to the *Imperial* throne. He rendered the *podestaship* or *præfecture* of *Friesland*, hereditary in the duke of *Saxony's* family; but the *Frieſlanders* stood by their antient privileges, and refused to submit to his government. *Maximilian* had neither money nor troops, at this time, to maintain his authority. *Lewis* the XIIth, who had succeeded *Charles* in the *French* throne, laid strong claim to the duchy of *Milan*; and *Lewis* the Moor called upon *Maximilian* for assistance. All that the latter could do, was to foment the jealousy of the neighbouring princes against *France*; and he particularly encouraged his son *Philip*, archduke of *Austria* who was in reality more powerful than himself, to reclaim the remainder of the *Burgundian* succession, which was still withheld by *France*; and in this, *Philip* was, in part, successful.

*Maximilian*, at this time, was miserably distracted between his engagements with *Lewis* the Moor, of *Milan*, and the rebellion (as he called it) of the *Frieſlanders*. He claimed *Friesland* by virtue of the last duke's will, and, likewise, a pecuniary consideration he had paid; but he was opposed by *Charles* of *Egmont*, the grandson of that duke. While he was endeavouring to reduce him, the *Swiss*, instigated by the *French* king, invaded *Austria*, and defeated the emperor's troops in a great battle near *Bregentz*. That brave people, every day, became more and more averse to the house of *Austria*, and worsted its partizans in every part of their neighbourhood. *Lewis* wisely availed himself of their jealousy and hatred of the *Austrians*, by entering into closer connections with them than ever. He concluded a formal treaty with them at *Lucerne*, which included their allies, the inhabitants of the towns in *Alsace*, and the cities of *Straſbourg*, *Basil*, *Kayſerberg*, *Colmar*, and *Sceleſtadt*. *Maximilian* endeavoured to prevent this alliance from taking place, by writing a soothing letter to the *Swiss*, whose deputies were assembled at *Zurick*; but no sooner was it read, than they unanimously called out that, *They ought to repose no trust in Maximilian*. The latter, affecting to despise, but in reality both hating and fearing them, assembled an army near *Constance*, and invaded the canton of *Shaffhausen*. While this army was robbing and plundering the country, it was entirely cut in pieces by the *Swiss*, as was another of the *Imperial* armies, which had taken *Tungen*; but the *Swiss* retook it and demolished its fortifications. *Maximilian*, who was then engaged in the war with *Charles* of *Egmont*, hearing of so many repeated disasters, made a forced march across the *Black Forest* to *Constance*, where he had given orders for assembling a new army, the command of which he gave to the count of *Wirtemberg*. He then sum-

His troops  
defeated  
by the  
*Swiss*,



moned the allies of the *Suabian* league to assist him against the *Grisons*, who were the allies of the *Swiss*. They accordingly raised an army, but, like the former, it was destroyed by the *Grisons* and the *Swiss*.

*Maximilian* raised a fresh army from his hereditary dominions of *Austria*, but that, likewise, was compleatly defeated by the *Swiss*, and they and the *Grisons* had their reward in the plunder of the *Tirolese*, besides the glory of asserting their own liberties and independency. The count of *Furstenberg*, one of the *Imperial* generals, was then besieging *Dormeck* upon the *Rhine*, the inhabitants of which were in alliance with the *Swiss*, who fell upon the count, killed himself and 4000 of his men, and seized upon all his artillery and baggage. In short, the haughty house of *Austria's* armies, in less than six months time, were seven times defeated and destroyed by the despised *Swiss*. In the year 1500, *Maximilian*, dispirited and dejected, applied to them for a peace at *Zurich Schaffhausen*, which they generously granted, but left many important points to be settled by arbitration. After that, he concluded another treaty with *Charles* of *Egmont*, whom he acknowledged to be duke of *Guelderland*. The firmness and valour which the *Swiss* shewed in this quarrel, and their noble adherence to the interest of their allies, raised their reputation to so great a pitch, that *Basil*, *Schaffhausen*, and *Appenzel*, acceded to their confederacy, and compleated the number of thirteen cantons, of which the *Swiss* republic now consists.

1500.

whose republic is established.

Difference between the emperor and the pope.

New constitution of the empire.

The resentment of the *Germans* against the court of *Rome* grew now every day more and more. *Alexander VI.* was then pope, and the scandalous abandoned libertinism of his son, the famous *Cæsar Borgia*, the account of whose murders and profligacy now filled all *Europe* with horror, brought complaints to *Rome*, of his having dissipated the money that had been raised for opposing the *Turks*. *Alexander* promised to reform those abuses, and the diet of the empire prolonged the *Suabian* league for twelve years, and provided the means of supporting it, by dividing the empire into six circles, those of *Bavaria*, *Franconia*, *Suabia*, *Saxony*, the *Rhine*, and *Westphalia*. This project, as we have already observed, had been formed before; but the dominions of the house of *Austria*, and the electors, not having been comprehended within the arrangement, *Maximilian* set them an example of consenting to it, by forming his own *German* dominions into a circle, and the electors followed his example, by adding four circles more. Those of *Austria* and *Burgundy*, comprehended the dominions of the house of *Austria*; that of the *Upper Rhine*, included those of the *Palatinate*, and the three ecclesiastical electors; and those of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, were comprehended in the circle of *Upper Saxony*. The original scheme was, that each circle should chuse a civil and military director; but those offices afterwards became hereditary, and centered in certain princes in each circle, who had power to convoke each

each diet, and preside at all its transactions. The circle of *Austria* was allotted to its archduke. The elector of *Bavaria* and the archbishop of *Saltzburg*, presided over the circle of *Bavaria*. The margrave of *Brandenburg*, with those of *Baireith* and *Anspach*, and the bishop of *Bamberg*, over that of *Franconia*. The duke of *Wirtemberg*, and the bishop of *Constance*, presided in *Suabia*. The bishop of *Worms*, and the count *Palatine* of *Simmeren* in the *Upper Rhine*, the archbishop of *Mentz*, directed the affairs of the *Lower Rhine*, as did the bishop of *Munster* those of *Westphalia*; but conjunctly or alternately with the electors of *Brandenburg* and *Palatine*. The dukes of *Magdeburg* and *Bremen*, with the duke of *Brunswic-Lunenbourg*, were the directors of the *Lower Saxony*, as the elector of *Saxony* was of the *Upper*; but after the accession of the kings of *Spain* to the succession of *Burgundy*, *Franche Comte*, and the low countries, the circle of *Burgundy* was directed by them and their deputies. *Bohemia* was not comprehended in this division, on account of a misunderstanding then subsisting between its king and the emperor.

Upon a new irruption of the *French* under *Lewis XII.* Progress of the *French* in *Italy*, *Lewis*, the *Moor*, of *Milan* fled for shelter to *Maximilian*, while they made themselves masters of *Milan*, *Genoa*, *Tortona*, *Alexandria*, and other principal towns of *Italy*. *Lewis* made a triumphant entry into *Milan*, and was acknowledged by all the powers of *Italy* (the king of *Naples* excepted) as its sovereign. *Maximilian* was obliged to agree to a truce with him, but the *French* governors upon the return of *Lewis* to his own kingdom, were guilty of such horrid abuses of power, that the people of *Milan* expelled them, and readmitted the *Moor*, who took 8000 *Swiss* into his pay, and besieged the *French* general, *Trivulci*, in *Novara*, which capitulated. *Maximilian* persuaded the diet of *Worms* to take some vigorous resolutions for opposing *Lewis*; but the *Swiss* mercenaries, whom *Lewis*, the *Moor*, had taken into his pay, gave him up to the *French*, and *Lewis XII.* confined him in the castle of *Loches*, where he ended his days. *Lewis*, to secure his *Italian* acquisitions, demanded from *Maximilian* the investiture of the *Milanese*, which he obtained by the force of money, and proposing his daughter, *Claudia*, as a wife for *Maximilian's* grandson, *Charles*, afterwards the famous emperor, the fifth of that name. This treaty farther imported, that *Lewis* should assist *Germany* against the *Turks*, and guarantee the reversion of *Hungary* and *Bohemia* to the house of *Austria*. *Maximilian's* son *Philip*, who, with his wife, was declared by *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, the heir to the crown of *Spain*, was a party in this treaty, which was most solemnly executed on all parts.

The diet of *Nuremberg* resented the accession of the city of *Basil*, which was imperial, to the *Hebetic* league, chiefly because other imperial cities might follow its example. The diet, however, was so moderate, that the princes were contented.

A crusade  
preached  
up.

tented with summoning *Basil* to accede to the *Suabian* confederacy, and to consider *Basil* still as an imperial city, subject to the taxes imposed by the diet of the empire. The *Teutonic* knights, at this time, were by the *Poles* reduced to a low state; and though befriended by the princes of the empire, they could obtain no relief, not even from the homage they were obliged to pay to the *Poles* for their own possessions. Pope *Alexander VI.* continued to multiply his demands on the empire, and all *Europe*, in a most scandalous manner, and sent new nuntios to *Germany*, and all over *Christendom*, to collect money for a crusade against the infidels. *Maximilian* referred his nuntio, *Reymond*, to the princes of the empire, but refused to advance any thing from his own finances. The princes, on the other hand, remonstrated upon the establishment of the aulic council by *Maximilian*, as being incompatible with the powers of the *Imperial* chamber. The emperor paid no regard to their remonstrances, and supported his new institution, which in time supplanted the *Imperial* chamber, and became the great tribunal of the empire. The princes, in revenge, refused their consent to the erection of the dutchy of *Austria*, into an electorate, in favour of archduke *Philip*; but he invested *Philip* with other signal privileges, which induced the princes of the empire to associate themselves afresh, against the growing power both of the father and son, and to render themselves independent upon them, as far as the constitutions of the empire would admit of.

*Henr. VII.* *Henry VII.* of *England*, was then the richest prince in of *England Europe*, and *Sigismund*, who was one of the poorest, applied to him for a large loan of money. *Henry* wisely refused money to him the loan, but made him a present of 10,000 l. to be employed against the *Turks*, on his agreeing to a treaty of friendship and commerce, which proved afterwards extremely advantageous to *England*. *Maximilian*, at this time by a concurrence of causes, was chosen umpire to settle the differences, which had broken out into a war, between the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, on account of *Lubec* and the *Hanse* towns, which had withdrawn their allegiance from the latter, in favour of the former. A spirit of independency seems then to have taken possession of the *Germans*, and in imitation of the *Swiss*, their peasants took arms to render themselves a sovereign republic. All the princes of the empire, with *Maximilian* at their head, thought themselves in interest obliged to raise troops to quell this insurrection, which they did, but not without great difficulty. The duke of *Bavaria-Landshut* had made his son-in-law *Rupert*, count *Palatine*, his vicar in the *Lower Bavaria*, and had made a disposition of his dominions in his favour. On that duke's death, *Albert* and *Wolfgang* dukes of *High Bavaria*, disputed the validity of this disposition with *Rupert*, and their claim being admitted by the emperor, *Rupert* was put to the ban of the empire, for refusing



refusing to abide by the sentence. *Rupert's* father, *Philip*, being encouraged by promises from the *French*, took arms in favour of his son, and was put to the ban of the empire likewise. Half of *Germany* then ran to arms, and was filled with blood and confusion; but the princes taking part with the emperor, the elector *Philip* was obliged to shut himself up in *Heidelberg*. *Rupert* dying, a diet was convoked at *Cologne*, where A diet at the elector, *Philip*, asked pardon of the emperor, and was ad- *Cologne*. mitted into favour. After that, an accommodation was effected between the *Palatine*, and the *Bavarian* houses, as were several differences among other powerful princes.

A negotiation between the emperor and the *French* king, was, all this while, going on at *Blois*, and at last concluded. It was agreed, that *Lewis* should receive the investitures of *Milan* from *Maximilian*, whose grandson, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, then but five years old, was to marry the princess *Claudia* the *French* king's daughter; but it was stipulated, that if the consummation of this match should fail on the part of *Lewis*, young *Charles* should inherit the duchy of *Burgundy*, the *Milanese* and the county of *Asti*. If the failure should happen through *Maximilian* or his son *Philip*, the house of *Austria* was then to renounce all it's pretensions to the duchy of *Burgundy*, the *Artois*, the *Charolois*, and other counties they had claims upon. *Lewis*, after this treaty was finished, was sensible that he had made a bad bargain. *Britanny* was the inheritance of the young princess, and must go to *Charles* if the marriage took place. He privately engaged his great men to oppose it, and the lady was bestowed in marriage upon the count of *Angoulesme*, presumptive heir of the crown. Treaty of Blois.

The year 1506, was a remarkable period for the house of *Austria*. *Isabella*, the wife of *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, the heiress and queen of *Castile*, and patroness of the great Death of *Columbus*, who some time before had discovered *America*, died. *Isabella* By her will she provided, that the crown should descend to her of *Castile*, grandson, *Charles* of *Luxembourg*, who was not to reign till he was 20 years of age, and that her husband *Ferdinand*, should possess it in the intermediate time. This will has been censured by historians, as having been obtained by the craft of *Ferdinand*, who undoubtedly was one of the most self-interested princes of his own, or any other, age; but when we examine the destination, it is far from being unjust or unnatural. *Isabella* made her husband the administrator of her crown, which must otherwise have descended to a foreign prince, the husband of her daughter, *Joanna*, who appears to have been a very weak woman. *Ferdinand* engaged her to sign her mother's will, but agreed that she and her husband should jointly reign in *Castile*; and accordingly, for some time, the public acts passed in the name of all three; but, soon after this arrangement was made, *Philip* died at *Bruges*, with so ill an opinion of his father-in-law, *Ferdinand*, that he gave the guardianship of his son *Charles* to *Lewis* XII. of *France*, notwithstanding

and of  
*Philip*  
king of  
*Spain*.

their late disagreement. The death of *Philip* threw *Maximilian* into great perplexities; the *Flemings* looked upon him as a prince entirely foreign to them, though he was the grandfather of their sovereign, nor would they admit him to be their regent. They therefore, for seventeen months, secluded him from the administration of all their affairs; but being pressed in a severe war, with the duke of *Guelderland*, they agreed to submit to the regency of *Maximilian*, provided he gave them his daughter *Margaret*, for their governess, to which he consented.

History of  
the league  
of *Cam-*  
*bray*.

The *Venetians* were, at this time, the most powerful people in *Italy*, and had the glory of being the bulwark of *Europe*, against the *Turks*. *Maximilian* complained, that they behaved towards him with insolence, that they possessed some lands belonging to him in *Istria*, and that their greatness was incompatible with the interests of the empire in *Italy*, especially, as they were abetted by the *French* governors of the *Milanese*. He convoked a diet of the empire, to know how far the princes would support him, in case of a breach with them; and they agreed, that war should be declared with that republic; but gave him little or nothing to carry it on. *Maximilian* intended to be crowned at *Rome*, and passed the *Alps* with a small army, which was opposed in the valley of *Trent*, and afterwards entirely defeated by *Alviano* the *Venetian* general, who took possession of almost all the *Trentine*, and *Trieste* the capital of *Istria*, while *Maximilian* was obliged to retire to *Innsbruck*. The emperor thus disappointed of receiving the *Imperial* crown at *Rome*, with the pope's consent, enjoined the states and princes of the empire, to give him the title of *Roman Emperor elect*, which has been ever since used by his successors, though not crowned in *Rome*.

Losses of  
the *Vene-*  
*tians*.

The *Venetians* permitted their general, *Alviano*, the honour of entering their capital in triumph, in the manner of the old *Romans*. This, and the great state they assumed in their proceedings and negotiations, added disgust to that jealousy, which the other powers upon the continent of *Europe*, who had all of them claims upon the *Venetians*, had for some time entertained of their power. *Lewis XII.* ordered his *Milanese* governor not to assist them in acting offensively against the emperor. This rendered the *Venetians* more tractable towards *Maximilian*, with whom they concluded a treaty of truce for three years, but left three months for the *French* king to accede to it. This exasperated *Lewis*, and he employed his minister, cardinal *D'Amboise*, to form a general league against those haughty republicans. The warlike pope, *Julius II.* who may be called the restorer of the papal power, readily embraced the motion, as did *Ferdinand* king of *Arragon*, and notwithstanding the late treaty of truce, it was particularly agreeable to the emperor. The last hand was put to this famous league at *Cambray*, from which city it takes its appellation. The particulars of their several usurpation upon the contracting

contracting parties are there specified, and agreed to be restored to their respective original possessors. The emperor in particular, was to repossess *Roveredo, Verona, Padua, Vicenza, Trevisa*, and the *Frioul*. To give *Maximilian* some pretext for breaking the treaty of truce, the pope was not wanting in summoning him, as avoyer or defender of the holy see, to assist him in recovering its patrimony. *Maximilian* was likewise engaged to bestow the investiture of all the places, the *Venetians* had taken in the *Milanese*, upon *Lewis*. So strongly did the spirit against the *Venetians* operate on this occasion, that not only the duke of *Savoy*, and the other *Italian* princes, but the kings of *England* and *Hungary*, were invited to accede to the league of *Cambray*, and the house of *Austria*, during the war, was to suspend all its claims upon the crown of *Castile*.

The storm gathered by this league soon broke out, in appearance, that, at first, threatened the utter extinction of the *Venetian* republic, which was stripped by the *French* and league of *Imperial* arms, of all her possessions in *Lombardy*. The pope was equally successful, and at the head of 10,000 men, took from them all their towns in the *Romagna*, while *Maximilian* was securing to himself *Istria* and *Friuli*. A general battle was fought at *Ghiara d'Adda*, in which the *Venetian* troops were entirely defeated by the *French* and *Swiss*, and those republicans were soon obliged to abandon all their conquests on that side, and to retire to their capital. The count of *Frangipani*, and the duke of *Brunswic*, two *Imperial* generals, retook all the places they had taken the preceding year from *Maximilian*, who was in fact the chief gainer by the *French* victory at *Ghiara d'Adda*. The *Venetians* knew, that the emperor did not wish to see the *French* too powerful in *Italy*, *Ferdinand* was jealous of the house of *Austria*, and the pope hated all his allies, whom he had confederated with, chiefly that they might quarrel in the end, and drive each other out of *Italy*. Neither he nor *Ferdinand* wished to see the *French* or *Germans* powerful at the expence of the *Venetians*. The latter applied in the most humble terms to *Maximilian*; but he was overawed by *D'Amboise* the *French* minister, to whom he gave the promised investitures, on the 14th of *June*, 1509, at *Trent*, but received in return 60,000 golden crowns, besides what he had received some time before, to put his armies in motion. A personal interview was proposed, between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, but declined on the part of the latter, and *Lewis* returned to *France*, upon which the *Venetians* began to conceive some hopes of retrieving their affairs.

*Maximilian* imagined they had been so effectually subdued, that they could not think of recommencing hostilities, but they took *Padua*, and several other places garrisoned by his troops. *Maximilian* by the assistance of his allies, was soon at the head of 80,000 men, but so rooted was the hatred of the *Italians* to the *Germans*, that unable to retake *Padua*, he was obliged



obliged to retreat into the *Tirolese*, and the *Florentines* bought their peace of him for 40,000 golden crowns. Mean while the *Venetians* not only reconciled themselves to the pope, but effected a breach between him and the *French* king. His holiness offered to mediate a peace between them and *Maximilian*, but though they offered him a sum of money, the proposal came to nothing, because they refused to part with any portion of their territory. *Maximilian* in the mean while, held a diet at *Augsbourg*, in which the city of *Hamburg* was declared to be independent of *Denmark*, and his views of reviving the Imperial authority in *Italy*, were approved of by the diet of *Augsbourg*. This appearing disinterestedness of *Maximilian*, cemented the bonds of friendship, between him and *Lewis*, more strongly than ever, and in the beginning of the year 1510, the Imperial and *French* generals, who were the count *de Hanau*, and the marshal *de Chaumont*, marched to *Vincenza*; but the *French* refused to co-operate with *Maximilian* in his favourite scheme of besieging *Pavia*, nor would either the pope or the king of *Arragon* contribute their contingencies towards the common cause.

The treaty of Blois concluded between Lewis and Maximilian. Differences at that time still subsisted between *Ferdinand* and *Maximilian*, and *Lewis* acted as arbiter towards both. His award was, that *Ferdinand* should govern *Castile*, the maternal inheritance of *Maximilian's* grandson, the archduke *Charles*, till the latter arrived at his 20th year, and that the children which *Ferdinand* might have by a second marriage, should have no claim on that kingdom. During the dependency of this arbitration, pope *Julius* gave *Ferdinand* the investiture of the kingdom of *Naples*, and prepared to declare war against *Lewis*, that he might, as he termed it, kick the barbarians, meaning the *French*, and all the ultramontane Europeans out of *Italy*. This conduct produced the treaty of *Blois*, between *Lewis* and *Maximilian*, who had the like views, but proposed to attain them by very different ends. *Lewis* convoked his *Gallican* clergy, and they gave their opinion, that if the pope was engaged in an unjustifiable quarrel, he might be as lawfully resisted as any other power, and that no more regard was due to him than to any other prince, christian or infidel. *Maximilian*, on the other hand, had a far deeper scheme of policy, which (however it has been censured as chimerical and improbable) was certainly founded in good sense and sound principles of government.

Project of Maximilian to become pope. The popes, for many ages, had been known to be the most ambitious and the most abandoned wretches that ever disgraced human nature, and they had, by the force of their spiritual authority, usurped and enlarged their temporal jurisdiction. They had artfully disengaged themselves from their dependence upon the empire, and yet no limits had been fixed by any public solemn act, by which the boundaries of the two jurisdictions, either civil or pontifical, could be ascertained. *Maximilian*, who is said to have been as great a proficient in history

History as any man of his age, thought it practicable to do in *Italy*, what the caliphs had done in *Asia*, that is, by uniting the whole of the civil and spiritual power in one person, to procure his own exaltation to the popedom. For this purpose he proposed to call a general council, which was to depose pope *Julius*, and then to borrow 300,000 ducats to bribe the cardinals, and the *Roman* nobles, to elect himself pope. The money was to be obtained from the *Fuggers*, then the greatest bankers in *Europe*, by pawning to *James* the elder *Fugger*, four chests full of jewels, with the investiture cloak, not of the empire, but of the house of *Austria*, "of which, says *Maximilian*, in a letter he wrote on this head, we shall have no farther occasion, after we have obtained the papacy." The pope was ignorant of *Maximilian's* intention, and receiving the *Neapolitan* auxiliaries, which were furnished by *Ferdinand*, he attacked the duke of *Ferrara*. *Maximilian* and *Lewis* complained of *Ferdinand's* breach of faith, but received no satisfaction, though they offered to refer the cause of the pope to a general council. *Ferdinand*, however, succeeded so far as to persuade *Maximilian*, that the interests of *France* and *Germany* were incompatible, and the latter grew very cold at last towards *Lewis*, requiring him to send a minister to a council, which was to be held at *Mantua*, and where the bishop of *Gurck* acted as the *Imperial* plenipotentiary. *Lewis* thought proper to dissemble, and sent the bishop of *Paris* to *Mantua*. It appears, that *Julius* was still greatly in the dark with regard to *Maximilian's* designs, and even promised the bishop of *Gurck* a cardinal's hat if he would let him into the secret, but to no effect. While the congress was holding at *Mantua*, *Lewis* was successful in *Italy*, and the pope perfidiously endeavouring to surprize *Genoa*, the bishop of *Gurck* broke off all farther correspondence with his holiness.

In the year 1511, a council was opened at *Mantua*, under the protection of the *French* king, who omitted nothing to regain the good graces and confidence of *Maximilian*. That emperor's poverty was at perpetual war with his politics. *Ferdinand*, though rich, was covetous, and would not give him money; the pope could spare him none, because of the vast designs he was pursuing in *Italy*, and *Maximilian* was once more brought over to join the *French*, even against his better judgment. *Lewis* gave orders to his general, *la Palice*, to act under *Maximilian*, who sent him 9000 men, but declined to take any command in person. *Palice* pursued the war against the *Venetians*, over whom he gained considerable conquests; all which were ceded to *Maximilian*; but finding him still dissatisfied with the *French*, *Palice*, instead of pursuing his advantages, retired to *Milan*. But a new scene of politics now opened in *Europe*.

*England* was then governed by a young, warm, vain, and unexperienced prince, *Henry VIII.* who so far from embracing the maxims which he afterwards pursued, thought it his sides with

1511.

League  
between  
*Lewis* and  
*Maximi-  
lian*.

*Henry*

*VIII.* of

*England*

greatest the pope.

greatest glory, to rescue the pope from the oppression of the *French* king, who was then very powerful in *Italy*. The politic *Ferdinand*, his father-in-law, knew *Henry's* weak side, and resolved to avail himself of it; the incautious prince fell into the snare, and they jointly, but secretly, solicited *Maximilian* to abandon all connections with the *French* king. *Henry*, next to *Ferdinand*, was the richest prince in *Europe*, but lavish of his treasure to profusion, and therefore was an ally extremely proper to succeed the *French* king in *Maximilian's* friendship. The latter, to give the better colour for a breach, made many extravagant and some unjust demands upon *Lewis*, who in vain offered him 50,000 crowns in subsidy, for *Maximilian* fell entirely in with the views of *Ferdinand* and *Henry*. *Lewis* stood then single against a powerful confederacy, which was formed to strip him of his *Italian* acquisitions. He gave the command of his army to his nephew, *Gaston de Foix*, a young, but truly military genius, who performed prodigies of valour, and generalship, against the confederates in *Italy*; but after completely defeating them at the battle of *Ravenna*, he was killed in the pursuit. The consequence was, that the *Swissers* were introduced by the pope into *Italy*, and conquered the duchy of *Milan*. *Maximilian* had planned out that beautiful territory, as the heritage of his grandson, *Ferdinand*, younger brother to the archduke *Charles*; but *Ferdinand* and the politic *Italians*, could not endure the thoughts of *Austrian* greatness in *Italy*, and to the great disappointment of *Maximilian*, they restored that dukedom to the house of *Sforza*; and thus the *French* king, excepting a few garrisons, was stripped of all his vast acquisitions in *Italy*, without *Maximilian* receiving the smallest share of the conquests, he had been so instrumental in obtaining.

*Maximilian* disappointed.

He pursues his scheme of being made pope.

The bishop of *Gurck* in vain remonstrated upon the injustice done to his master, and the artful pontif had the address to procure a congress to be held at *Rome*, for settling all differences between *Maximilian* and the *Venetians*, as well as with himself and those two powers. *Maximilian* insisted upon the *Venetians* doing him homage for *Padua*, *Trevis*, *Brescia*, *Bergamo* and *Crema*, which they not only refused, but claimed from him the restitution of all the conquests he had made in their dominions. The congress thus proving ineffectual, the pope sided with the emperor, who now finding it impracticable to depose *Julius*, altered his scheme, and proposed to be his co-adjutor in the popedom. This appears from an authentic letter which he wrote to his daughter *Margaret*, in which he tells her, that he had abandoned all thoughts of matrimony, or of having ever afterwards any commerce with a naked woman. That he intended to send the bishop of *Gurck* to *Rome* to propose his being co-adjutor to the pope, and that he might succeed him in that dignity, that he would then become a priest, and afterwards a saint,

and



and then, continues he, you must of necessity adore me after my death, an honour of which I shall be extremely proud.

Some authors have quoted this part of the letter, as an instance of *Maximilian's* superstitious weakness; but we are far from looking upon it in that light, for we consider it only, as a stroke of humour which passed from the father to the daughter. There is no necessary connection between either a pope or a priest and a saint; and *Maximilian's* jocularly on this occasion, tends rather to ridicule than to manifest superstition. In the subsequent part of the letter, he tells her, that he had brought over the king of *Arragon* to approve of his design, provided he resigned the empire to archduke *Charles*, which he was well contented to do; that the *Romans* were 20,000 fighting men strong, to oppose the *French* and *Spaniards*, and that they were resolved to make him pope, to the exclusion of all *French*, *Arragonians*, and *Venetians*; but that 2 or 300,000 ducats, would do infinite service to him in treating with the cardinals. He informs her, that his *Arragonian* majesty had instructed his ambassador to give him all his interest for the popedom, but enjoins her to keep the whole a most profound secret, subscribing himself, "your good father *Maximilian*, future pope." In a postscript he informs her, that the pope could not live very long. From this curious letter, the reader may, besides other useful inferences, conceive some idea of the venality of the court of *Rome* at that time, but *Maximilian* seems to have been acquainted with the real character of *Julius*. He was a true *Italian*, and his ruling passion was to deliver his country from barbarians, whom he indeed employed in cutting one another's throats, after they had served his purposes in *Italy*. He rejected, with high disdain, *Maximilian's* proposal communicated to him by the bishop of *Gurck*, and dying soon after, the papacy devolved on *Leo X.* of the house of *Medici*, whose conduct both in public and private, though the capital encourager of arts then reviving in *Europe*, served only to encrease the detestation of the papacy, which was every day gaining ground, especially in *Germany*.

*Maximilian* about this time interested himself in the quarrel between the *Danes* and the *Hanse* towns, by taking part with the latter. The king of *Denmark*, without regarding the *Imperial* authority, interrupted the trade of the *Hanse* towns, especially that of *Lubec*, and obliged them to sue for peace, which was granted them, at *Fleasburg*. By this time the *French* king, through the perfidy of the pope and *Ferdinand*, was become the great support and ally of the *Venetians*; and the vanity of *Henry VIII.* of *England*, induced him to take *Maximilian* into his pay as a volunteer, at the rate of 100 crowns a day, for which his *Imperial* majesty actually served under him at the battle of *Guinegate*, commonly called the battle of the *Spurs*. A new league was formed, between pope *Leo*, old *Ferdinand* of *Arragon*, and *Henry VIII.* of *England*, against *France*. By it, the emperor was to possess *Burgundy*, the pope *Provence*, and

His letter to his daughter on that head.

Francis  
conquers  
the Milan-  
ese.

Bad suc-  
cesses of  
Maximi-  
lian,

whose dif-  
ficulties  
increase.

and *Henry VIII. Normandy*. This league however was of no long duration, and *Maximilian*, who got money from the *English* monarch, was the only gainer by it. *Francis I.* succeeding *Lewis* in the *French* monarchy, perceived that *Maximilian* though always poor, had, like other princes of his house, great views for his family. He was at that time celebrating the marriage of his beautiful grand-daughter *Mary*, with *Lewis* the eldest son of *Ladislaus*, king of *Hungary*; and the disordered state of *Germany* had obliged him to relinquish all thoughts of *Italy*, on which the attention of *Francis* was chiefly fixed. *Francis*, whose coffers were then full, neglecting *Maximilian*, concluded a peace with the *English* and the *Venetians*, and marched a strong army into *Italy*, to reconquer the *Milanese*, which he effected, after having beat the *Swiss*es at the battle of *Marignan*. Those rapid successes of the *French*, had not been foreseen by *Maximilian*, and alarmed him so much, that he carried an army of 30,000 men into *Italy*, to assert the *Imperial* claims upon the *Milanese*. He could receive no assistance from the pope, who was overawed by *Francis*; nor could he depend upon *Ferdinand*, whose perfidy and treachery were linked with the infirmities of old age.

The pope being thus forced to take part with *France*, *Francis* returned to his own dominions, as being secure of his new conquests, but the emperor laid siege to *Milan*. He was at this time in so great distress for money, that he sent for the *English* ambassador, attending his camp, and proposed to cede the *Imperial* dignity to his master, *Henry*, for a large pecuniary consideration, promising to convoke a diet at *Triers*, and to engage the princes of the empire to support the cession; after which he was to accompany *Henry* to *Rome*, to receive the *Imperial* crown. It is almost incredible, that those romantic proposals should operate so strongly upon *Henry*, that he advanced him a large sum of money towards the conquest of the *Milanese*. *Henry*, in an interview, which his ambassador afterwards had with *Maximilian* in the *Low Countries*, claimed the performance of those mighty promises, and *Maximilian* was not ashamed not only to evade them, but to declare, that he was doing all he could to procure the *Imperial* crown, after his decease, for his grandson, the archduke *Charles*.

While *Maximilian* was engaged in the siege, or rather blockade of *Milan*, he found himself involved in a variety of difficulties. He had not received his subsidies from *England*, and his troops were destitute of provisions. The life of *Ladislaus* king of *Hungary* was despaired of, 12,000 *Swiss*ers had reinforced the *French* army, and his grandson, the archduke *Charles*, was become monarch of *Spain*, by the death of *Ferdinand*. Upon the whole, *Maximilian* found himself under an absolute necessity of raising the siege of *Milan*, and of making peace with the *French* king. For that purpose, conferences were opened at *Noyon*, and a treaty took place, by which *Francis* was to remain,

remain in peaceable possession of the *Milanese*; and *Charles* was to marry, either his daughter *Louisa*, or his queen's sister, *Renee*, with a large portion of the kingdom of *Naples*, on which *Francis* had pretensions, for her dowry; but *Charles* was obliged, in six months time, to restore to *Henry D'Albert*, the kingdom of *Navarre*, which had been injuriously ravished by his grandfather, *Ferdinand*, from *Henry D'Albert*; and he was likewise to pay 100,000 crowns a year, towards the maintenance of the prince's *Renee*: But a new scene of affairs now opened in *Germany*.

Venality was then considered, not as a crime but as a principle, at the court of *Rome*; nor did the most pious directors of the *Romish* faith, make the least scruple of practising it, provided it could, in the most remote degree, contribute towards the interests of the church. But unhappily for the popedom, people who lived at a distance from his court, could not embrace this wicked system. *Leo* had at this time in view, two as great designs, though of different kinds, as the human mind could well entertain; the one was to extirpate the *Mahometans* out of *Europe*, the other, to complete the building of the church of *St. Peter* at *Rome*, the noblest and most stupendous fabric that the earth ever bore. For attaining those ends he sent his bulls to *Albert*, bishop of *Mentz*, to be published in *Germany*. By those bulls, plenary indulgences were granted, through which, all who purchased them, were not only to exempt their own souls, but those of their parents and friends, from the pains of purgatory; together with many other ridiculous privileges of the same kind, annexed to those impositions on the common sense of mankind. The distribution of those indulgences, was a matter of vast consequence and profit, and was committed to *John Chatel* a *Dominican* and his brotherhood. *Maximilian* seems to have taken no concern in this matter; and the choice of the *Dominicans* for distributors of the indulgences, was owing to the partiality of the archbishop of *Mentz* for that purpose. Their order was equally wicked and ignorant. They set up offices and booths in taverns, and other tippling-houses, where the indulgences were exposed, as vendible commodities. The money they brought, was partly remitted to the pope, and partly consumed in the most riotous excesses, by the collectors. The *Augustine* monks, who, by a previous contract, thought themselves entitled to be the agents of this infamous commerce, resented the preference given to the *Dominicans*, so far that they preached against that order, and their frantic proceedings.

One *John Stulpitz* was then vicar general of the *Augustines* and of *Germany*, and patronized by the elector of *Saxony*, a prince *Luther's* of true piety and good sense. *Stulpitz* chose for his co-adjutor, *Martin Luther*, who belonged to the university of *Wittenberg*, a man of undaunted resolution, of a rough, rapid *Dominican* imagination, and, in that country, of uncommon erudition.

*Luther*

Account  
of the rise  
of the re-  
formation,



*Luther* in public disputations advanced many arguments, or what are called *theses*, against the doctrine of indulgences, and the proceedings of the *Dominicans*, and maintained them with vast spirit and keenness, even to the questioning the pope's authority. In a short time, *Luther* made profelytes of all who durst think for themselves, but was opposed by one *John Thetzel* at *Franckfort* on the *Oder*, who was the pope's inquisitor, and condemned *Luther's* writings to the flames. This served only to spread the spirit of reformation the wider, and *Luther* was so far from being intimidated by *Thetzel's* censures, that he and his brethren, the *Augustines*, burnt the works of the *Dominicans* at *Wittenberg*. *Maximilian* was plied by each party, to declare in its favour, but he wisely avoided entering into the dispute. The *Dominicans* pestered the pope to side with them, and he summoned *Luther* to appear before his commissaries at *Rome* in sixty days.

*Luther* absconds.

*Maximilian* was then in a declining state of health. *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, was no more than ten years of age, and he was obliged to interest himself in the choice of a proper regency during his minority. At the same time he was on the eve of accommodating all differences with the court of *France*. He was sensible, that the empire at this time was over-run with disorder, corruption and venality, and he summoned a diet at *Augsbourg*, where he recommended his grandson, the archduke *Charles*, to be his successor in the empire. He wrote to the pope, who had it then in his power to restore tranquillity to the empire, by pronouncing a definitive sentence in the differences, between the *Dominicans* and the *Augustines*; but those growing every day more outrageous, before he received any answer from his holiness, he at the request of the *Dominicans*, summoned *Luther* to appear at the diet of *Augsbourg*. During the dependency of this affair, the elector of *Saxony* was backed by the university of *Wittenberg*, in his endeavours to prevail upon his holiness, to dispense with *Luther's* journey to *Rome*, and to be contented with his appearing before his legate, cardinal *Cajetan* at *Augsbourg*. The haughty legate considered the simple friar as a suppliant for pardon, rather than as a champion for his own opinions, and *Luther* instead of recanting, defended them with great strength of reasoning, not unmixed with obstinacy. It does not, candidly speaking, appear, that even at this time, any plan of reformation from the errors of popery had been settled. *Cajetan* was exasperated to the last degree, by *Luther's* perseverance; and the latter, mindful of the fate of *John Hufs* and *Jerome* of *Prague*, of a sudden disappeared, but not before he had affixed to a public place, an appeal from the legate to his holiness.

*Maximilian* took the less concern in those threatening appearances, as he was then busied in securing for his grandson *Charles*, his succession to the *Imperial* crown. In this he consulted the hereditary attachment, which the *Austrian* princes always had entertained for their own family; for it was easy

to foresee, that a prince who aspired to the *Imperial* throne, *Maximilian* after being possessed of that of *Spain*, must meet with great *li-*an en-  
 opposition. On the other hand, the danger was alarming, deavours  
 should his rival, *Francis I.* be chosen emperor; but some of to get his  
 the electors thought there was less danger, in having a *French* grandson  
 than an *Austrian* head, because of the great hereditary domi- elected  
 nions, which *Charles* possessed in *Germany* and the *Low* emperor;  
*Countries*, independent of the crown of *Spain*. *Maximilian*  
 was so intent on the elevation of his grandson, that it hasten-  
 ed his death. Upon the breaking up of the diet, he repaired  
 in vast anxiety of mind to *Innsbruck*, where he found himself  
 affected by a slow fever. He gave orders for his being removed  
 to *Austria*, and endeavoured to banish his indisposition by ex-  
 ercise. Returning one day from hunting, he eat some melons  
 to assuage his thirst, which threw him into a dysentery, that car-  
 ried him off in the 60th year of his age. He ordered his body  
 to be interred at *Neustadt* in *Austria*, after all its cavities had  
 been filled up with quick lime.

The character of *Maximilian* has not met with justice from his death,  
 later authors, who have injudiciously, and calumniously ranked  
 his poverty among his failings, though it was only his misfor-  
 tune. His person was handsome and majestic. He had a  
 genius strongly turned towards poetry, a lively imagination,  
 and his memory was tenacious to a miracle. He owed his in-  
 digence in a great measure to his liberality and magnificence;  
 he affected learning, and learned men, and was brave, reso-  
 lute, and patient of every inconveniency in a military capa-  
 city. He introduced reformatiions in military discipline, that  
 kept their footing for many years after in *Europe*, and some of  
 them, perhaps, continue to this day. Notwithstanding all  
 those noble qualities, the whole of his conduct was a system  
 of inconsistency. After he had planned a wise measure, of the  
 greatest consequence to his affairs, he was generally obliged  
 to abandon it on account of his poverty. The same misfor-  
 tune obliged him to relinquish his design to become pope;  
 and it is certain, that he was more capable of forming great  
 designs, than of executing them, even though his poverty had  
 been out of the question. He often abandoned his most important  
 affairs, to indulge himself in the pleasure of hunting, in which  
 he was so bold, that he sometimes involved himself in preci-  
 pices, from which the people of *Tirol* were obliged to draw  
 him up with cords, half dead with hunger and fatigue. Among  
*Maximilian's* other virtues, his modesty and decency of be-  
 haviour, were not the least conspicuous, though with re-  
 gard to his amours, he was far from being of a cold con-  
 stitution.

His first wife, *Mary* of *Burgundy*, died by a fall from her character,  
 horse. His marriage, by proxy, with the heiress of *Britany*, and issue.  
 never was consummated. He had an aversion for his third  
 wife, daughter to the duke of *Milan*, which broke her heart.  
 His daughter *Margaret*, by *Mary* of *Burgundy*, was married,  
 first

first to *John*, the son of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella* of *Spain*, and afterwards to *Philibert* duke of *Savoy*; but the last nuptials never were consummated. His eldest son, *Philip*, by *Mary* of *Burgundy*, who died twelve years before *Maximilian*, married, as we have already observed, *Joanna*, surnamed the *Foolish*, daughter of *Ferdinand* and *Isabella*, and by her he had six children; *Charles*, who succeeded his grandfather in the empire; *Ferdinand*, who was emperor likewise; *Eleonora*, wife to *Emanuel* king of *Portugal*, to whom she bore a daughter, and afterwards to *Francis* I. of *France*, by whom she had no issue; *Isabella*, who was married to *Christiern* king of *Denmark*, expelled by his subjects for his tyranny; *Mary*, the governess of the *Low Countries*, who was wife to *Lewis* king of *Hungary*; and a posthumous daughter, *Catharine*, who was married to *John* III. king of *Portugal*. Besides his lawful issue, *Maximilian* had eight natural children, sons and daughters, whom he provided for, suitably to their stations.

## C H A P. XLI.

## C H A R L E S the fifth.

State of  
Germany  
during the  
succeed-  
ing inter-  
regnum  
of six  
months.

Charles V.  
elected  
emperor.

1519:

A Vacancy of the *Imperial* throne, was an object that had engaged the attention of all *Europe*; but the government of the empire, during the interregnum, was vested in the *Saxon* and *Palatine* electors, and it continued six months. *Charles* was already a formidable prince, by his hereditary dominions, and the electors, through the vast encrease of the *Turkish* power, were obliged to chuse for their head, a potentate, who could maintain not only the rights, but the territories of the empire. *Francis* I. of *France*, openly declared himself his rival for the *Imperial* dignity; but pope *Leo* X. secretly crossed the election of both, because either of them, if elected, must be too powerful in *Italy*; so little regard had his holiness to the interests of *Christendom*. The intrigues of the two competitors, and their scandalous application of money, to bribe the electors, are below the dignity of history to relate particularly. The *French* king sent into *Germany* four hundred thousand crowns, which were distributed among the princes of the empire, to obtain their votes. Each, separately, received his bribe, but when they met in a body, they debated themselves into a resolution, to raise neither to the *Imperial* dignity, and it is certain, that they offered it to the elector of *Saxony*, *Frederic* the wise. He, from the patriot consideration, that the empire required a powerful head, had engaged his vote to *Charles*, who by the voice of all the electors, except that of *Treves*, who continued firmly attached to *Francis*, was chosen emperor on the 28th of *June*, 1519.

Charles



*Charles* was then in *Spain*, and the elector *Palatine* was sent to give him intimation of his election, upon which he immediately set out for *Flanders*, and on the 21st of *October*, 1520, he repaired to *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where he was crowned. The electors and princes wisely made use of the circumstances, under which *Charles* was chosen, to obtain of him a capitulation, by which the *Imperial* authority, and the rights of his subjects in the empire, were more precisely ascertained than they had ever been before. On the very day of his election a battle had been fought, between the bishop of *Hildesheim* and the duke of *Brunswic*, upon a territorial dispute; and indeed the interregnum was filled with blood and commotion, no regard being had to the vicars of the empire or the ordinary courts of justice. *Charles*, before his arrival in *Germany*, having heard that *Henry VIII.* of *England*, was preparing to have an interview with *Francis I.* surprized *Henry* by a visit in his own dominions, where he landed at *Dover*. His real motive was to bring *Henry* over to a league with him against *France*, and though no characters could be more opposite than those of the two monarchs, yet *Charles* had address enough to gain his point upon the main, by flattering *Wolfsey*, *Henry's* minister, with the hopes of one day gaining the papacy by his means. The 6th of *January* was appointed for holding the diet at *Worms*, and it is said that *Henry*, who was then a furious opposer of *Luther*, exacted from *Charles* a promise to suppress him and his sect. Rigorous edicts accordingly were published against *Luther*, after he had had a full hearing before the diet. Some of the mad bigots for popery advised *Charles* to act as his grandfather *Maximilian* had done, by paying no regard to the safe conduct he had given to *Luther*, but he rejected this wicked advice with a noble indignation, and *Luther* was suffered to depart unhurt. He was, however, put to the ban of the empire, but he was secreted in a castle belonging to the duke of *Saxony*, where he remained concealed for nine months.

*Charles* visits *Henry VIII.* of *England*,

In a succeeding diet, which was held at *Nuremberg*, *Charles*, and goes after promulgating several laws and edicts relating to the internal state of the empire, acquainted the assembly, that upon the death of pope *Leo X.* his first minister, who had the charge of his *Spanish* affairs, *Adrian Florissen*, had been advanced to the popedom, and that it was necessary for himself to repair to *Spain*. This was a request by no means agreeable to the members of the diet, who had entertained some thoughts of making his continual residence in the empire one of the terms of his capitulation; but this was looked upon as unreasonable, therefore no opposition was made to his request, and he departed for *Spain*, after leaving his brother, the archduke *Ferdinand*, his lieutenant in *Germany*.

The reader in this part of our work is not to expect a complete history of *Charles V.* whose actions and power extended to many different parts of the globe, and which will be related in this time.

counted in their proper order ; for which reason we shall confine our present narrative to the affairs of *Germany* only. *Ferdinand*, who was more of a bigot than his brother, insisted upon executing against *Luther* and his followers, the edicts of the diet of *Worms*, and likewise the bull which had been issued by *Leo X.* against that reformer, in order to obtain a uniformity of religion. The state of *Europe*, as well as the empire, at this time, was unfavourable to so rigorous a barbarity, which obliges us to take a cursory view of it, that the reader may be the more enabled to account for the great events that followed. The dissolute lives, and open corruption of the *Romish* clergy, contributed, far more than their ignorance and ridiculous doctrines did, towards the reformation ; because few are judges of literature, but every man is of another's practice in point of morals. The seeds of reformation had long lurked among the common people, and notwithstanding the boast of the popish universality of religion, it would be no difficult matter to prove, that in many places of Christendom, there always existed an opposition to the gross errors of popery. The *English Wickliff* had laid the foundation for the reformation long before, on a much stronger and more liberal plan than that of *Luther*, and *Huss* and *Jerome* of *Prague* were his disciples. The most uninformed part of *Europe* in matters of religion, were its princes and great men ; because they took up with that religion which was most convenient for themselves. *Henry VIII.* of *England* was, as we have already hinted, intoxicated with the vanity of being a champion for the pope. *Francis I.*, though a prince personally brave, liberal and open, considered religion only as an engine of state. *Charles V.* with more sound sense and refined policy, for the same reason, espoused the absurdities which he secretly despised. *Christian II.* king of *Denmark*, *Norway* and *Sweden*, with great parts, was so great a monster of inhumanity, that he was deservedly called the *Nero* of the north ; but his conduct shewed that he was indifferent to all religions, though he professed a warm attachment to the *Romish*. But philosophy and true science had now got footing in *Italy*, and began to disseminate themselves through *Europe*, nor could all the power of its princes stifle them.

Proceed-  
ings a-  
gainst *Lu-*  
*ther* and  
his fol-  
lowers.

At the time when *Charles* nominated his brother to be his lieutenant or vicar, the two vicars of the empire still subsisted ; and here it is necessary to remind the reader, that there is a material difference between the power of the emperor, and that of the empire. The vicars of the empire are accountable to the diet only, and their decrees are irrevocable ; the vicar of the emperor is accountable to him alone, and his power is limited to his hereditary dominions, of which the archduke *Ferdinand* was then in possession. The duke of *Brunswic* and *Lunenbourg* still continued to be at war with the bishops of *Hildesheim* and *Minden*, and all of them had been summoned before the diet ; but they despised the order, and kept their arms in their

their hands ; nor was *Charles* as yet powerful enough to wrest them from them, though they were put under the ban of the empire. The duke of *Saxony* was known to be the protector of *Luther*, and on the 6th of *May*, 1521, an edict was issued in the name of *Charles*, enjoining all the subjects of *Germany* to imprison *Luther* and his adherents, under certain censures due to disobedience. The duke of *Saxony*, though he knew the edict to be levelled against himself, disregarded it, because of the prevalency of *Lutheranism* in the empire. The legate of *Clement VII.* who was then pope, pushed for the execution of the edict, in its most extensive sense, in a subsequent diet held at *Nuremberg*, and prevailed with the catholic princes to meet at *Ratisbon*, where they entered into a confederacy not to make any alteration in religion, but to maintain it as then established, in all its absurdities, to persecute the *Lutherans* with the utmost severity, and to defend each other if attacked. This confederacy was formed too late ; for by that time the tyrant *Christiern* had been dethroned in the north, and *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Norway* had embraced the reformation, as had a great part of *Lower Germany*, *Livonia*, and *Prussia*. The great master of the *Teutonic* order, *Albert of Brandenburg*, in particular, with a view of founding a new family, to whom he could leave a civil jurisdiction, forsook the errors of popery, that he might be at liberty to marry.

1521.

Revoluti-  
on in the  
north of  
Europe.

In the mean while *Charles V.* had again visited *England*, where he was received with great honour, and was betrothed to his cousin *Mary*, daughter to *Henry VIII.* and his aunt, *Catherine of Arragon*, and who was afterwards *Mary* queen of *England*, and wife to *Philip*, *Charles's* son. Those espousals were strengthened, as is said, by an engagement entered into by *Charles* to repay *Henry* 500,000 crowns (which were advanced him as the marriage portion of the princess) if the marriage did not take place ; and *Charles* was likewise to pay to *Henry* annually, 130,000 ducats, as long as he should continue to act offensively against *France*. But the great engine of *Charles's* success with *Henry*, was cardinal *Wolsey*. The cardinal was at this time somewhat discontented with *Charles* for preferring his preceptor *Adrian* to the papacy ; but *Charles* had address enough to soften him, by representing to him *Adrian's* very advanced age and infirmities of body, and indemnifying *Wolsey* for the loss of his *French* revenues, while his master was at war with *France*. It is certain that *Charles* was at this time very needy. The *Germans*, though he was at war at once in *France* and *Italy*, furnished little or nothing towards the expence : *Spain* was poor, and his officers in the lately discovered world were too busy in enriching themselves, to regard their master's interest. Notwithstanding all these disadvantages, *Charles* made a formidable head against *Francis*. Pope *Adrian* had joined their confederacy ; the *Venetians* had taken part with *Sforza*, the rival of *Francis* in the *Milanese*, and their example was followed by the *Florentines*,

*Charles*  
again vi-  
sits Eng-  
land.



## A GENERAL HISTORY

the dukes of *Ferrara* and *Mantua*, and other states of *Italy*. *Charles* was then in *Spain*, but had able ministers and generals, whom he could trust with the management of his affairs. The elevation of *Clement VII.* to the popedom, rendered *Wolfey* his irreconcilable, but secret, enemy. The loss of his friendship was replaced by that of the constable of *Bourbon*, the greatest subject of *France*, who, disgusted with his sovereign, entered into the service of *Charles*, and paid him a visit in *Spain*.

War be-  
tween him  
and  
*France*.

*Charles* attacked *France* on the side of *Navarre*, as *Henry* did in *Picardy*; but the *French* defended themselves with great bravery. The revolt of *Bourbon* rendered it improper for *Francis* to march in person into *Italy*, but his general, *Bonivet*, advanced thither with an army. Had he improved the consternation of the *Italians* to his master's advantage, he might easily have become master of *Milan*; but he trifled away his time so egregiously, that his army mouldered away by famine and diseases, and an army of capricious *Swisses*, whom he expected, instead of joining him, returned to their own country, and carried with them all their countrymen, who were serving under *Bonivet*. In short, the *French* lost all they had in *Italy*, excepting *Cremona* and *Lodi*. *Genoa* declared for *Charles*, who gave his countenance to *Sforza*, but not the investiture of *Milan*. While the *French* were thus unfortunate in *Italy*, *Germany* was threatened, on the side of *Hungary*, by the *Turks*, who had taken *Belgrade*, and the important island of *Rhodes*, and her internal tranquillity was disturbed by a war, between the *Alsations* and the elector of *Triers*.

1524.

Affairs of  
*Germany*.

In 1524, pope *Clement* sent a legate to the diet of *Nuremberg*, to engage the *Germans* in an offensive war with the *Turks*, and to strengthen the interest of the *Romish* church in the empire. *Charles* was too much engaged in war with *Francis*, to give much attention to the affairs of *Germany*; and at this time, had planned no less than the entire destruction of the *French* monarchy. He had agreed to give his sister, the queen-dowager of *Portugal*, in marriage to the constable of *Bourbon*, who was to invade *Provence* and *Dauphiny*, of which he was to be declared king, but to hold them in fief from *Henry* of *England*. *Charles* was to be put in possession of *Burgundy*, and the remaining dominions of *France* were to be left to *Henry*. *Bourbon* could not be brought to acknowledge *Henry* as king of *France*. He, and the marquis of *Pescara*, with an army of *Imperialists*, invaded *Provence*, and besieged *Marseilles* (contrary to *Pescara's* judgment) but were obliged to retire with loss and disgrace to *Italy*. In the mean while, *Wolfey's* disgust at the emperor operated insensibly, on the side of *Picardy*, where the war was at a stand. This encouraged *Francis* to march in person with an army into the *Milanese*, the conquest of which was the great object of his ambition. That city received him. The *Imperialists* and *Sforza* retired to *Lodi*, and *Francis*, instead of pursuing them, was so ill-fated as to be-  
siege

siege the strong town of *Pavia*, which was defended by the marquis *de Leyva*, a *Spaniard*, and one of the ablest generals of his time. *Pescara* and *Lanoy* assembled an army, and *Bourbon* brought 12,000 lansquenets, or *German* soldiers, to raise the siege. They fought *Francis*, defeated and took him prisoner.

The king  
of France  
taken pri-  
soner.

Had this event not happened, or had *Francis* been possessed of the smallest degree of prudence, and declined the battle, the affairs of *Europe* must have taken a turn disagreeable to *Charles*. *Henry VIII.* influenced by his haughty minister, *Wolsey*, had in effect abandoned his alliance. Pope *Clement VII.* had linked himself with *Francis*, to whom he had promised the crown of *Naples*, and the other states of *Italy*, the *Florentines* in particular, could not endure the power of *Charles* in their own country. *Charles* received the news of his rival's captivity and his own victory, with a moderation that is scarcely to be paralleled in history, but it was dictated by profound dissimulation, tho' his conduct at this time was very unaccountable. Though he was the most active prince of the age, and now in a manner master of *Italy*, instead of making any dispositions for improving his good fortune, he amused himself with his amours at *Madrid*, and in extinguishing the few remains of *Spanish* liberty. Instead of pushing *Henry* to take advantage of *France* on the side of *Picardy*, he neglected that court so much, that *Wolsey* gave his master's inclinations a new turn, by alarming him with the danger of *Europe* from the power of *Charles*. As a proof that the moderation of the latter was mere dissimulation, he at this time changed the manner of his signature, for instead of writing to him with his own hand, he employed that of his secretary, and instead of subscribing himself, "Your affectionate son and cousin," as usual, he only wrote '*Charles*.' *Henry*, who was of a disposition very different from that of *Charles*, discovered at first an extravagance of joy at the captivity of *Francis*, but soon after sent an ambassador to *Madrid*, requiring *Charles* to fulfil his engagements with him, by a powerful invasion of *France*, and to repay him the money he had borrowed in *England*. This only produced recriminations on the part of *Charles*, who seemed to have laid aside all thoughts of marrying the *English* princess, and he upbraided *Henry* for his inactivity on the side of *Picardy*; upon which *Henry* concluded a treaty with the regent of *France*, mother to *Francis*, and entered into engagements with her for his deliverance.

1525.

Dissimula-  
tion of  
*Charles*.

*Germany* was at this time a scene of confusion, on account of religious disputes. *Melancthon*, a famous, but a moderate reformer, opposed *Luther*; and *Storck*, a *Silesian*, founded the sect of Anabaptists, of which *Muncer* was the head. This fanatical wretch preached up an equality of condition among all mankind, and his notions quickly propagating themselves among the peasants of *Suabia*, who were more than commonly oppressed, he was soon at the head of a numerous rabble, and

Rise and  
defeat of  
the Ana-  
baptists in  
*Germany*.

published his doctrines sword in hand. Their claims at first were very moderate: they offered to pay the tythes of their corn for the relief of the poor, provided they had the liberty of hunting and fishing, with wood to build cabins, and their insupportable fatigues diminished by their rigorous masters. Their demands being disregarded, *Muncer* and *Storck*, attended by one *Fiffer*, a real enthusiast, marched into *Thuringia*, attended by the peasants of *Suabia*, *Franconia*, *Alsace*, and the *Palatinate*. They murdered all the nobility and gentlemen who fell into their hands. They took *Heilbron*, *Spire*, and *Wurtzburg*, with other places, and laid all the adjacent country waste. They were at last encountered near *Franchaufen* in the county of *Mansfield*, by *Frederic*, the old elector of *Saxony*, and entirely defeated. *Muncer*, being taken, abjured his tenets and lost his head; as did *Fiffer*, who died fully convinced of the rectitude of his cause; but *Storck* escaped into *Silesia*. *Charles*, at the time of the battle of *Pavia*, was so poor, and his troops were so ill paid, that *Lanoy*, his governor of *Naples*, was obliged to remove *Francis* to the strong fortress of *Pizzighitona*, lest the *German* lansquenets should have detained his person for the arrears of pay due to them. While he remained there, a treaty was set on foot between him and *Charles* for his liberty.

Treaty  
between  
*Charles*  
and *Francis*,

1526.

It now appeared that *Charles* was resolved to avail himself of the utmost of his royal prisoner's distress. He demanded that *Francis* should put him into possession of the dutchy of *Burgundy*; that *Provence* and *Dauphiny* should be given to the duke of *Bourbon*; that *Henry VIII.* should be satisfied; and that *Francis* should renounce all claim to any *Italian* territory. *Francis* rejected those demands with indignation, but offered to assist *Charles* in recovering such of his family estates as had been usurped by the *Venetians*; to remit the homage paid by the emperor for *Artois* and *Flanders*; to marry the emperor's sister, and to hold *Burgundy* as her dowry, to be inherited by the children of the marriage. *Francis* imagining that the terms proposed to him had been dictated by the *Imperial* and *Spanish* ministers, desired to be removed to *Madrid*, that he might treat with *Charles* in person. *Francis* falling sick soon after his arrival there, was visited by *Charles*, with great appearances of friendship; and upon his recovery, the treaty was resumed. After many obstacles it was signed on the 14th of *January*, 1526. The chief articles of this treaty consisted in *Francis's* giving up to the emperor the dutchy of *Burgundy* and the county of *Charleroy*, and renouncing the sovereignty of *Artois* and *Flanders*. He was likewise to cede to *Charles*, *Arras*, *Tournay*, *Mortagne*, *St. Amand*, *Lisle*, *Douay*, *Orchies*, and *Hesdin*; and to give up his claims upon all the *Italian* dominions. He was to withdraw his protection from the dukes of *Gueldres* and *Wirtemberg*. He was to oblige the heirs of *Navarre* to renounce their pretensions to that crown. He signed a league offensive and defensive with *Charles*. He promised



mised to marry his sister; he was to receive into favour the duke of *Bourbon*; and he was to send into *Spain* his two sons, the dauphin and the duke of *Orleans*, as hostages for the performance of the treaty. Those princes were accordingly exchanged for their father upon the river *Andoye*.

Before *Francis* obtained his liberty, the ablest ministers about *Charles* represented to him the improbability of that king's fulfilling this treaty, advising him to treat his royal prisoner with less rigour, to accept of the terms *Francis* should propose, and to trust for the performance to his honour and sense of gratitude. *Charles* had in his veins too much of the *Austrian* blood to follow this advice, which was equally wise and generous; and *Francis* considered the concessions he had made as not being obligatory upon him, because they had been extorted from him during his confinement. He underhand persuaded the states of *Burgundy* to remonstrate against his dismembering that province from his crown, and found means, to the great disappointment of *Charles*, to form a powerful confederacy against him, consisting of *Henry VIII.* pope *Clement VII.* the *Venetians*, the *Florentines*, and the *Swiss*. By this confederacy the dutchy of *Milan* was stipulated to the house of *Sforza*, and it obtained the name of the holy league, because the pope was at its head. The *Venetians* took *Lodi*. The pope's army, under the duke of *Urbino*, entered the *Milanese*, where the inhabitants declared for their duke. *Leyva*, though at this time old, emaciated, lame, and bedridden, vigorously supported the interest of *Charles*, who remained still at *Madrid*, where he settled punctilios among the *Spaniards*, and married the infanta *Isabella*, daughter to *Emanuel the Great*, king of *Portugal*.

*Germany* continued to be threatened by the *Turks*, and torn Progress by religious disputes. The elector of *Saxony* was still the of the greatest patron of the reformation, and persuaded the land-Turks. grave of *Hesse* to shake off the papal yoke. *Solyman* the magnificent had defeated *Lewis*, king of *Hungary*, in the fatal battle of *Mobatz*, and *Lewis* lost his life in the flight. In the diet which *Ferdinand* called at *Spire*, religious disputes engrossed the members so much, that all thoughts of supporting that unhappy prince were neglected. The holy league, as it was called, was of vast service to the progress of the reformation, as it detached the pope from the emperor, who threatened, if his holiness refused it, to call a council by his own authority. *Charles*, at the same time, gave the constable of *Bourbon* the investiture of *Milan*, and sent him against the forces of the league, at the head of 40,000 men. The rapidity with which he proceeded, intimidated the pope into a truce with the emperor; but *Bourbon* pursued his march without regard to negotiations of any kind, and appeared before the city of *Rome*. The pope standing on his defence, *Bourbon* lost his life in endeavouring to scale the walls; but his army stormed the city, and shut the pope up in the castle of

who evades it.

*St. Angelo.* The *Imperialists* were guilty of great disorders, and his holiness was obliged to surrender himself a prisoner into their hands. *Charles* receiving the news in *Spain*, ordered the pope to be strictly guarded; but, by an unusual strain of hypocrisy, he ordered public prayers and processions to be made for his deliverance, and soon after actually granted him his liberty; but not without obliging his holiness to agree to his terms.

*Charles* became now formidable to all *Europe*, and his success against the pope served only to render the bonds of friendship the more strong between the then kings of *France* and *England*. *Charles*, who had trifled away his time so long in *Spain*, perceived his error, especially when he received accounts of the prodigious progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, and that they were threatening his hereditary dominions of *Austria*. His brother *Ferdinand*, by the death of *Lewis*, was now become king of *Hungary*; but meeting with a strong opposition from *John de Zapollo*, vaivode of *Transilvania*, he endeavoured to engage the princes of the empire in his interest, by convoking a diet at *Spire*. Here the protestant princes again made a strong effort for the establishment of their religion, but they were not strong enough, and a decree passed, by which the decree of *Worms* should prevail in all the places where it was published; and that no person should be there allowed to profess *Lutheranism*, but that the people should be indulged in that profession till a council could be called; but with an exclusion to the *Sacramentarians* and *Anabaptists*. The protestant princes, and fourteen *Imperial* cities, protested against this decree, from which they obtained the name of **PROTESTANTS**. Those cities were *Strasbourg*, *Nuremberg*, *Ulm*, *Constance*, *Rottingen*, *Windseim*, *Memmingen*, *Nordlingen*, *Lindau*, *Kempten*, *Heilbron*, *Wersembourg*, and *St. Gall*. In many of those cities the mass was formally abolished. Great part of *Switzerland* declared for the reformation, under the *Zuinglian* form. The *Bohemians*, who had made some years ago such amazing efforts against the *Romish* church, were converted but in part; and the *Anabaptists*, who were the enthusiastic enemies both of papists and of protestants, renewed their ravages, but were again chastized by the elector palatine, and other princes of the empire.

In the mean while, *Charles* still continuing in *Spain*, his affairs in *Italy* tended to ruin; but his brother *Ferdinand*, to the crown of *Hungary*, added that of *Bohemia*, which he obtained by election. The kings of *France* and *England*, at this time, had ambassadors at *Madrid*, and *Charles* appeared to be highly exasperated against both, not without reason. *Henry* of *England* was soliciting a divorce from *Charles's* aunt, *Catherine* of *Arragon*, without any fault of her own being alledged; and *Francis*, whose children still remained hostages in *Spain*, not only refused to fulfil the treaty of *Madrid*, but actually was at war with *Charles* in the *Milanese*, where the *Imperialists*

were very weak. The heralds of the two kings being admitted into the presence of *Charles*, he reproached *Henry* for being the tool of *Woolsey's* disappointed ambition, and he sent a formal challenge to *Francis*, to fight him in single combat. This challenge being intimated to *Francis*, his answer was, that *Charles* lied, and lied in his throat, and desired him to appoint the place of combat. *Charles* did so by another herald; but the two monarchs, after a variety of ridiculous circumstances, stood so much upon punctilios of honour, that, eager as they were to fight one another, they never met.

*Charles* was sensible of the necessity of his presence in *Germany*, but now that he was willing, he found his enemies multiply so fast, that he durst not venture thither. *Lautrec*, the *French* general, after over-running the *Milanese*, penetrated into the kingdom of *Naples*, where he seized upon *Abruzzo*. The *Venetians* were possessed of the maritime coasts of the same country, and *Doria*, the *Genoese* admiral in the *French* service, beat the *Imperial* fleet. Fortune seemed never tired of repairing the losses of *Charles*. The plague swept off the greatest part of the *French* army under *Lautrec*. *Doria*, distressed by *Francis*, entered into the *Imperial* service, and *Clement VII.* had a thousand, both family and political, reasons, for detaching himself from the holy league, which he accordingly did. Old *de Leyva*, the *Imperial* general, though seventy-three years of age, with all his bodily infirmities encreased, beat the *French* army in the *Milanese*, and drove them out of that dutchy. Pope *Clement* had the good fortune to make his peace with *Charles* before his allies, the *French*, received this blow; and was favoured besides, by the earnest desire which *Charles* had to disappoint *Henry* in prosecuting his divorce from his aunt. *Charles*, perhaps, in this, was animated more by a motive of interest than consanguinity; for he was afraid lest his cousin *Mary*, the issue of that marriage, should be bastardized.

The defeat of the *French* army in the *Milanese*, obliged Their *Francis* to treat with *Charles* about an equivalent for his performance of the treaty of *Madrid*, and it cost him two millions of golden crowns. This accommodation was not a little forwarded by the preparations which *Solyman* was making for giving the crown of *Hungary* to *Zapollo*, and for invading *Austria*, which he did, and besieged *Vienna* itself. That city was so bravely defended by *Philip* the warlike, brother to the elector *Palatine*, that *Solyman*, in thirty days, raised the siege, and drew off towards *Constantinople*, with the loss of 60,000 men. Before his return, however, he gave *Zapollo* the investiture of the crown of *Hungary*. We shall reserve for another part of our history, to which they belong, the transactions of *Charles* in *Italy*, and attend to those of *Germany*. *Charles* was exasperated at the contempt with which the protestants had treated the first decree he issued, that of *Worms*, and would gladly have punished them. He consulted with the pope, who



Diet of  
Augs-  
bourg.

who avoided calling a general council; but they agreed that a diet of the empire should be assembled, and that if the emperor should not in that succeed in reducing the protestants, a council should be called. A diet was accordingly summoned at *Augsburg*, and in the mean while the protestants drew up a plan of their doctrine, which has ever since been known by the name of the *Augsburg* confession of faith.

The diet was opened the 20th of *June*, 1530, and *Charles* presided in it in person. *Campeggio*, the pope's legate, endeavoured to harangue the protestants into a re-union with the church of *Rome*; he was answered by a solemn request, made by the elector of *Saxony* and the other princes of the protestant party, that they might, for their vindication, lay before him their confession of faith, with its authorities from scripture. This favour was granted by *Charles*. The *Romanists* put in an answer to the protestant confession, but the protestants refused to comply with *Charles*, who prest them to a re-union with the *Romish* church. Their obstinacy prevailed, and *Charles* was obliged to adjourn the diet for six months. During that time, it was made penal for the protestants to make proselytes to their own faith; but the pope was to be requested to convoke a general council to meet in a year. The *Lutherans* were so highly provoked at the adjournment, that they withdrew from the diet before it took place, which *Charles* so much resented, that he published a decree, prohibiting the exercise of any but the *Romish* religion, under severe corporal punishments and loss of estate. The *Lutherans* associated themselves with the cantons of *Zuric* and *Basil*. The city of *Strasbourg* disagreed in many points of faith among themselves, but all of them were unanimous in separating from the church of *Rome*.

The protestants  
oppose the  
election of  
the king  
of the *Romans*,

The elector of *Saxony*, and the protestant princes, had other motives besides that of religion for uniting together at this period. *Charles* had openly declared, that he intended his brother should be chosen king of the *Romans*, and this, with the vast power he possessed, raised in the protestants some apprehensions which have proved since well grounded, that the empire, in time, would be rendered hereditary in the house of *Austria*. The diet for chusing the king of the *Romans* was summoned to be held at *Cologne*, and the old elector of *Saxony* received a particular invitation to be present. He discovered no dissatisfaction at the time, but he took the first opportunity of completing a plan for more firmly uniting the protestant princes among themselves, which he did at *Smalcald*, and the union was formed on the very day appointed for the election of a king of the *Romans*. By this league of *Smalcald*, the protestant princes, states, and cities, entered into a defensive alliance with one another, against all who should attack them. The king of *Denmark*, the dukes of *Pomerania* and *Mecklenburg*, the cities of *Hamburg*, *Embsen*, *Norheim*, *Franckfort*, *Brunswic*, *Gottingen*, *Minden*, *Hanover*, *Hildesheim*,

*Hildesheim, Lubec and Stetin* were invited to join the league. After this they published letters, which were addressed to the emperor, containing a defence of their conduct, and complaining of the election of the king of the *Romans*, as being irregular, and against the constitutions of the empire. The assembly of *Cologne* paid no regard to those reasons, nor to the representations of *John Frederic*, the elector of *Saxony's* son, who had been sent by his father to watch over the proceedings of the diet. *Ferdinand* was elected upon the strength of precedents, and crowned at *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The princes of the league of *Smalcald*, far from acknowledging the validity of this election, applied to *Francis I.* of *France*, and *Henry VIII.* of *England*, for assistance and protection. *Francis*, though he burnt protestants in his own dominions, supported those in *Germany*, and sent them money. *Henry* gave them only promises, being still in hopes of carrying his divorce at the court of *Rome*.

The fear of the *Turks* and of foreign troops entering *Germany*, operated more strongly upon *Charles* than any principles of moderation. Though he had put *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the grand master of the *Teutonic* order, to the ban of the empire for turning protestant, and disenfranchising his popish knights, yet he could carry his resentment no farther; for *Albert* was in possession of the *Ducal Prussia*. The protestants refused to contribute towards the war with the *Turks*, as long as the severe edicts which had been published against them were in force. *Charles* seemed, at last, to listen to the advice of the elector of *Mentz*, to come to some accommodation with the protestants, and impowered him, with the elector *Palatine*, to invite the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, with other protestant princes, to a conference at *Schweinfurt*. The terms which the popish mediators had to offer, amounted to little more than some few abatements of the rigour of the *Imperial* decrees, and those too, on the condition that the princes should renounce the league of *Smalcald*. The protestants, on the other hand, insisted on the election of the king of the *Romans* being declared void. An irruption of the *Turks* into the *Austrian* dominions effected an accommodation. It was agreed that no regard should be had to the decrees, either of *Worms* or *Augsbourg*; that a general peace many ad- and obtain within *Germany* should take place, and that the subjects of vantages, neither religion should quarrel on religious accounts; but that a council should be assembled in six months. The protestants, in consideration of this indulgence, which was as great as they could have hoped for, agreed to assist the emperor in his wars with the *Turks*; and seven of the chief protestant princes, with the deputies of twenty-four cities, signed the agreement, which was afterwards confirmed by the emperor in the diet of *Ratisbon*.

The landgrave of *Hesse*, and the wisest of the protestant princes, were earnest in their endeavours to improve the respite

The *Turks* spite they got by this concordate, by reconciling differences repulsed among the protestants in religious matters. *Luther*, *Melancthon*, and *Bucer*, were the heads of sects. They differed upon matters they did not understand, and the less each understood them, he was the more obstinate. They were, however, emulous to shew their gratitude to the emperor, by contributing 150,000 florins, and furnishing a large body of men, towards his expedition against the *Turks*, who were now ravaging *Germany*, and had advanced as far as *Lintz*. *Solyman*, their emperor, was at the head of 200,000 men, and *Charles* had about 120,000. Great matters were expected from the campaign. But after the count *Palatine* had cut off a large body of the infidels, near *Gratz* in *Stiria*, *Solyman* made his retreat, and *Charles* instead of deposing *Zapollo*, and recovering *Hungary*, returned to *Germany*, where his army was disbanded. It is, perhaps, unjust to blame him for this precipitate conduct, as most of his soldiers were volunteers, and thought their engagements in the field over, as soon as the

1532.

Death of  
the old  
elector of  
*Saxony*.

*Turks* were repelled. In *October* 1532, *Charles* went to *Italy*, leaving his brother *Ferdinand* his lieutenant in *Germany*. His business (as he pretended) was to consult with the pope, upon the meeting of a general council, in consequence of what he had promised at *Ratisbon*. His real design seems to have been to make a league with the pope, whom he met at *Bologna*, for preventing the return of the *French* to *Italy*. This league being concluded, he went to *Genoa*, where he embarked for *Spain*. In the mean while, the old elector of *Saxony* died, and was succeeded by his son, *John-Frederic*, not only in his dominions, but in his zeal for the protestant religion. To him repaired the bishop of *Regis*, on the part of the pope, and *Lambert Briart*, on that of the emperor, to sound his dispositions, with regard to religious matters, on pretence of consulting with him upon the time, place, and manner of convoking a general council.

The duke  
of *Wir-  
temberg*  
restored.

The elector saw through their design, but demanded time for taking the sense of his allies at *Smalcald*. The protestants assembling there, returned a plausible answer to the two ambassadors, and thanked the emperor for his zeal in composing the religious differences of *Europe*; but they were not wanting to themselves, in obviating his ambitious designs. The landgrave of *Hesse* undertook, by means of the *French* king, to replace the duke of *Wirtemberg* in his dominions, which had been taken from him by *Charles*, and given to his brother *Ferdinand*, on a very frivolous account. *Francis I.* generously lent the landgrave 100,000 crowns, and a body of men, upon a mortgage of the county of *Montbeliard*; and with this assistance, the landgrave and the duke beat the *Imperial* troops, under that count *Palatine* who had defeated the *Turks*. The duke, who was a protestant, thus recovering his dominions, was a valuable acquisition to that interest, nor was he or the princes of his party, sparing in their professions



sions of duty and attachment to the emperor and his brother, whom they now acknowledged as king of the *Romans*. *Charles* and *Ferdinand* were under a necessity to dissemble; a new pacification was made between them and the protestant princes, and the duke of *Wirtemberg* was left in peaceable possession of his dutchy; but it was declared to be a male fief of the house of *Austria*, to which, consequently, in default of male heirs, it was to devolve.

The court of *Rome* resented this pacification, to which the emperor and his brother had been obliged to submit, and sent its nuncio, *Paul Verger*, into *Germany*, with assurances to the princes, of his readiness to call a general council, which in his heart he dreaded. *Henry VIII.* by this time had shaken off his allegiance to the papal power, and the protestants had renewed their league at *Smalcald* for ten years. The papal fulminations thus lost their effect; persuasive methods were tried, but in vain; and the kings of *England* and *France* sent their ambassadors to the princes of the *Smalcaldian* league, to assure them of their friendship and protection. The professions made by the *English* monarch were full and satisfactory, those made by *Francis* empty and trifling. After some vague assurances, he apologized for having burnt some protestants, because they were *Sacramentarians*, the most rational, perhaps, of all the reformed sects, as they affirmed, that God was in the bread only by faith. He likewise made a merit of having rejected an advantageous offer of alliance with the *Turks*. This prosperous state of protestantism in *Germany*, far from producing suitable effects, rendered the sectaries wanton and frantic. The anabaptists of *Munster*, headed by one *Rotman*, drove out their bishop, magistrates, and clergy, instituted a new plan of society, which allowed of polygamy, and at last they chose one *John* of *Leyden*, who had joined them with a mad body of *Frieslanders* and *Hollanders*, for Insurrection and their king, and he actually was crowned at *Munster*. That city, in the mean time, was besieged by its bishop, who reduced those wretches to miseries which enthusiasm alone the Anabaptists could endure. At last the frenzy of some among them subsiding, the bishop got possession of the city, the fanatics were put to the sword, and the mock king, with his ministers, suffered death under the most excruciating tortures.

The emperor *Charles* was still in *Spain*, from whence he made an expedition to *Barbary*, where he replaced *Muley Hassan* on his throne, from which he had been driven by the *Turkish* pirate *Barbarossa*. The *French* king ungenerously made use of his absence, to attempt the recovery of the *Milanese*, for which purpose he marched a numerous army into *Piedmont*. This disabled *Charles* from making his *African* conquests compleat. Having given orders for opposing *Francis*, he repaired to *Rome*, where he threw out bitter invectives against his *French* enemy, who was by this time master of almost all *Savoy*. *Charles* was then in the zenith of his

Expedition of  
*Charles* to  
*Africa*.

his glory, and the princes of *Europe* saw the procedure of *Francis* with indignation. The *Venetians* armed against him. The *Swiss* began to desert his service, and *Charles* in a public consistory at *Rome*, where the pope presided, sent him a challenge of defiance to single combat. He at the same time settled with the pope, the measures for convoking a general council, which was fixed to be held at *Mantua* in the ensuing *June*. *Francis*, by this time, was dispossessed of all *Piedmont*, excepting the city of *Turin*, by *Charles*, who at the head of 50,000 men, against the advice of his best generals, invaded *Provence*, in hopes of being joined by the *French* protestants. He was disappointed, all *France* armed against him. He was defeated in an attempt he made upon *Marseilles*, and after losing a vast number of men by death and desertion, he returned to *Genoa*.

Deputation of the protestants to him.

The protestants, who had been for some time unmolested, sent thither three ambassadors, *Pappenheim*, *Bambach*, and *Peuthinger*, to give *Charles* favourable impressions of their loyalty and intentions. *Charles* seemed to listen to them with pleasure, and sent the pope's bull, for the convocation of a council, to *Smalcald*, where the princes were, together with *Luther* and their chief divines. After debate, they absolutely rejected the bull, and all councils which should be assembled without the verge of the empire, or in which the pope was to preside. Their firmness on this occasion, drove the catholic princes into a confederacy, to counterbalance that of *Smalcald*. The chief of those princes were the archbishops of *Mentz* and *Saltzbουργ*, the two dukes of *Bavaria*, *George* duke of *Saxony*, and *Eric* and *Henry* dukes of *Brunswic*. Even this measure could not prevail with the pope to convoke the council at *Mantua*. The enmity between *Charles* and *Francis* was now at a greater height than ever, and alarmed the pope with the other catholic princes so much, that they unanimously interposed for an accommodation; but all they could effect, was a truce for three months. The reputation of *Charles* at this time met with a terrible shock. The dauphin of *France* died, and the *French* emissaries gave it out, that he had been poisoned by *Charles*. One *Montecuculi*, an *Italian*, in the train of *Catharine de Medici*, was accused of being the assassin, and being put to the rack, some words were extorted from him that favoured the suspicion. It is, however, more probable, that if the young prince was poisoned, it was at the instigation of that infernal woman, whose husband, *Henry*, became thereby heir-apparent to the *French* crown.

1537.  
The Turks  
defeat the  
Imperialists in  
Hungary.

By this time, the king of *Denmark*, and the marquis of *Brandenburg*, had acceded to the *Smalcaldian* league, and the pope with great difficulty prevailed on *Francis* and *Charles* to repair to *Nice*, where he himself likewise attended, and the truce was prolonged to ten years. Before this, *Francis* had entered into a treaty with *Solyman* the *Turkish* emperor, who sent his admiral, *Barbarossa*, to ravage the sea-coasts of

*Naples*, and the *Austrian* dominions, from whence that barbarian carried off 16,000 christians, who were made slaves. *Solyman*, in consequence of the same league, invaded *Hungary*, and between *Buda* and *Belgrade*, defeated the king of the *Romans*, with the loss of 16,000 *Germans*. *Francis I.* was too weak to second those vigorous efforts of the *Turks*, who gave a second defeat to the *Imperialists*, but being unsupported by their ally, they returned to *Constantinople*. *Charles* now became, in his turn, a suiter to the protestants, that they would unite against the common enemy; and in an assembly held at *Frankfort*, the exercise of the protestant religion was indulged to its professors, for fifteen months longer, and the pacification of *Nuremberg*, with the imperial edict at *Ratisbon*, were to be confirmed. It was farther agreed, that a conference should be held at *Nuremberg*, between the learned of both persuasions, and that the protestant princes should send their deputies to *Worms*, to agree upon their contingencies of troops and money, against the *Turks*, but in the mean time they were to admit no more princes into the league of *Smalcald*.

*Charles* continued still in *Spain*, and heard that the inhabitants of *Ghent*, his native place, were upon the brink of revolting in defence of their privileges. *Ghent* was then, perhaps, the most flourishing town on the continent of *Europe*. The *Ghenters* had great privileges, which had been violated by the governors of the *Low Countries*. They had expected to be taken under the protection of *France*, but *Francis* not only generously refused to take advantage of this distress of *Charles*, but gave him the fullest assurances of safety in his passage through *France*; his two sons, *Henry* the dauphin, and *Charles* duke of *Orleans*, offering themselves as hostages for his security. *Charles*, at this time, seems to have dropt his real character. He refused any security, but that of the *French* king's honour. *Francis* met him at *Loches*, in person, and at their interview, no traces of their former enmity could be discerned. The man to whom *Francis* had been a prisoner, and whom he had represented as a poisoner, and he whom *Charles* had challenged as a traitor, and posted for a coward, closed together in embraces of mutual confidence and friendship. *Francis* attended his brother-monarch through *Orleans* to *Paris*, where he was entertained with the utmost magnificence and cordiality. It is said, that *Charles* promised *Francis* at this time, the investiture of the *Milanese*, and that the latter afterwards repented of the generous treatment he had given his rival, whom the *French* princes of the blood conveyed as far as *Valenciennes*, the first town of the *Low Countries*.

*Charles* having assembled an army at *Brussels*, entered *Ghent*, as a conqueror. Thirty of the leading mutineers were hanged, many more were banished, and the city was stript of its privileges, arms, and artillery, besides being fined in 1,200,000 crowns, and bridled with a strong citadel. While

*Charles*  
passes  
through  
*France* a-  
gainst the  
*Ghenters*.

*Charles*



1540.

A conference appointed.

Liberty of conscience allowed in Germany.

1541.

*Charles* remained in the *Low Countries*, the protestants complained of many infractions of the *Frankfort* agreement; and insisted upon the proposed conference among the learned. They were opposed by the papists, but *Charles* ratified the *Frankfort* agreement, and appointed a diet at *Worms*, to be held in *October* following, for the termination of all farther religious disputes, to the great mortification of the pope. The *Lutheran* religion continued to prosper in *Germany*. The duke of *Misnia* and *Thuringia* dying a strong *Roman catholic*, he had left his great possessions to the house of *Austria*, in prejudice of his brother *Henry*, and his family, who were protestants. The elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and other protestant princes opposed this destination. The hereditary fiefs in *Germany*, were not to be alienated from the lawful heirs, on account of any religious dispute; and *Luther*, with his associates, seconding their reasoning by their sermons, the inhabitants of the countries in question embraced protestantism, and the new heir took possession of his estates. *Charles* was too wise to attempt to reduce the protestants by force, in this prosperous state of their affairs, and indeed, the aversion he shewed to them was rather political than religious. He at last appointed the learned conference so often mentioned, between three doctors, on each side. The *Roman catholic* champions were *John Eckius*, *John Gropperus*, and *Julius Pflugius*; those for the protestants, were *Melancthon*, *Bucer*, and *Pistorius*. The presidents were to be the count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and the famous *Granvel*, the emperor's first minister. This conference, like all others of the like kind, broke up without any effect, and *Charles* remitted the consideration of the disputed points, notwithstanding all the remonstrances of the pope and his nuncio, *Contarini*, to a future diet.

In the mean while, *Charles* indulged the protestants with as much latitude, in matters of religion, as they could reasonably desire, and at last he published a decree, called the *Interim*, which in fact established a toleration of both religions all over the empire. During the diet of *Ratisbon*, in 1541, *Charles* put the duke of *Cleves* to the ban of the empire, for his having thrown himself under the protection of *France*, and gave orders that all *Germans* should leave the *French* service. The diet breaking up, he passed to *Italy*, having formed the project of a fresh descent upon *Barbary*. He landed on the coasts of *Algiers*, the 23d of *October*, with an army of 24,000 men. This expedition was extremely unfortunate; scarcely had he formed the siege of *Algiers*, when storms by sea, and infidels by land, reduced his army to 10,000 men, sunk 15 of his galleys, and near 100 of his other ships; so that he was obliged to return with the miserable remains of his force to *Carthagena*.

*Zapollo*, the *Turkish* king of *Hungary*, was now dead, and had left his son *Stephen* under the tuition of his mother, at *Buda*.

*Buda.* The king of the *Romans* would gladly have performed The *Turks* homage to *Solyman* for that crown, but the haughty *Othman* defeat insisting upon his doing it for *Austria* likewise, and other *Ferdinand* mortifying terms, *Ferdinand* laid siege to *Buda*. *Solyman* in *Hun-* marched to its relief, and totally defeating *Ferdinand's* army, gary. he got possession of the persons of the young prince and his mother, whom he had pretended to protect, and annexed *Hungary* to his own dominions. A diet being assembled at *Spire*, the princes unanimously agreed, to contribute their quotas against the common enemy of *Christendom*, and the pope's legate informed the members, that his master had pitched upon *Trent*, for holding a general council, on the 1st of *November* following, and that he had invited the emperor and the *French* king to send their ambassadors thither. But those two princes were once more at war with each other. *Charles* had evaded the demand which *Francis* had made of the investiture of *Milan*, for his son; and, as *Francis* alleged, he was privy to the assassination of two of his ambassadors, one to *Venice*, and another to *Constantinople*. Whatever may be in this, it is certain, that *Francis* cultivated the friendship of the *Turks*, with a view of their distressing *Germany*, and thereby alienated from himself the affections of the protestant princes there, who were disgusted with the inconsistencies and infidelity of his conduct.

*Francis* attacked *Charles* in *Brabant*, *Luxembourg*, *Artois*, A new *Piedmont*, and *Roussillon*, at the same time; but met with war with nothing but shame and disappointments. *Charles* published *France*. manifestoes reproaching *Francis*, for his alliance with the *Turks*, and *Francis* answered him, by saying, that when he was attacked by wolves, it was lawful for him to call dogs to his assistance. In an assembly at *Nuremberg*, in the beginning of the year 1543, where *Ferdinand* presided, the members came to several vigorous resolutions against the *Turks*; and sent a kind of a petition to *Charles* in *Spain*, desiring him to return to *Germany*, to defend it against such a complication of enemies; the *French*, under the duke of *Cleves*, having likewise invaded it. *Charles* complied with this request, and after *Charles* indicting a diet at *Spire*, he arrived in *Germany*, and put him- returns to self at the head of an army, against the duke of *Cleves*. He *Germany*. opened the campaign by taking *Duren*, after a bloody siege, upon which, the towns of *Juliers*, *Ruremond*, and *Venlo*, surrendered. The duke of *Cleves* found himself obliged to purchase his pardon, by agreeing to the terms which *Charles* prescribed, and renouncing the alliance of *France* and *Denmark*. While he was thus making his peace, *Francis* was advancing with an army to support him, but all he could do, was to take *Luxembourg*, while *Charles*, by the assistance of his new confederates, the *English*, laid siege to *Landreci*, which was so well prepared to receive him, that he abandoned his enterprise, and returned to *Germany* to hold a diet at *Spire*. This diet had been convoked to satisfy the protestants, on the sub-

1543.

ject of their grievances, and to support *Charles* in his wars with the *Turks* and the *French*. Farther liberty of conscience was granted to the protestants, till a national council should sit in *Germany*, or till another diet was convoked, and it was decreed, that a like number of judges in the *Imperial* chamber, should be chosen out of each religion.

The protestants  
assist him.

The protestants, overjoyed at those and many other concessions in their favour, agreed with the other members, to grant to the emperor double subsidies, and voted six *Roman* months (a supply so called) towards the expence of 4000 cavalry and 24,000 infantry, to be employed against the *French* king, and that every person throughout the empire, should contribute according to his abilities, towards the war against the *Turks*. The elector of *Saxony*, recognized *Ferdinand* as king of the *Romans*. *Charles* approved of all that had been done, and agreed that the elector of *Saxony*, should succeed to the dominions of the duke of *Cleves*, in case the latter should die without male-issue. At the same time, a private compact was entered into, between the houses of *Austria* and *Saxony*, by which the elector's eldest son was to marry *Ferdinand's* eldest daughter, provided the religious differences could be settled before she was of age for consummation. *Charles* made the best apology he could to the catholics, for agreeing to so many concessions in favour of the protestants, and concerted measures with the king of *England*, for retrieving the losses he had lately received in *Italy*, by the success of the *French* arms. This plan extended even to the sacking the city of *Paris* by their joint force. The emperor besieged and took *Metz*, retook *Luxembourg*, with many other places on the frontiers of *France*, and advanced with inconceivable rapidity to *Chateau-Thierry*, while the *English* amused themselves with taking *Boulogne*, and some frontier towns in *Picardy*; successes which did not at all answer the intention of their grand plan. *Francis* was now reduced to vast distress, and *Charles*, who was secretly dissatisfied with the *English*, listened to terms of an accommodation with *Francis*, which was concluded at *Crequi*; the particulars of which, will fall properly under another head of this history; but the emperor engaged to forward an accommodation between *France* and *England*, which, however, he could not effect, though his mediation was backed by that of the protestants.

*Charles's*  
league  
with *Eng-*  
*land* a-  
gainst  
*France*.

1545.  
The protestants  
unite a-  
gainst the  
emperor,

The pope now convoked the so often mentioned council, to meet in *March*, 1545, and the emperor called another diet at *Worms*, where the protestant princes absolutely refused to acknowledge any council, that was held under the pope; upon which the emperor broke up the diet, or rather adjourned it to *Ratisbon*. The historians of both parties are far from being agreed, as to the causes of the civil war, that followed in *Germany*. Perhaps both were to blame; but it is certain, that the jealousy the protestants entertained against the house of *Austria*, and the passion which *Charles* and his brother



brother entertained for its aggrandizement, rather than any religious tenets, (though it must be owned they too operated strongly) contributed towards it. *Henry of Brunswick*, who had received levy-money from the *French* king, turned the troops he raised by it against the protestants, who could not be persuaded, that the emperor himself, notwithstanding all his professions to the contrary, did not secretly favour and authorize his proceedings. The landgrave of *Hesse*, at the head of a protestant army, defeated *Henry* and took him prisoner. *Charles* interceded in his favour, and concluded a truce with the *Turks*, but at the same time, ordered the protestants to lay down their arms, as their danger no longer existed. Processes before the *Imperial* courts, were now renewed against the protestants, to oblige them to give up the church-lands they held. But in 1546, they assembled at *Franckfort*, and resolved to defend themselves by force, against the execution of the *Imperial* decrees. In this resolution, they were greatly encouraged by the elector *Palatine* joining their confederacy; but their cause at this time received a blow, by the death of *Luther*, which happened just about the time the council of *Trent* was opened, and at the age of 62.

1546.

*Charles* by this time was 46 years of age, but his constitution had been greatly impaired, and perhaps, his natural temper soured, by the prodigious toils, both civil and military, which he had undergone. His infirmities had disabled him from appearing at the diet of *Ratisbon*, till six months after it had been convoked. Perceiving that the protestant princes neither appeared in their own persons, nor sent deputies to it, he broke out, publicly, into bitter invectives against them, and concluded a very advantageous treaty with the pope, for suppressing them, which produced another, between *France* and *England*, by way of counter-balance. Both parties now prepared for war; *Charles* had obtained of the pope, *Paul III.* 10,000 *Italian* foot, and 500 light horse; for which he paid him 200,000 crowns for six months; but his holiness granted him at the same time, half the church revenues of *Spain*, and gave him leave to mortgage the income of the monasterial possessions there, to the amount of 500,000 crowns. *Charles* had likewise in *Italy*, an army of veteran *Spanish* foot and horse, the best troops then in the world, and he himself had abilities, both in peace and war, superior to those of any of the protestant chiefs. Before hostilities commenced, he published an artful manifesto, importing, that he had taken arms against the princes of the league of *Smalcald*, not because they were protestants, but rebels, by holding unlawful assemblies, oppressing their fellow subjects, and linking themselves with foreign princes, against the *Imperial* authority. The elector of *Saxony*, and landgrave of *Hesse*, in a counter manifesto, accused *Charles* of tyrannizing over the consciences of men, and took the field with 70,000 foot, and 15,000 horse, with 130 pieces of cannon.

and take  
the field,

as does  
Charles,

The reader may easily perceive, that *Charles* did not depend, in this war, on his *German* possessions. That people would not have furnished him with the vast expences it required, nor durst the pope have given him leave to mortgage their ecclesiastical possessions. Notwithstanding this, he acted with a spirit and dignity becoming the head of an empire. He laid the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, under the ban of the empire, and promised the elector's dominions to his cousin, *Maurice*, though he was a protestant. Having fortified *Ratisbon*, he took up a strong camp upon the *Iser*, and being joined by the *Italian* and *Spanish* troops, he saw himself at the head of 45,000 brave well disciplined soldiers. The elector of *Saxony* had been pushed by the landgrave, to attack *Charles* before his army was assembled, but that elector declined giving umbrage to the elector of *Bavaria*, in whose territories both armies were, and who declared, that he would observe a strict neutrality; upon which they marched to attack *Ratisbon*. *Charles* had not yet been joined by his *Low Country* troops, and the protestants had taken advantage of his inactivity to possess themselves of the passes of the *Tirolese*, from whence they extended themselves to the *Danube*. Six *Swiss* regiments served in their army, as did *Philip* of *Brunswic*, and four of his sons, three princes of the house of *Anhalt*, *George* of *Wirtemberg*, the counts of *Oldenburg*, *Mansfield*, *Ottingen*, *Honneberg*, and *Fruftemberg*; each at the head of his own regiment, not to mention many other princes, and the protestant cities, which likewise contributed their quotas, and, in a few days, they were joined by the *Palatine* troops; so that upon the whole, the emperor durst not venture to attack them.

who  
breaks the  
protestant  
confederacy,

In the mean while, *Maurice* of *Saxony* declared for the emperor, and the breach widened between the elector of *Saxony* and the landgrave of *Hesse*. *Maurice*, at the head of 10,000 foot and 3000 horse, took possession of the electorate of *Saxony*, where he defeated the electoral troops; and count *de Buren* who commanded the *Imperial* troops, from the *Low Countries*, by a soldierlike march, eluded the vigilance of the protestants, and joined the *Imperial* camp at *Ingolstadt*. It is probable, that before this junction, if the protestants had vigorously attacked *Charles* in his camp, he would have been defeated; but after his army was assembled, he took *Neuburg*, and after various marches and counter-marches, he got possession of *Donavert*, in a manner, which shewed his superiority of skill, over the protestant generals, who lost several opportunities of attacking him with decisive advantages. Many reasons may be assigned for their miscarriages, besides the capital one, the differences between their two commanders in chief. The *Imperial* authority, and the name of *Charles*, were still dreaded in *Germany*. He had intelligence of all their decisions and designs. The great foreign supports of the league of *Smalcald*, the kings of *England* and *France*, were

now

now dead, and the elector of *Saxony* had been stript of his dominions. Towards the end of the year, the princes offered to open conferences for an accommodation, but *Charles* treating them with haughtiness and severity, the elector of *Saxony* formed connections with the protestants of *Bohemia*; but his hopes from them soon vanished, by the vigilance and intrigues of the king of the *Romans*. *Ulric* duke of *Wirtemberg*, who owed so much to the *Saxon* family, was the first who deserted the common cause of protestantism, and the elector *Palatine* purchased his peace, by throwing himself at the emperor's feet, and eight protestant towns withdrew their quotas from the confederacy.

Notwithstanding those great defections, the elector of *Saxony*, by means of his *Bohemian* allies, who now openly declared against their king *Ferdinand*, still kept the field, and recovered some of his dominions. Early in the spring, the emperor resolved to put an end to the war, and marching at the head of all his army from *Egra*, he sent his *Hungarian* and *Spanish* horse before him, to take possession of all the passes, that the elector of *Saxony*, who was encamped at *Mulberg* behind the *Elbe*, might have no intelligence of his approach. His vigour and secrecy succeeded so well, that the elector knew nothing of his march, till he saw his troops on the other side of the river. At first he would not believe them to be *Imperialists*, but the *Spanish* soldiers plunged into the stream, destroyed a bridge of boats made by the elector, and swam cross the river with their swords in their mouths. This uncommon intrepidity, daunted the elector so much, that he gave orders for a retreat. But the *Imperialists* having passed the river in boats, part of which they brought along with them in waggons, the emperor ordered him to be pursued by his cavalry, which they did, and overtook him in a wood, called, *d' er Schwainhart*. The elector was then in a poor condition, to fight such an army as *Charles* had with him. He had sent part of his troops to *Wirtemberg*, and part to *Bohemia*, so that he is said to have had with him, not above 10,000 fighting men. Finding it impossible to escape, he prepared to fight, on the 24th of *April*; but his army was cut in pieces, by that of the *Imperialists*, who are said to have lost no more than 40 men. He himself behaved bravely in his own person, but being wounded in the cheek, and surrounded by his enemies, he surrendered himself prisoner to a *Misnian* gentleman, one *Thilon Trotte*, who carried him to the duke of *Alva*.

It is certain, that during this whole war, the emperor behaved with wonderful moderation towards the protestants. Two days before the battle, duke *Maurice* generously sent towards his kinsman, the elector of *Saxony*, an account of *Charles's* strength, and earnestly importuned him to submit, as *Charles* was disposed to grant him, even then, very advantageous terms. The elector trusting to the river, rejected his advice with a haughtiness, that no doubt was offensive to *Charles*.

1547.  
and takes  
the elec-  
tor of  
*Saxony*  
prisoner.



## A GENERAL HISTORY

When the duke of *Alva* brought the elector into the Imperial presence, *I yield myself*, said he, *a captive to your majesty; but I humbly hope for a prison suitable to my rank. You own me then for emperor!* replied *Charles* with a disdainful smile, *your treatment shall be according to your desert.* In saying this he left him, and the king of the *Romans* reproached him with great rudeness. Along with the elector, *Ernest* duke of *Brunswic* was taken prisoner, and *Charles* ordered a court of justice, of which the severe duke of *Alva* was appointed president, to try the elector, who was there condemned to lose his head, and to forfeit all his dominions. He was playing at chess with *Ernest* of *Brunswic* when his sentence was intimated to him; but before it could be executed, the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice* interceded so effectually in his favour, that *Charles* consented to spare his life, provided he would renounce the electoral dignity for himself and his heirs, and give up the towns of *Wirtemberg* and *Gotha*, with all his conquests and alliances. The emperor, on his part, restored the duke of *Brunswic* to his liberty, consented that duke *Maurice*, on whom the electorate was bestowed, should pay an annuity of 50,000 crowns to the deposed elector, who was to reside in the town of *Gotha*, but a prisoner under an Imperial guard. *Sibilla* of *Cleves*, the elector's wife, threw herself at the emperor's feet to obtain her husband's liberty, but *Charles* wholly rejected her suit.

His  
treachery  
to the  
landgrave  
of *Hesse*,  
whom he  
detains in  
prison.

Before the battle of *Mulberg*, the pope, who was less afraid of the protestants than of *Charles*, had withdrawn from him his *Italian* auxiliaries; and after the elector of *Saxony's* person was disposed of, duke *Maurice* and the elector of *Brandenburg* undertook to mediate with *Charles* for the landgrave of *Hesse*. *Charles*, who was heartily exasperated at the pope, shewed himself placable, provided the landgrave would agree to such terms as should disable him from appearing against him in arms for the future. *Charles*, to give the greater weight to this proposal, which was branched out into a great variety of particulars, and of which the elector of *Brandenburg*, the count *Palatine*, and duke *Maurice* were to be the guarantees, advanced with his army towards *Hesse*. The landgrave thought proper to submit, and signing the treaty (which contained, as he imagined, a clause importing that he should not be detained a prisoner) asked pardon of the emperor on his knees. In the evening he, with the elector of *Brandenburg* and duke *Maurice*, supped with the duke of *Alva*, but after supper he was given to understand that he was under an arrest. His two friends, who remained with him all night, expostulated next day upon this treachery. They denied that the treaty contained any clause for the landgrave's liberty, and producing it, it was found that by an infamous perversion of a single letter in a *German* word, it was made to say, that the elector should not remain in perpetual imprisonment, instead of importing that he should be confined to no prison.

The

The two princes resented this deception, which had been A new overlooked by the landgrave, and *Charles* was inclined to have diet at set him at liberty, had he not been dissuaded from it by his *Augf-Spanish* and *Low Country* ministers. The landgrave submitted *bourg*. without repining, and punctually performed all the terms of the treaty. At the succeeding diet at *Augsbourg*, held the first of *September*, the princes of the empire, popish as well as protestant, joined with the landgrave's wife and sons in their applications for his liberty; but *Charles* was not then to be intimidated by the threats of a diet. He was absolute master in *Germany*, and he plainly told the princes, that personal matters ought to have the last place in their deliberations, and that the affairs of religion and the internal tranquillity of the empire, ought to have the first. He then ordered a project of regulating controverted points of divinity on a certain footing, till a council could be called; and therefore it obtained the name of "ad interim." Among other particulars contained in this project, the protestant clergy were permitted to marry, and to administer the sacrament to the people in both kinds. This scheme was received by the princes, or rather obtruded upon them by the elector of *Mentz* as a decree; but its contents were displeasing to both parties.

*Charles* then applied himself with great assiduity to regulate the courts and administration of justice in the empire, and added ten assessors to the *Imperial* chamber. To keep duke *Maurice*, who was still importunate for the liberty of his kinsman, quiet, he gave the investiture of the electorate of *Saxony* to him and his heirs in perpetuity, and failing them, to his brother duke *Henry* and his heirs. In all other matters, the diet entirely complied with *Charles*, who introduced many new institutions for the benefit of the empire, and the re-establishment of its tranquillity. In particular, he made the fairest professions to the protestants to induce them to send deputies to the council, which was to resume its sessions at *Trent*. *Charles* then set out for the *Low Countries*, to meet his son *Philip* at *Brussels*. He was no sooner gone, than the protestant princes resumed their courage, complained of the inquisition which had been erected in the *Low Countries* by *Charles*, through which their trade with those parts was destroyed, and entered a formal protest against the ad interim. *Charles* returning to *Germany*, abolished his *Low Country* inquisition, and assured the diet of *Augsbourg* that all religious differences should be amicably adjusted at *Trent*. He then dismissed the diet, and went to *Innsbruck*, where the *Saxon*, the *Brandenburg*, the *Danish*, and other ambassadors renewed their solicitations for the landgrave's liberty. *Maurice* of *Saxony* meeting with nothing but evasive answers, resolved to retrieve Evasive his credit with those of his religion, many of whom thought conduct of that he held a secret correspondence with the emperor. He the em-knew that *Charles* never could be his hearty friend, and that peror. without distinguishing himself by some bold stroke, he could

not revive the confidence of the other party. The city of *Magdebourg*, at that time one of the most powerful in *Germany*, had refused to obey the *Imperial* decrees, for which it was put under the ban of the empire, the execution of which was committed to duke *Maurice*, who suffered the *Magdebourgers* to beat the duke of *Mecklenburgh*, but they afterwards surrendered their city to him upon capitulation. *Maurice* engaged in his service the troops with which he had reduced *Magdebourg*, entered into a secret alliance with *Henry II.* of *France*, the elector, and marquis of *Brandenburg*, the count *Palatine*, and other heads of the protestant party, and resolved to declare against *Charles*, who was now intent upon his *Italian* wars, as his brother *Ferdinand* was upon those with the *Turks* in *Hungary*.

The protestants take the field against him,

and he narrowly escapes being seized at *Inspruck*..

When *Maurice* took the field, *Charles* had but few troops in *Germany*, so that the former made a most rapid progress. After taking the city of *Augsbourg* and many other places in *Suabia*, he advanced towards the *Alps* to secure their most important passes against the return of the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops into the empire. *Charles*, astonished at the success of *Maurice*, sent his brother *Ferdinand* to treat with him. *Maurice* amused *Ferdinand* with the hopes of a congress at *Augsbourg*, and a fifteen days truce on its meeting; but no sooner was *Ferdinand* departed to give an account of his negotiation to his brother, than he was followed by *Maurice*, who bravely forced the passes of the vallies leading to *Inspruck*, and would have seized the person of *Charles*, who was ill of a fit of the gout, had he not been carried off in a litter, attended by the deposed elector of *Saxony* (whom *Charles*, on this occasion, restored to his liberty) and his brother *Ferdinand*. Next day *Maurice* entered *Inspruck*, and gave up all the effects of the emperor to his soldiers. In the mean while, the *French* king reduced *Verden*, *Toul*, *Metz*, *Nanci*, and all *Lorraine*, which he pretended to hold as vicar of the empire, and advanced towards *Haguenau*. The princes of *Germany* were now assembled at *Passau*, to treat of an accommodation between *Charles* and *Maurice*. The former threatened to send to the latter the head of the landgrave, if he should not agree to reasonable terms. This menace was not lost, and the famous pacification, known by the name of that of *Passau*, and which, in fact, was the basis of protestant liberty, was concluded; the council of *Trent* having dissolved itself upon the approach of *Maurice*. By this pacification, which was concluded on the twelfth of *August*, 1552, a general amnesty on all sides was established; the protestants were allowed the free exercise of their religion, and a re-admission to the *Imperial* chamber, from whence they had been excluded since their defeat at *Mulberg*. The liberty of the landgrave of *Hesse* was, at the same time, verbally stipulated; and after receiving some impediments in passing through the *Low Countries*, he returned to his own dominions,

*Germany*



Germany was, at this time, in a most miserable situation. State of  
*Charles* and *Ferdinand* quarrelled about the succession to the *Germany*.  
 empire, which *Charles* wanted for his son *Philip*, and because  
*Ferdinand* would not give it up, he required the electors to  
 depose him, which they refused to do. *Henry II.* of *France*,  
 had sent to *Maurice* and his confederates 240,000 crowns,  
 which enabled them to lay waste the lands of their country-  
 men. *Albert* of *Brandenburg* plundered the *Teutonic* com-  
 manderies, and over-run *Suabia*, while the dominions of  
*Mentz*, *Worms* and *Spire*, were ravaged by the protestant con-  
 federates, who laid siege to *Franckfort* itself. *Charles* borrow-  
 ed 200,000 crowns from the duke of *Florence*, and laid siege  
 to *Metz*, but he was, by the duke of *Guise*, obliged to raise  
 it. The pacification of *Passau* having secured the protestants  
 from their apprehensions of *Charles's* power, they united under  
 him against the *French* king, and even *Albert*, marquis of  
*Brandenburg*, submitted to his authority. Early this year  
*Charles* took *Terouenne*, and rased it to the ground, as he did  
*Hesdin*, and then he resigned the command of his army to  
*Emanuel Philibert*, son to the duke of *Savoy*, being intent at  
 that time upon finishing the marriage of his son *Philip* with  
 queen *Mary* of *England*. *Albert* of *Brandenburg*, the most  
 restless prince of his age, now renewed his ravages upon the  
*Roman* catholics in such a manner as threatened destruction to  
 the empire. The great *Maurice* of *Saxony* took up arms  
 against him, and lost his own life in beating *Albert*, who es-  
 caped to *Franconia*, from whence he was driven by *Ferdinand's*  
 troops to *France*, but was admitted as a party in a treaty of  
 truce concluded at *Vaucelles* between the emperor and the  
*French* king.

1553.

A new diet, at this time, was held at *Augsbourg*, by *Ferdi-* Another  
*nand*, for executing the treaty of *Passau*. The debates were diet at  
 carried on with great animosity, and chiefly turned upon the *Aug-*  
 seizures which some temporal estates had made of ecclesiastical *bourg*.  
 revenues; but it was agreed, that no member of either pro-  
 fession should suffer for his religion, and that the civil and  
 ecclesiastical power should be always considered as distinct ob-  
 jects. *Charles* began now to form ideas very different from  
 those he had entertained before. His gout and infirmities had  
 afforded him leisure for reading and reflection, which gave  
 him favourable impressions of protestantism, and he found that  
 his greatness had been attended with so much trouble and dis-  
 quiet, that it was not worth enjoying any longer, and there-  
 fore he resolved to retire from the world. His passion for ag-  
 grandizing his family still remained with him, and trusting to  
 the capricious disposition of the *English*, he had consented to  
 dishonourable terms of marriage between *Mary* of *England* *Charles*  
 and his son *Philip*, to whom he had resigned *Naples*, *Sicily*, abdicates  
 and the *Milanese*. He had seen himself out-witted by his his domi-  
 brother *Ferdinand*, who kept fast hold of the succession to the nions.  
 empire. One half of *Germany* hated him, the other half did  
 not

not regard him; the *Spaniards* complained that he exhausted their country of men and riches, in quarrels entirely foreign to their interests, and that the riches of the new world were insufficient to satisfy his ambition. His subjects of the *Low Countries* considered him as a tyrant, who had invaded and attempted to abolish their liberties, and upon the whole, he had a most uncomfortable prospect before his eyes, if he did not divest himself of his power; so that his resignation of his dominions was a measure equally dictated by prudence and philosophy. He assembled the states of the *Low Countries* at *Brussels*, and there he divested himself of their sovereignty, they taking an oath of fidelity to his son *Philip*, to whom he soon after resigned the crown of *Spain* and his *American* possessions. His resignation of the empire hung long upon his spirits. Finding himself baffled by *Ferdinand*, he was in hopes that he might be prevailed upon to agree to *Philip's* being chosen king of the *Romans*; but *Ferdinand* resolved to continue that dignity in his own family. *Charles* then, after hesitating a year from the time of his abdicating the crown of *Spain*, sent the prince of *Orange*, *Hilde*, the vice chancellor of the empire, and *Haller*, his secretary, as his ambassadors to the diet, with a formal resignation of the empire to his brother *Ferdinand*.

He retires  
to Spain.

*Charles* is now to be considered as a private person, having reserved to himself only 200,000 crowns a year out of his *Spanish* revenues; but he took leave of his greatness with unusual splendor. When he left *Brussels* to retire to the retreat he had marked out for himself in *Spain*, he was attended by five crowned heads; his son *Philip*; his son-in-law *Maximilian*, king of *Bohemia*; the king of *Tunis*; his two sisters, the queens dowager of *France* and *Hungary*; besides the dukes and dutchesses of *Savoy*, *Lorraine*, and *Parma*. He then bade a formal adieu to all his greatness, and when he landed at *Loredo* in *Spain*, he prostrated himself on the ground, uttering the most edifying expressions of humility and affection for that country. At *Valadolid*, to which he was conveyed in a litter, he had an interview with his unfortunate grandson *Carlos*, prince of *Spain*. From thence he repaired to *Estremadura*, where he retired to the cloister of *St. Justus*, of the order of *St. Jerome*. Here he practised all the austerities of a monastic life during two years. He caused his obsequies to be celebrated, himself assisting at them, lying in the coffin which was to receive his body after death; and at last died in earnest, of a gouty fever, in the 58th year of his age. At the time of his death he received the sacrament in both kinds, a circumstance which leaves his orthodoxy in the popish religion more than questionable.

His death,

offspring,  
and

*Charles* married *Isabella*, daughter of *Emanuel*, king of *Portugal*, after being betrothed in his nonage to five different princesses. By her he had a son, *Ferdinand*, who died in his infancy; *Philip II.* his successor in the crown of *Spain*; *Mary*,  
the

the wife of *Maximilian II.* emperor of *Germany*; and *Jane*, who married prince *John* of *Portugal*. His natural children were *Don John* of *Austria*, governor of the *Low Countries*; and *Margaret*, who was first the wife of *Alexander de Medecis*, duke of *Urbino*; and afterwards of *Octavius Farnese*, duke of *Parma*. This lady made afterwards a great figure, as governess of the *Low Countries*. *Eleanora*, queen dowager of *France*, sister to *Charles*, and his other sister, *Mary*, queen dowager of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, died about the same time as *Charles*.

The character of few princes are more hard to be drawn character. than that of *Charles V.* because of the inequalities it contained. Though brave, generous, and politic, his conduct was sometimes cowardly, mean, and capricious; so that he may be said to have been wise to no end. He mounted the *Imperial* throne chiefly through his own address and application. While he held his rival, *Francis*, prisoner, he foresaw and foretold all that afterwards happened, and his behaviour towards him was such as excused, if not justified, *Francis* in not fulfilling the terms upon which he was set at liberty. Had *Charles* treated *Francis* with that noble generosity which prudence as well as magnanimity dictates, *Francis* must have been indefensible in his conduct towards him. Though it is evident, from various transactions of *Charles's* reign in *Germany*, that he favoured the protestants in his heart, yet he was so much soured by religious altercations, that he attempted to extinguish them in the *Low Countries*, by erecting a *Roman catholic* inquisition there. *Charles* pursued even his most upright measures by dark and indirect means, and was generally indecisive in his most important concerns, through that distrust which always hung about him. He was sparing, even to a fault, of expences upon his own person; but was liberal towards all his faithful ministers and able servants. His patience under bodily infirmities, and his temperance, were exemplary. He was not unacquainted with the *Latin* language, but spoke the *Flemish*, *German*, *Spanish*, *French*, and *Italian* with fluency. His affection towards his relations was laudable, and he supported the cause of his aunt *Catherine*, queen of *England*, with great firmness and dignity. His punctuality to his word was exemplified in many cases, especially in his bestowing the electorate of *Saxony* upon duke *Maurice*, though a declared protestant. But even this instance of his generosity was tarnished by his meanness towards the landgrave of *Hesse*, which had almost cost him his liberty and empire. *Charles V.* in his person, had a pleasing aspect; his nose was aquiline; he wore his hair short, and excepting on days of ceremony, he had nothing about his dress that could distinguish him from a gentleman of midling fortune. That he was a good judge of mankind, appears from his choice of generals and ministers; and though he is accused of a partiality towards the *Spaniards* and the *Flemings*, yet we ought to consider



## A GENERAL HISTORY

sider, that his situations, and the circumstances of the time were such as rendered it improper, if not dangerous, for him to employ the *Germans*; among whom the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the elector *Maurice* of *Saxony*, were the most illustrious and most capable of serving him, had they not been protestants.

## C H A P. XLII.

FERDINAND *the first.*

He is succeeded by his brother *Ferdinand*.

**T**HIS prince was a native of *Spain*, and his brother is said to have removed him to *Germany* when young, because the *Spaniards* affected him more than they did *Charles* himself, who, to them, was a foreigner. At the time of his accession to the empire, he was in his own right possessed of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, and had great experience in government; but we are told, that through the intrigues of the pope, all the public acts passed in the name of *Charles*, during the latter's short surrivancy of his abdication. When *Ferdinand* was married to *Anne* of *Hungary*, *Charles* very impolitically made over to him all his hereditary dominions in *Germany*, and notwithstanding the opposition of the pope, he was unanimously chosen emperor by the electors at *Franckfort*. He sent an ambassador to *Rome*, who was ordered to insist upon the pope's recognizing his right, and if refused, to enter a protest and take his leave of *Rome*; but *Pius IV.* succeeding to the pontificate, joined with the other princes of *Europe* in acknowledging the validity of *Ferdinand's* election. His first measure was to call a diet at *Augsburg* for confirming the peace of the empire, and the pope was in some measure forced to re-assemble the council of *Trent*, that he might quiet the murmurs and remonstrances of the *Roman catholic* princes all over *Europe*.

State of protestantism in *Germany*.

When the bull for that purpose was published, the protestant princes assembled at *Naumburg* in *Saxony*, at which place the pope's nuncios were received with great civility, but were soon informed that they disclaimed all relation to him as his sons, and all the authority he assumed in either convoking or presiding at a council, which belonged to their sovereign the emperor of *Rome*. *Ferdinand*, who was far from being pleased with the pope, did not oppose their resolutions, but summoned a diet at *Franckfort*, where they continued firm to their principles. *Ferdinand* very plausibly ordered an instrument to be drawn up, addressed to the pope, for a reformation in the morals and doctrines of ecclesiastics, and in this he was joined by the *French king*. His holiness thought that they carried the matter with too high a hand, and pretending that the reformation belonged solely to him, refused to give them any satisfaction.

satisfaction. *Ferdinand*, by the advice of the soundest *German Roman catholic* divines, importuned the pope to allow the people liberty of taking the sacrament in both kinds, and priests to marry; but neither of those requests were granted. *Ferdinand* having succeeded in procuring his son *Maximilian* to be chosen king of the *Romans* at the diet at *Franckfort*, died of a dropsey the 26th of *July*, 1564, in the 61st year of his age.

*Ferdinand's*  
death,  
1564.

This emperor married *Elizabeth Anne*, the heiress of *Uladislaus*, king of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, and by her he had issue four sons, *Maximilian II.* who succeeded him in the empire; *Ferdinand II.* *John*, who died in his nonage; and archduke *Charles*; besides eleven daughters, viz. *Elizabeth*, wife of *Sigismund*, king of *Poland*; *Anne*, wife of *Albert*, duke of *Bavaria*; *Magdalen*, a nun; *Catherine*, the wife, first, of *Frederic*, duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards of *Sigismund II.* king of *Poland*; *Margaret*, *Magdalen*, and *Helen*, who had no issue; *Barba*, the wife of *Alphonso II.* duke of *Ferrara*; *Jane*, whose husband was *Francis Medecis*, duke of *Florence*; *Eleanor*, who was married first to *William*, duke of *Mantua*, and afterwards to *Sigismund Augustus*, king of *Poland*; and *Mary*, the wife of *William*, duke of *Juliers*.

*Ferdinand*, in his character, was more amiable than his brother *Charles*. He was strictly attached to his word and promise, and though bigotted to the *Roman catholic* religion, he never endeavoured to propagate it by force. When he died he was at peace with the *Turks*, and his last will imported, that if either his own male issue, or that of his brother *Charles's* should fail, his *Austrian* estates should revert to his second daughter, *Anne*, wife to the elector of *Bavaria*, and her issue. The guarding against that event produced the famous pragmatic sanction, but it happened through the death of *Charles VI.* emperor of *Germany*, in whose person *Ferdinand's* male issue was extinct. The daughter of *Charles VI.* claimed the succession under the pragmatic sanction, the house of *Bavaria* opposed it under *Ferdinand's* will, and obtained the empire; but the princes of *Europe* and *Germany*, who were guarantees for that sanction, asserted and made good the rights of *Mary Theresa*, daughter of *Charles VI.* whose husband now fills the *Imperial* throne, and whose eldest son is to inherit that dignity, and all the *Austrian* possessions.

## C H A P. XLIII.

MAXIMILIAN *the second.*

1565.  
Accom-  
plishments  
of *Maxi-  
milian II.*

**T**HE reputation of this prince, before he came to the *Imperial* throne, was very high. He had been unanimously elected king of the *Romans*, and had gone through many great offices, both civil and military, with applause. He was, at the time of his accession, thirty-seven years of age, and his natural talents for government were assisted by his acquaintance with the *Latin, German, French, Italian, Spanish* and *Sclavonian* languages. His dispositions were pacific, and in matters of religion he was moderate. Having composed some differences between the duke of *Mecklenburg* and his brother *Ulric*, concerning the possession of the town of *Rostock*, which they had lately reduced, he sent an army, under his general *Lazarus Schuendi*, against *Sigismund*, prince of *Transylvania*, who had usurped the title of king of *Hungary*, and whom *Schuendi* might have totally subdued had he not been under the protection of *Solyman the Turkish* emperor; who in a manner obliged *Maximilian* to accommodate matters with *Sigismund*. Next year a diet was held at *Augsburg* for strengthening the good understanding between the protestant and *Roman catholic* parties, and for curbing certain sectaries who were enemies to both, and likewise for providing against the power of the *Turks*, and for many other civil regulations. After the duke of *Bavaria* had laid those matters before the diet, the elector *Palatine* was pointed out as a secretary; but he cleared himself, by declaring his belief in the bible, and the confession of *Augsburg*, and consequently that he was a sound protestant. This charge was one of the acts made use of by the pope's nuncio, who assisted at the diet, to divide the protestants. The *Roman catholic* part of *Germany*, at this time, acknowledged the council of *Trent*, but communicated under both kinds. Pope *Pius V.* could not bear those innovations, as he called them, and he threatened the assembly with ecclesiastical censures, if they proceeded upon religious points, and even ventured so far as to threaten to excommunicate and depose the emperor, if he encouraged them. But the times were now past for papal menaces to have any effect with temporal princes.

*Gotha*  
taken,

By the accommodation between the emperor *Charles V.* and the old elector of *Saxony*, that prince kept possession of the fortrefs of *Gotha*, where he protected one *Grombach*, who had been put to the ban of the empire, for murdering the bishop of *Wurtzbourg*. The emperor and the diet laid hold of this opportunity, to subdue the duke of *Saxony*, who they thought intended to attempt the recovery of his family dominions, and on pretence of his protecting rebels and out-laws.



laws, an army was sent against him, under the elector of *Saxony*, to dispossess him of his dominions. The elector accordingly besieged *Gotha*, which he took, and punished *Grombach* and all his accomplices, with various kinds of death; the unfortunate duke *John-Frederic* was sent a captive to the emperor, who and razed condemned him to perpetual imprisonment, and the fortifications of the place were razed to the ground.

During those internal broils of the empire, *Solyman* the *Turkish* emperor fell into *Hungary* at the head of 200,000 men, and besieged *Zigbet*, which was bravely defended by the famous count *Serini*. *Maximilian*, by the assistance he received from the diet, was at the head of 80,000 foot, and 20,000 horse, a force which, if properly exerted, might have subdued the *Turks*; but though *Solyman* died before the place, and the *Turks* were thereby thrown into the greatest consternation, he durst not hazard a battle; so that *Serini* was killed in a noble sally he made, and *Zigbet* was taken. The *Turkish* vizier sent *Serini*'s head to *Maximilian* with a message, that the *German* emperor ought to have hazarded his own head to have preserved that of *Serini*. But though *Maximilian* suffered in his military character by this campaign, he fortified the chief towns of *Hungary* in such a manner, that *Selim*, the succeeding *Turkish* emperor, thought proper to conclude a truce with him for twelve years, each retaining the towns and territories he possessed. The affairs of the *Low Countries*, through the haughtiness and cruelty of the *Spanish* branch of the house of *Austria*, were in the utmost confusion, as were likewise those of *France*, through the differences between the *Roman* catholics and the *Hugonots*, which last were assisted by the elector *Palatine*. *Maximilian* was afraid, that those disorders might affect the internal peace of the empire, and assembled a diet at *Fulda*. There, several wise regulations were made for preserving the public tranquillity; but the protestants of *Austria* and *Bohemia*, demanded the free exercise of their religion, according to the confession of *Augsbourg*. The diet gave *Roman* months, or subsidies, to *Maximilian*, sufficient to keep his armies on foot for three years; but he thought fit to indulge the *Austrian* and other protestants in their demands; and applied himself to accommodate matters between the elector and citizens of *Triers*, who differed about the extent of their respective privileges. The elector had besieged the city; but the emperor and the princes interposed so effectually, that he was admitted into the same, and their differences were referred to *Maximilian* and the diet. From the same desire of peace, he sent his brother *Charles* to persuade *Philip II.* of *Spain*, to recall the rigorous cruel orders he had given to his ministers and generals in the *Low Countries*, and foretold what afterwards happened, that great part of his subjects there would revolt. It was owing to this moderation and lenity in *Maximilian*, that the *German Roman* catholic princes did not assist *Charles IX.* of *France*, against his protestant

Diet of  
*Fulda*.

testant subjects; and this furnished *Charles* with a pretence for not joining with the league against the *Turks*, previous to their overthrow at *Lepanto*. As to *Maximilian*, he adhered to the truce, but wisely availed himself of the blow the infidels had received, by fortifying his possessions in *Hungary*. He, at the same time, prevailed upon *Sigismund* prince of *Transylvania* to renounce the crown of *Hungary*, and concluded a peace with him, which was renewed by *Stephen Bathori*, who, upon *Sigismund's* death, succeeded him.

*Maximilian* a candidate for the crown of *Poland*.

A vacancy happening in the crown of *Poland*, *Maximilian* offered his second son *Charles*, as a candidate. His family-right to the kingdoms of *Hungary* and *Bohemia*, had been by this time acknowledged, and his son *Rodolph* had been elected king of the *Romans*; so that the *German* branch of the house of *Austria* was now so formidable, that the *Polish* election terminated in favour of *Henry de Valois*, brother to the *French* king. It must be confessed, that at this time, the protestants of *Germany* were not so moderate as the *Roman* catholics. Notwithstanding *Maximilian's* earnest endeavours to establish the tranquillity of the empire, the protestants still continued to assist the *Hugonots*, and *William* prince of *Orange*, the founder of the *Dutch* republic, openly levied soldiers in *Germany* to support the revolt in the *Low Countries*, against *Philip* of *Spain*, who required *Maximilian* to deliver him up. *Maximilian*, instead of complying, remonstrated with *Philip* upon the barbarity and folly of driving his *Low Country* subjects to despair; but all was to no purpose, and at last *Maximilian* referred him to the *Imperial* diet. The state of affairs in the empire, did not a little contribute towards *Maximilian's* moderate principles. The bishop of *Magdebourg*, who was of the old house of *Saxony*, embraced the reformed religion, as did the bishop of *Verdun*, the *Brandenburghers*, the *Brunswickers*, the *Palatines*, with their respective masters, not to mention the *Mecklenburghers*, and many other powerful states, and above all, the protestant part of *Maximilian's* hereditary dominions. In short, they were in a condition to have forced from him the indulgences he granted them, and the doctrine of resistance, and free exercise of conscience, were capital points of their religion. Upon the death of *Charles IX.* the throne of *Poland* became again vacant, by its king mounting that of *France*. *Maximilian* now declared himself a candidate, but the *Poles* and the *Turks* espoused the cause of *Stephen Bathori*. The vast advantage accruing to *Poland* by having at its head a powerful prince like *Maximilian*, capable of resisting the *Turks*, prevailed with a majority of the senate to chuse him king, and he was actually proclaimed at *Gesna*. He had been opposed by *John Basilowitz*, the great duke of *Muscovy*, who offered to give him his interest against *Bathori*, but the general inclination of the *Poles* being for the latter, they agreed to elect him king, on

Progress of protestantism in the empire.

condition of his marrying *Anne*, sister of the late *Sigismund*, and the last of the *Jagellon* family.

*Maximilian* notwithstanding this, prepared to make his pretensions good, and the great duke of *Muscovy* to assist him, in hopes of his recovering *Livonia*, which partly belonged to the king of *Denmark*, and partly to *Maximilian*. The family affairs of the latter were at this time settled entirely to his satisfaction; and his son *Rodolph* had been crowned king of *Bohemia* at *Prague*, and he probably would have succeeded in engaging the princes of the empire, to support his election to the crown of *Poland*, had he not died in the 49th year of his age, in the year 1576. *Maximilian's* wife was *Mary*, daughter to the emperor, *Charles V.* By her he had *Rodolph*, *Ernest*, *Matthias*, *Maximilian*, *Albert*, who was a cardinal, *Wenceslaus*, and *Ferdinand*; besides three sons who died in his lifetime; together with five daughters, *Anne*, who was married to *Philip II.* of *Spain*; *Elizabeth*, wife of *Charles IX.* of *France*, and three others who died young. Maximilian's death, 1576.

By all accounts, *Maximilian II.* was in his temper, affable, just and gentle. He discouraged immorality and luxury in his court, and he was so plain in his dress, that he is said never to have bought a jewel for his own person. He was punctual to excess in the regulation of his time, and was a pattern of paternal and conjugal happiness, having lived with the utmost harmony with his empress *Anne*, twenty nine years. character.

## C H A P. XLIV.

### RODOLPH the second.

IT is uncertain, whether the superiority of the *Low Countries*, which had now revolted from *Spain*, did not of right belong to the *Germanic* empire; and when *Rodolph* succeeded his father, which he did when he was but 24 years of age, many serious discourses on that head were held among the princes of the empire. The protestants, to a man, hated the pride and tyranny of *Philip II.* of *Spain*, and were disposed to have taken the revolvers into their protection. The prince of *Orange* knew how necessary it was for them to have at their head a powerful prince, and he and they invited the archduke *Matthias*, who, young as he was, had given great specimens of his capacity, to accept of the government of their provinces, which, by the approbation of the emperor, he did. The jealousy which the protestants in general had of *Rodolph*, and the princes of the house of *Austria*, soon removed him from his command, in a manner, which does not fall within this part of our history to describe. *Rodolph*, in matters of religion, had not the gentleness and moderation of his father.



Affairs of He laboured to abridge such of his hereditary subjects, the *Low* as were protestants, of their privileges, on pretence of their *Countries*. having outstretched them; and he endeavoured, by his ambassadors, to persuade the revolvers in the *Low Countries* again to submit to *Philip*. They, on the other hand, were in hopes of engaging the diet of *Worms* in their favour, and sent thither a deputy, *Philip de Marnix*, who represented the inhuman tyrannies, perfidies and cruelties of the *Spanish* government. But all was to no purpose, the whole weight of the house of *Austria* was against them, as were all the ecclesiastic electors; nor did the protestants chuse to assist the duke of *Anjou*, brother to the *French* king, who was then at the head of the revolvers, and was a rigid *Roman catholic*. *Marnix* failure in his solicitation, laid the foundation of the generous assistance, which *Elizabeth* of *England* at this time gave to those distressed states.

The arch-  
bishop of  
*Cologne*  
turns pro-  
testant.

In a succeeding diet at *Worms*, deputies arrived from the famous *Gebboß Trufches* archbishop and elector of *Cologne*, who had professed himself a protestant, demanding, that liberty of conscience should be extended to his electorate likewise. While the princes of the diet were deliberating upon this request, it was strongly opposed by the magistrates and chapter of *Cologne*, who saw themselves in danger of falling under the power of a protestant elector. This opposition irritated *Trufches* so much, that being favoured by certain protestant princes, he took arms, proclaimed by his own authority liberty of conscience to his subjects, and not only made himself master of the city of *Bonn*, but plundered the ecclesiastical treasury in the castle of *Breulle*. After those exploits, he publicly married the beautiful *Agnes*, canoness of *Gurishim*, and daughter of *John George* count of *Mansfield*. The court of *Rome* at first employed lenitives to reclaim him; but those failing, he was excommunicated and deposed, and *Ernest*, son to the duke of *Bavaria*, was nominated to succeed him. Though the pope could depose the archbishop, he could not the elector; for the *Imperial* authority must co-operate for that. *Ernest* procured some of his father's troops, and being joined by a body of *Imperialists*, he drove *Trufches*, who seems not to have been vigorously supported by the protestants, into *Holland*; by which *Ernest* obtained the investiture of the archbishopric and electorate.

Diet of  
the em-  
pire.

The *Turkish* emperor at this time, was *Amurath* or *Morad III.* and he had prolonged the truce with *Rodolph* for eight years. Notwithstanding this, a body of 10,000 infidels broke into the *Imperial* hereditary dominions, where they committed great ravages, till they were utterly defeated by *Rodolph*, brother to the archduke *Ernest*. *Maximilian*, another of *Rodolph's* brothers, upon the death of *Stephen Bathori*, was elected king of *Poland*, by one part of the nobility, while another chose *Sigismund*, son to the king of *Sweden*. Both parties appealing to arms, *Maximilian* was de-  
feated,

feated, and made prisoner by his antagonist, nor did he regain his freedom, till he renounced all claim to the crown of *Poland*. All this while, the *Turks*, regardless of the truce, were ravaging *Hungary* and the *Imperial* territories; but received, as the reader will find in our *Turkish* history, repeated, and sometimes very bloody defeats from the *Germans*. The expence of this war falling heavy upon the emperor's hereditary dominions, he called a diet at *Ratisbon*, where the princes gave him a subsidy of three *Roman* months, and he in requital, consented to many excellent regulations in the courts of justice, and the constitutions of the empire. Great applications were made, by the two parties who were at war in the *Low Countries*, to this diet, but the members declined having any concern in the quarrel, farther than by employing their good offices, for bringing about an accommodation. This resolution was transmitted to archbishop *Ernest*, the governor-general of the *Low Countries*, but that prince's death, which happened next year, prevented its having any effect.

The heads of the *German* and *Ottoman* empires, were now chiefly intent upon *Hungary*, where the war was carried on, as usual, with various success, but in the year 1596, *Mahomet III.* became master of *Agria*. This was followed by a bloody but indecisive battle, between the infidels and the *Imperialists*, to the advantage of the latter, who were commanded by the archduke *Maximilian*. The emperor *Rodolph*, was all this while leading a life of indolence, and amusing himself with studies, that were at once unprincely and unprofitable. The internal affairs of *Germany* thereby grew into great disorder. One part of the *Straßbourghers* had nominated a protestant, *John George* of *Brandenburg*, for their bishop; and the popish part, the cardinal of *Lorrain*. Both had recourse to arms. The cardinal brought 10,000 men into the field, and the protestants were supported by the cantons of *Bern*, *Zurich*, and *Basil*, and a prince of *Anbalt*. After much bloodshed, the cardinal of *Lorrain* purchased the bishopric from *John George*, for 130,000 ducats. It is remarkable that during this dispute, neither party paid any regard to the authority of the emperor, who had issued a commission for his brother, the archduke *Ferdinand*, to end it. The expences of the *Turkish* war at this time were so immoderate, that *Rodolph* was obliged to order begging boxes through all the churches of the empire, while he himself was amassing most exorbitant wealth for his private purposes. The *German* soldiers, though but poorly paid by those casual contributions, served against the infidels with vast courage, but were sometimes so distressed for the necessaries of life, that they plundered their countrymen. About this time, one of the emperor's brothers, cardinal *Albert*, who made little or no figure in the world, was appointed governor of the *Spanish*

1596,

Contest a-  
bout the  
bishopric  
of *Straß-  
bourg*.

*Low Countries*, where he acted with great vigour and success against the *French*.

1597.

Affairs of  
*Transyl-*  
*vania.*

The year 1597, besides the continuance of the *Turkish* war, was distinguished by an insurrection in *Austria*, where the inhabitants were miserably harrassed by the *Imperial* troops. This might have proved fatal to the empire, had not a mutiny among the janizaries prevented the infidels from making any advantage of it. Happily for the empire, *Sigismund Bathori* deserted the *Turkish* interest, for that of the *Imperialists*, and archduke *Maximilian* was made governor of *Transylvania*, which *Sigismund* had ceded for other territories in *Silesia*, and he farther agreed, to do homage to the emperor, to marry one of his neices, and that all his estates, if he should die without male issue, should revert to the house of *Austria*. It was not long before *Bathori* repented of his bargain, and returned to *Transylvania*, where the inhabitants were infinitely more afraid of an *Austrian* than an *Othman* yoke, and received him with joy; so that he retook possession of his dominions, and affected to govern as an independent prince. The *Turks* were all this while carrying on the war, though with great disadvantage to themselves, in *Hungary*, where they were beaten by the duke de *Merceaur*, the *Imperial* general. During those transactions, the inconstant *Stephen Bathori*, made a new cession of his dominions to his cousin, cardinal *Andrew Bathori*, who put himself under the protection of the *Turks*; but he was defeated and killed by the *Imperialists*, while *Stephen* fled to *Poland*. This catastrophe gave an opportunity for a *Hungarian Calvinist* nobleman, one *Stephen Botsckay*, with the assistance of the *Turks*, to lay claim to *Transylvania*, and *Bathori's Hungarian* states. His success was so great, that in 1599, the emperor was obliged to set on foot a negotiation with him, and such of the states of *Hungary* as acknowledged him. It was agreed, that *Botsckay*, during his life, should remain prince of *Transylvania*, and that the protestants should be tolerated equally with the papists all over *Hungary*; and that though the archduke *Matthias* might be chosen governor of that kingdom, yet all posts of trust and profit should be vested in the natives. This year *Wirtemberg* ceased to be a fief of the *Austrian* estates, but it was stipulated, that if the duke should have no heirs, it should return to the house of *Austria*, and to be still held of the empire.

1599.

1601.

The three first years of the sixteenth century, were spent in *Germany*, *Hungary*, and *Transylvania*, in a vicissitude of wars and negotiations. In 1601, *Sigismund Bathori*, who was despised by the *Turks*, again entered *Transylvania*, but being beaten by the *Imperialists*, he was forced to surrender himself to the house of *Austria*, and was sent to spend the remainder of his days as a private man, upon the revenues of a small estate in *Bohemia*. Some revolutions which happened at this time in *Constantinople*, gave the *German* empire a respite, and the crown of *France* renewed to the old *Hanse* towns,



all the privileges they had formerly enjoyed in that country. The city They united in assisting the inhabitants of *Brunswic*, a free of *Brunswic* Imperial town, to defend themselves against their duke, and while they kept by one another they were too powerful on the whole, to be intimidated by any one prince of the empire, or even by the emperor himself. Happily for the princes of the empire, their power on the one hand, the dread of *France* on the other, and above all, the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, left *Rodolph* no leisure, had he so intended, to extend the Imperial prerogative. In 1606, a peace which had been set on foot with the *Turks* two years before, was concluded for twenty years, on the most amicable terms; and the agreement we have already mentioned to have been made with *Botsikay* the prince of *Transylvania*, was confirmed. While this peace was in agitation, the *Sophy* of *Persia* sent an ambassador to dissuade *Rodolph* from concluding it, but to no purpose. After this, the states of *Hungary* assembled at *Presburg*, and chose the archduke *Matthias* their governor, according to the terms of the *Transylvanian* treaty. They were principally induced to this by a jealousy they entertained, that *Rodolph* and some princes of his house, whose succession to the *Hungarian* crown he intended to favour, were too much under the influence of the *Jesuits*, the most detested enemies of the protestants.

1606.

The *Hungarians* knew their own power, and imagining they had found a patron and protector in *Matthias*, they chose him king, upon his swearing, to confirm them their civil and religious liberties, and above all, the free exercise of the protestant religion, which most of them had embraced. The protestants of *Bohemia*, who likewise were very numerous, thought this to be a favourable opportunity, to secure to themselves the same indulgences, and they invited *Matthias* to repair to their country, and gave him hopes at the same time, that the states would give him their crown; nor were those of *Austria* wanting in the same intimation. *Rodolph* was then aged, infirm, and sunk in indolence. He never had been married; there was now no prospect of his having issue, and he had rendered himself contemptible in the empire and the neighbouring states. *Matthias* assembled his army, and marching suddenly into *Austria*, he seized great part of that province, that he might facilitate his design upon *Bohemia*. Mean while, the princes of the empire, perceiving their country on the brink of being involved in a bloody civil war, offered their mediation between the two brothers. After some negotiations it was agreed by a treaty, made at *Prague*, that *Matthias* should remain in possession of *Hungary* and *Austria*, and have the reversion of the crown of *Bohemia*, if *Rodolph* should die without male issue. This treaty being concluded, *Matthias* entered *Vienna*, where he exercised all acts of sovereignty, and ratified the peace that had been made with the *Turks*. After this he returned to *Hungary*, where he confirm-

*Matthias*  
chosen  
king of  
*Hungary*.

ed to the nobles all the privileges that had been stipulated to them by his act of election. Those transactions were far from being agreeable to *Rodolph*, who waked from his lethargy just at the time he saw the *Imperial* sceptre ready to depart from his hand, into that of his brother *Matthias*. He disavowed the treaty of *Prague*; he gave up the bishopric of *Passau* to be plundered by his soldiers, who ravaged *Bohemia*.

Difference  
between  
him and  
the em-  
peror his  
brother.

An open breach was now declared, between the two heads of the *German* house of *Austria*. Each prince endeavoured to get the protestants on his side; but *Rodolph* was so much exasperated, that he had thoughts of making an *Austrian* archduke of *Gratz*, king of the *Romans*. *Matthias* complained bitterly of this, and *Rodolph*, to bring the protestants over to his interest, issued letters patent, by which liberty of conscience was to be granted to them, and they were allowed to build churches and schools upon their own estates, even without the allowance of their lords paramount. Those indulgences, however, being confined to the protestants of *Austria* and *Bohemia*, those of other parts of the empire applied for the like. *Rodolph*, who had narrow confined notions, gave them a refusal, which laid the foundation of that famous protestant league, called the *Evangelic Union*. This association was first formed by the elector *Palatine*, the duke of *Wurtemberg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the marquises of *Amspach*, and *Baden Dourlach*, the prince of *Anhalt*, with almost all the other protestant states and cities in the empire, and the elector *Palatine* was chosen its head. An alliance like this, naturally produced a counterbalance amongst the catholic princes; the three ecclesiastical electors, the duke of *Bavaria*, who was chosen head of the league, and the princes of the house of *Austria*. The bishop of *Saltzbourg*, with many other princes and prelates, entered into the association, which obtained the name of the *Catholic League*, and reserved room for foreign *Roman* catholic princes and states to accede to it.

The  
catholic  
league  
formed.

Those proceedings were greatly influenced by a vacancy of succession to the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. Their last duke, *John William*, had died without issue, and the heirs of his four sisters claimed his succession. The principal competitors were, *John Sigismund* duke of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*, both of them protestants. The other competitors were, the descendants of *John-Frederic* of *Saxony*, the antient elector, the duke of *Deux Ponts*, *Charles* of *Austria* marquis of *Burgau*, besides several others, whose claims were too distant to be mentioned here. All *Germany* was soon filled with their manifestoes, and each party proposed to support his claim by the sword. Instances were not wanting of emperors disposing of *Imperial* fiefs, without regard to the rights of succession, when heirs male were wanting, and *Rodolph* published a laboured manifesto, to prove that by the constitutions of the empire, all the competitors ought to appear in his court, and to wait for his determination;

tion; but in the mean while, he insisted upon the fiefs being sequestered. Though this manifesto was founded on the ancient constitution of the empire, and though the emperor had given duke *Leopold* of *Austria* the commission of sequestration, yet the protestant princes resolved to maintain the rights of descent. The marquis of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Neuburg*, applied to the *French* king, who promised to give them his protection, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, having offered them his mediation, they took upon themselves the joint administration of the dutchy of *Cleves*, to which they were admitted by the states sitting at *Dusseldorp*, while *Leopold* of *Austria* held possession of the countries on this side the *Rhine*. The court of *Vienna*, on this occasion, proceeded in an arbitrary and suspicious manner, and published edicts inflicting the penalties of treason, upon all who should oppose the commission of sequestration. Hostilities now commencing, *Henry IV.* of *France*, thought that to be a proper juncture for humbling the pride and power of the house of *Austria*, and for carrying into execution the great plan, which he had formed for the partition of power in *Europe*. He raised a formidable army; but before he could put it in motion, he was assassinated by an enthusiast in the heart of his own capital, because it was thought he was going to fight against the *Roman* catholic interest. After his death, his troops took part with the houses of *Brandenburg* and *Neuburg*, and drove the duke *Leopold* out of *Fuliers*.

This dispute was not the only one in *Germany*, in which religion was concerned. The protestants of *Donawert* drove the *Roman* catholics out of their city, which was, however, taken by the elector of *Bavaria*. But the *Suabian* protestants resolved to lay their hardships and oppressions before an assembly of the princes of the Evangelical Union at *Hall*, who promised them protection and relief. This occasioned the emperor to convoke a diet at *Wirsburg*, and appearances were such, as if the flames of war would soon be communicated to all *Europe*. Another diet was called at *Prague*, where a reconciliation was proposed, between the emperor and his brother *Matthias*, and that an accommodation should take place in all other disputes of the empire. The elector of *Bavaria* was enjoined to restore the people of *Donawert* to their privileges. Among the other competitors for the contested dutchies, the elector of *Saxony* now began to make a great figure. He was the descendant of the elector *John Frederic*, by *Sibilla* of *Cleves*, the aunt of *John-William* late duke of *Cleves* and *Fuliers*. The emperor proposed, that those dutchies should be invested in him, which they accordingly were. An accommodation was proposed, and many princes of the empire, with the ambassadors of *England* and *France*, met first at *Cologne*, and afterwards near *Leipsic*, for that purpose. After many debates, a treaty of partition was agreed upon by the two electors, but rejected by the duke of *Neuburg*.

and between the German protestants and the Roman catholics.



1611.

A diet  
called at  
*Nurem-*  
*berg*.

Death and  
character  
of the  
emperor.

*burg*. Those differences were greatly heightened by the pusillanimity of the emperor. His indolence had thrown him into the most despicable habits, so that he had neither the spirit nor power to assert his own authority. He had been obliged to resign the kingdom of *Bohemia* to his brother *Matthias*, who was crowned at *Prague*, in the year 1611, and who confirmed the *Bohemian* protestants in all their privileges. He then called a diet at *Nuremberg*, for the election of the king of the *Romans*. The princes met in very bad humour, and demanded a new regulation of the courts of justice, and a total change of the *Imperial* ministry. The house of *Austria*, however, though hated, was dreaded, and the state of the empire with regard to the *Turks* and *France* required a head of that family, and the diet desired to know from the emperor, the name of the prince he intended for his successor.

The electors thought this an invasion of their rights, and another diet met at *Frankfort*, but in the mean while the emperor died of a swelling in his legs, contracted by his sedentary habits, in the 59th year of his age, and 36th of his reign. He deceived the good opinion mankind had conceived of him, at the time of his accession, and he was much better fitted to be the master of a private fortune, than the head of a great empire. Chemistry was his great delight, he had a strong turn for the mechanical arts, and if he ventured abroad it was to see his stud of horses, of which he was so fond, that he is said to have stole to his stables sometimes in the habit of a groom. But notwithstanding his personal failings, he kept *Germany* in an uncommon state of tranquillity before he grew contemptible, and suffered himself to be insulted by the princes of his house. Considering his avarice, it is surprizing that the *Turks* made no greater progress than they did in *Hungary*, but the fourteen millions of crowns which he left in his cabinet, might have driven them out of that kingdom. During his residence at *Prague*, the celebrated philosopher, *Tycho Brache*, took refuge in that city, and became intimate with *Rodolph*. *Tycho* is said to have been fond of judicial astrology, and to have infected the emperor with the like weakness, which rendered him superstitious, reserved and distrustful; so that towards the end of his life, he seldom left his room, not even to go to church.

## C H A P. XLV.

### M A T T H I A S.

1612.

SOME disputes concerning the regency of the empire, during the interregnum, being settled, the electors met at *Frankfort*, on the 14th of *May* 1612, to chuse an emperor. *Matthias*, in the mean time, hearing of his brother's death, seized

seized his immense treasures, and it is thought, it was to *Matthias* them that the unanimity of the electors was owing, when chosen they raised him to the *Imperial* throne. He began to reign emperor with great plausibility, by assuring the assembly, that he intended to preserve the tranquillity of the empire. He sent an ambassador to the *Porte*, to claim the possession of *Transylvania*, according to the compromise with *Botsckay*, who was now dead. The *Othmans* laughed at this demand, and instead of complying with it, required *Matthias* to deliver up certain places in *Strigonia*. *Gabriel Bathori*, the waywode of *Transylvania*, consented to admit *German* garrisons into his towns, if he should be attacked by the *Turks*, which he accordingly was at a time when the emperor could give him very little assistance, and when he himself was hated by his people, for his connections with the house of *Austria*. Finding himself thus abandoned on all sides, he was at his own request slain by one of his soldiers.

His disputes with the *Porte*.

*Matthias*, soon after his election, received two extraordinary embassies; one from *Persia*, and another from the senate of *Muscovy*. The *Persian* complained of the peace that had been made between the *Turks* and the *Imperialists*, which *Matthias* apologized for on the principle of necessity. The errand of the *Muscovite*, was of a more honourable nature. That ambassador represented the dismal state of his country through the cruelty and tyranny of its late dukes, and in the name of the senate, desired *Matthias* to resettle their constitution, and to nominate a prince proper to govern them, promising to receive him as their head. *Matthias* dismissed the ambassador with a very satisfactory answer, though without the required nomination, but sent along with him, one *Peter Herman*, to inspect the state of the country. Those audiences being over, *Matthias* turned his attention towards *Hungary* which was threatened by the *Turks*. He repaired to *Presburg*, where he called an assembly, and demanded a revocation of their late order against the admission of *German* troops into their kingdom. As many of the *Hungarians* preferred the *Turkish* to an *Austrian* government, or as one of their nobles expressed himself, dreaded the *German* wolf, as much as the *Turkish* bear, this request met with violent opposition. The danger, however, being pressing, it was agreed, that if *Hungary* was attacked by the *Turks*, *German* soldiers might be introduced into it, provided they had at their head two generals, one a *German*, and the other a *Hungarian*. They then made a present to the empress-consort, who was *Anne Catharine* of *Inspruc*, the emperor's own cousin-german, to defray the expence of her coronation, which was performed with great magnificence at *Presburg*.

He gives audience to the *Persian* and *Muscovite* ambassadors.

Upon the return of *Matthias* to *Vienna*, he summoned a diet to meet at *Ratisbon*, to reform the numerous abuses of the empire, especially in law proceedings and the coinage. *Matthias* began now to be suspected by the protestants, though

A diet at *Ratisbon*,

to

to them chiefly he owed his elevation. When his ministers demanded a five years subsidy against the *Turks*, and 24,000 men to serve in *Hungary*, the protestants presented a memorial, complaining that the emperor's council, though purely civil, had made encroachments in matters of religion, that they were manifestly partial against the protestants, and that it was necessary that the judges should be appointed out of both religions, together with a number of other heavy oppressions, and demanding immediate redress. The emperor and his ministers insisted, that the supplies should be first granted before complaints were heard, but the protestants repeated their remonstrances, and threatened, that if their requests were not complied with, to leave the diet. *Matthias* was in great perplexity how to behave, but threw his difficulties upon the *Roman* catholics, who pretended that the protestants were the common disturbers of the empire, and that they had invaded both the civil and religious rights of the catholics. This served only to render the protestants more peremptory in their demands, and their deputies, at last, actually left the diet, with a protest against any subsidy, which the *Roman* catholics might grant.

which is  
deserted  
by the pro-  
testants.

Affairs of  
*Juliers*  
and  
*Cleves*.

The elector of *Brandenburg* and the duke of *Neuburg*, still remained in possession of *Juliers* and *Cleves*; but began to differ concerning their partition of power, and at last, each took up arms. The duke of *Neuburg*, as being the weakest, attached himself to the house of *Bavaria*, of which he married a princess, as the elector did to the States General, who were then a sovereign power, and offered their mediation, which was rejected by the duke of *Neuburg*, who had now engaged the *Roman* catholic princes of the empire in his interest. The elector of *Brandenburg*, upon this, naturally united himself with the elector of *Saxony*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*. The duke of *Neuburg* offered to refer his pretensions to the Imperial council, which was objected to by the elector, as being partial and prepossessed against him. While matters were in this untowardly situation, the duke of *Neuburg*, the more effectually to secure to himself the court of *Spain*, and the *Roman* catholic interest in the empire, declared himself of that religion, but emitted a declaration, that his conversion should make no alteration in his conduct towards the protestants of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, whom he would still protect in the exercise of their religion. This moderation was not imitated by his competitor, the elector, who, to ingratiate himself with the States General, made an impolitic, but faithless, attempt, to introduce *Calvinists* into the contested dutchies. In the mean while, the elector by treaty agreed, that the dutchies should be sequestered in the hands of their High Mightinesses, till the disputes concerning them were finished, and their troops actually took possession of *Juliers*. The duke of *Neuburg* consented to this step, and surprized *Dusseldorp*.

The



The archduke, governor of the *Netherlands*, demanded that *Juliers* should be evacuated, which being refused, he gave orders to *Spinola*, the *Spanish* general, to pass the *Maese*; but instead of besieging *Juliers*, he took possession of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, which was then under the protection of the house of *Brandenburgh*. Hostilities now commenced on both sides of the *Rhine*, where the *Spanish* and *Dutch* armies under *Spinola* and prince *Maurice* made various conquests; but the former besieged and took *Wesel* and *Duisbourg*, garrisoned a number of other places, and assumed the title of the emperor's commissary. At last, by the mediation of neutral princes, the town of *Santhen* was chosen as a place proper for accommodating all differences. An assembly was accordingly held there, at which deputies assisted from the kings of *England*, *France* and *Spain*, the archduke, the *States General*, the electors of *Cologne* and *Palatine*, with those of many other *German* princes. An accommodation was drawn up and agreed to, by which the property and the administration of the two dutchies were partitioned between the elector and the duke, and other matters were put on an amicable footing. *Spinola* refused to stand to this accommodation, or to evacuate *Wesel* without an order from the emperor and the king of *Spain*. As to the emperor, he concerned himself but little in the dispute, being willing to preserve the tranquillity of the empire, and to oppose the *Turks*. They are compromised.

Upon the death of *Bathori*, the *Turkish* emperor appointed *Bethlem Gabor*, waivode of *Transilvania*, and his authority was submitted to, even by the *Imperial* party there. The *Ottoman* court, not contented with this, demanded from *Matthias* certain *Hungary* fiefs, which, as they pretended, belonged to *Transilvania*; but the emperor evading the demand, found himself again involved in a war with the *Turks*. He called an assembly at *Lintz*, where deputies from his hereditary dominions attended, but he was so unpopular among them, that he could obtain nothing, not even a passage for his troops to *Transilvania* through *Hungary*. This gave an opportunity for *Bethlem Gabor* to make himself master of *Lippa* by capitulation; the observance of which might have embroiled him with the *Turks*, had not the latter been very earnest for a peace, which was accordingly concluded, greatly to the honour and advantage of *Matthias*. *Agria*, *Canisa*, *Alba Regalis*, *Pest*, and *Buda* itself was restored to him, together with almost all that the *Turks* held in *Hungary*; but *Transilvania* and *Bethlem Gabor* remained under the *Ottoman* protection. This treaty was to be in force for twenty years, and it rendered *Matthias* the most formidable prince of his house since the days of *Charles V.* During this important negotiation, differences again broke out between the duke and citizens of *Brunswic*. The latter were supported by the *Hanse* towns, whose general count *Solmes* bravely defended the town against their duke. At last, an accommodation, through Advantageous peace with the *Turks*.

through the interposition of the king of *Denmark* and the landgrave of *Hesse*, took place, the duke confirming the citizens in their privileges, and they doing homage to the duke as their master.

*Ferdinand* Notwithstanding the late pacification at *Santhen*, the affairs of the dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves* remained still unsettled, and the elector of *Saxony* refused to join with the protestant states, who were assembled at *Nuremburg*, in an application to the emperor to confirm the pacification. *Matthias* observed a perfect neutrality in the quarrel, but being now freed from the terror of the *Turks*, he began to exert himself by oppressing the protestants of *Bohemia*, who had been so long troublesome and terrible to the house of *Austria*. Being childless himself, he threw his eyes upon his cousin *Ferdinand*, archduke of *Gratz*, who had great pretensions upon the *Austrian* succession, and who was chosen king of *Bohemia*, but with an express proviso, that he should not, during the emperor's life, meddle in state affairs without his permission. It is said that the archduke, before he returned to his apartment, was absolved by the pope's nuncio from this obligation. This election was a kind of a watch word for the further oppression of the *Bohemian* protestants. Instead of obtaining redress of the many religious grievances they complained of, they were treated with rough language, and the archbishop of *Prague* demolished or shut up their churches. They called an assembly of the states of the kingdom against the inclinations of *Ferdinand*, and they named deputies to carry up their grievances to the *Imperial* council. They were treated with the utmost insolence, and so much provoked by the abuse they received from *William Schlabata*, president of the chamber, *Jarowslaw Borzita*, count de *Mortinitz*, and *Philip Fabricius*, secretary of the council, that they threw them out of a window two stories high, but being favoured by falling into a ditch full of water, they escaped unhurt. As to the other counsellors present, they were conducted in safety to their houses.

Count de la *Tour*, the principal actor in this bold attempt, knew the house of *Austria* too well to be insensible that perseverance was their only safety. He harangued the citizens of *Prague* so effectually, that they put themselves under arms, and were joined by many catholics, who were as much incensed at their new king for his infractions of their civil, as the protestants were for those of their ecclesiastical, liberties. Assembling in a college, they chose thirty directors, and bound themselves to an association by oath. They seized upon the city and fortifications of *Prague*, from whence they expelled all the *Jesuits* and *Roman* catholics who had not joined them, and emitted a manifesto in their own defence. *Matthias* was, at this time, broken with infirmities, both of body and spirit, and though he had the will, he was destitute of the activity requisite to face a revolt attended with such daring circumstances.

ces. He published some menacing admonitions, which the *Bohemians* despised, and they accused the turbulent cardinal *Klesel*, archbishop of *Vienna*, and the emperor's chief favourite, as being the author of all the public grievances. At last, the insurgents of *Bohemia* were joined by the *Silesians*, who had the like causes of complaint. The house of *Austria* was, at this time, far from being so well united as to make any effectual opposition to this formidable confederacy. The emperor and *Philip III.* of *Spain* had renounced their claims upon *Hungary* in favour of *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*; but he found himself only nominal king of those two countries, as *Matthias*, or rather his minister the cardinal, was possessed of all the real power. *Ferdinand* was therefore as much exasperated as the protestants were against the cardinal, and being joined by the archduke *Maximilian*, *Matthias* was prevailed upon by their remonstrances to forbid the cardinal his court. No sooner had he spoke the word than his eminence was stripped of his robes, and conveyed a close prisoner to a castle on the confines of *Stiria*, from whence he was afterwards delivered by the court of *Rome*, and reinstated in his dignities.

The count *de la Tour* was all this while making dispositions for acting with vigour, and his party rejected all the flattering terms proposed to them by the emperor, so much were they prepossessed against *Austrian* faith. *De la Tour* opened the campaign by taking *Crumlaw*, but failed in his design upon *Budewitz*, another town of great importance on the frontiers of *Bohemia*. He was assisted by the famous count *Mansfield*, one of the greatest generals of his age, who reduced most of the interior places that held for the emperor in *Bohemia*. They were opposed by the count *de Buquoy*, another general of great reputation, who was sent with a body of troops to the assistance of the emperor by the cardinal archduke. In the mean while *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* had prevailed with the emperor to send the count *de Dampier* with an army into *Bohemia*, where he reduced *Bistritz*, *Pilgram*, and *Pohna*; but the valour and activity of *de la Tour* prevented him from making any farther progress. By the assistances which the *Bohemian* protestants received from their *German* brethren and the *States General*, their army now amounted to 30,000 men; but they received no assistance from the elector of *Saxony*, who was still amused with the hopes of *Juliers* and *Cleves*. The count *de Buquoy* had now entered *Bohemia* by the way of *Moravia*, and having secured some of the frontier towns, he advanced to fight the insurgents, but found their army drawn up in such excellent order on the banks of the *Moldau*, that he retired under the cannon of *Budewitz* till he could be reinforced from *Vienna*. The emperor again offered to open conferences for an accommodation at *Pilsen*, the richest and one of the most populous towns in *Bohemia*; but its inhabitants were devoted to the house of *Austria*, even to enthusiasm. The protestants, therefore, objected to the place of meeting, and *Mansfield* besieged  
Their success in *Bohemia*;  
 where they take  
 and *Pilsen*.



Death of  
the em-  
peror.

and took it, notwithstanding the brave defence made by the townsmen. The loss of *Pilsen* gave a dreadful blow to the Imperial interest in *Bohemia*, where the protestants now daily gained ground, and were in expectation of being joined by those of *Austria*; but the latter were not yet ripe for such a declaration.

During this situation of affairs in *Germany*, the emperor *Matthias* died at *Vienna* of a consumptive distemper, in the 63d year of his age and the 8th of his reign. He was, before his death, in a state of dejection, through the loss of his empress and his brother *Maximilian*, and the unexpected revolution that had happened in *Bohemia*. He, in a political sense, may be said, in other respects, to have been fortunate, on account of his recovery of *Hungary* from the *Turks*, and the successes which had attended the arms of *Ferdinand* of *Gratz* against them in that country. Upon his death-bed, he is said to have expressed to his successor some remorse for the rigour of his government.

## C H A P. XLVI.

### F E R D I N A N D *the second.*

Distrac-  
tions of  
the em-  
pire.

**T**HIS prince, when *Matthias* died, considered himself as the undoubted possessor of the *Bohemian* and *Hungarian* crowns; but the state of affairs in the empire obliged him to proceed with great moderation as well as address. He offered terms to the *Bohemians*, but they rejected them, and affirmed that their crown was elective. Even the states of *Austria* declined to recognize him, because they were in hopes of entering into an alliance offensive and defensive with the *Bohemians*, which might emancipate them from the tyranny of their archdukes. *Ferdinand* offered to the *Bohemians* even more security than they had required for their civil and religious rights; but they imagined that they discovered a duplicity in his proceedings, and the war continued. The protestants of *Moravia*, *Silesia*, *Lusatia*, and *Upper Austria*, joined the *Bohemian* confederacy. *De la Tour* invaded *Moravia*, where he took *Iglaw*, *Trebichz*, and *Znaim*. Cardinal de *Ditrichstein*, the *Austrian* governor, endeavoured to amuse them, but could not compass his ends. All that *Ferdinand* opposed to this powerful confederacy, consisted of manifestos and the strongest assurances that he would grant the insurgents all they desired. They distrusted him, and *de la Tour* marched into *Austria*, penetrating to the very suburbs of *Vienna*, where he quartered his troops.

Where *de la Tour* penetrates to *Vienna*,

While he was making preparations for besieging that great city, in which he had many friends, and which he probably would have carried, count *Buquoy* defeated *Mansfield* in *Bohemia*,

mia, and retiring to *Prague*, the consternation of the protestants was so great, that they sent orders to *de la Tour* to abandon all thoughts of the siege of *Vienna*, and to return to the defence of *Prague*. *De la Tour* obeyed, and on his arrival, he found that he could not force *Buquoy's* intrenchments; but the *Bohemian* confederacy was confirmed anew. All this while the election of an emperor was at a stand, but every thing concurred to favour *Ferdinand's* pretensions to that dignity. The ultimate end of the protestant confederacy was to circumscribe his power in his hereditary dominions, and to ascertain to the states of *Bohemia* their right of electing their own king; in which case *Ferdinand* must have been deprived of his vote as an elector of the empire. *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*, was thought of as a proper person to fill the Imperial throne by the elector of *Saxony*, the elector *Palatine*, and the elector of *Brandenburgh*; but he wisely rejected the offer on account of the great power and alliances of the house of *Austria*, and his own inability to support the dignity. He had, however, the address to make a merit of this with *Ferdinand* of *Gratz*, who paid him a visit. The *Bavarian* was sensible that the heart of the elector *Palatine*, the eldest branch of his family, was set upon the crown of *Bohemia*, which had been offered to him by the protestant league. A private compromise was entered into between *Ferdinand* and that duke, that if the elector accepted of the offer, his electorate should be given to the *Bavarian* branch of his family, and all his right, as being the eldest branch, should be transferred to *Maximilian*. The 28th of *August* was fixed for the day of electing an emperor, when *Ferdinand* was chosen by the suffrages of all the electors, notwithstanding a protest entered against him by the deputies of the *Bohemian* states. By this time, the elector *Palatine* had taken the field in favour of the protestants, who had obtained several advantages over their enemies, but they were more than counterbalanced by the count de *Bouquoy* taking *Piseck* by storm, where he put the garrison to the sword and hanged the governor.

The capitulation of *Ferdinand* contained two additional articles. By one he established the power of the Imperial vicars, and by the other he excluded all from being admitted into the aulic council under the degree of a baron, German born, and well versed in the constitution of his country. The *Bohemians*, without regarding the Imperial dignity, now more obstinately than ever contended that their crown was elective. They assembled and formally chose *Frederic V.* the elector *Palatine*, to fill their throne. The illegality of this election was strenuously opposed by *Ferdinand*, who said that he had been proclaimed sovereign of the kingdom, and that he had been acknowledged in a general assembly as such, being the grandson of the emperor *Ferdinand*, and *Anne* queen of *Bohemia*, by which plea he seems to have contended for an hereditary as well as an elective right. The *Bohemians*, on the other hand, denied

Capitulation of *Ferdinand*.

The elector *Palatine* chosen and crowned king of *Bohemia*.

denied the validity of his electoral right, which they alledged to be local, because he never had taken possession of the kingdom, which they pretended to be in their disposal.

1619.

*De la Tour*  
defeated  
near *Vienne*.

The catholic  
league re-  
vived.

Politics of  
*James I.*  
king of  
*Great-*  
*Britain.*

*Frederic*, the elector *Palatine*, was a young prince of great hopes, and was, at this time, considered as the head of the protestant interest in *Germany*. He had been lately married to the eldest princess of *England*, daughter to *James I.* and besides many other great alliances, he had prince *Maurice* and the duke of *Bouillon* for his uncles. Though within himself he was bent upon accepting the regal dignity, yet he applied to *James* for his advice, which was entirely against his acceptance of it; but all his other relations and the protestant princes of the empire were of a different opinion, and he repaired to *Prague*, where he and the electress were crowned on the 4th of *November* 1619, by one of the *Hussite* ministers. His title was acknowledged by the republic of *Venice*, and *Bethlem Gabor*, the *Turkish* waivode of *Transylvania*, who was then making a vast progress in *Hungary*, and threatened *Vienna* itself. The archduke *Leopold* was then governor of that city, and *Buquoy*, who still continued to act with success in *Bohemia*, was ordered to march to its defence. Being within two leagues of *Bohemia*, he was attacked by *de la Tour* and the *Moravians* in his intrenchments, but without success; for after a desperate engagement, *de la Tour* was obliged to retire with the loss of 2000 men. To repair this misfortune, count *Mansfield* gained some advantages in *Bohemia*, and *Gabor* making himself master of *Presburg* gave liberty of conscience to all the *Hungarian* protestants. An assembly of the protestants was now met at *Nuremberg*, where the count de *Hohen-zollern* acted as deputy for the emperor, but with very little success. Though the princes did not dispute his *Imperial* title, yet they took part with *Frederic* as king of *Bohemia*.

Nothing could be opposed to so strong an association but the catholic league, which was revived on this occasion. The ambassadors of the emperor, the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Triers*, with many other catholic princes, met at *Wirtzburg*, where they renewed their league, and ascertained their quotas of men and money with which they were to furnish the emperor for the support of the *Imperial* authority in *Bohemia* and elsewhere. The pope and some of the *Italian* princes followed their example, and his catholic majesty ordered 11,000 *Spanish* veteran foot to march and attack the *Palatinate*. This crisis threatened to determine the fate of popery and protestantism, not only in *Germany*, but all over *Europe*. Some have imagined, that if the court of *Great Britain* had acted strenuously for *Frederic*, the balance must have turned in favour of protestantism; but this is not likely. Beside the aver-

sion which *James* had for supporting a cause which he condemned in his own heart as rebellious, he was not in a condition to furnish either men or money sufficient for completing so great an event, and perhaps the dispositions which his people



people shewed in favour of *Frederic*, arose from his unwillingness to support him. Besides motives of conscience, *James*, at this time, had one of interest, arising from his hopes of obtaining the infant of *Spain* in marriage for his eldest son. The successes of *Bethlem Gabor* in *Hungary* were owing to the assistance he received from the *Turks*; nor is it to be supposed that he could be cordially in the interest of the elector *Palatine*. Add to those considerations, that the house of *Saxony*, formerly the bulwark of protestantism in *Germany*, was in the *Imperial* interest. Upon the whole, therefore, the attempt of *Frederic* to seize the *Bohemian* crown, was that of a young and unexperienced prince, prompted by designing or desperate men, or by enthusiasts who could not form a right judgment. The *French* king, whose father had been so eminently serviceable to the protestant cause, was then a minor; and his mother, who was regent, was contented to offer her mediation between the contending parties.

When the campaign of 1620 opened, the disparity of their power was easily discernable. *Spinola* the ablest general in *Europe*, at the head of 11,000 *Spanish* foot, entered the *Lower Palatinate*; the duke of *Bavaria* overawed the protestants of *Upper Austria* with another army of 25,000 men. The operations of war were for a short time suspended by an assembly of the princes and free towns at *Ulm*, where the *French* ambassador, the duke of *Angoulesme* appeared, and offered to take upon himself the office of mediator; but this cessation was of no long continuance, as the members could not agree among themselves on the best methods for restoring public tranquillity. With regard to the emperor *Ferdinand*, he behaved with unusual moderation; he endeavoured, by his manifestos, to persuade *Frederic* to desist from his pretensions upon *Bohemia*, and offered pardon to all his followers who would lay down their arms; but his advances were rejected. By this time *Frederic* saw the vanity of his expectations of being joined by the *Hungarian* or *Austrian* malecontents. *Bethlem Gabor* had declared himself king of *Hungary*, where he met with such opposition that he could spare none of his party for another quarrel, and the *Upper Austrians* had been obliged to take a new oath of fidelity to the emperor. The *Imperialists* under the duke of *Bavaria* now amounted to 50,000 men, with whom he penetrated into *Bohemia*; and *Spinola*, whose army was now 30,000, was master of the *Palatinate*; while the elector of *Saxony*, with a third army on the frontiers of *Bohemia*, declared and acted vigorously for the emperor.

The duke of *Bavaria*, in the emperor's name, again offered pardon to all the *Bohemians* who would lay down their arms, but their obstinacy, rather than any affection for *Frederic*, defeated kept them in the field. They complained loudly of the disappointment of their expectations from *England*, from whence they had received only between 2 and 3,000 auxiliaries; nor were they well satisfied with *Frederic* in other respects. All

1620.

State of  
the war in  
*Bohemia*.Frederic  
entirely  
defeated  
near  
*Prague*.

he could do to avert the impending storm, was to send a body of troops by way of diversion into *Saxony*, while his generals, *de la Tour* and the prince of *Anhalt*, acted upon the defensive in *Bohemia*. *Henry de Nassau*, and the marquis of *Anspach*, commanded for *Frederic* in the *Palatinate*; but a misunderstanding happening between the *English* who served there, and the *Germans*, nothing effectual was done to oppose *Spinola*. The duke of *Bavaria* and the count *de Buquoy*, notwithstanding some sharp attacks made on their rear by count *Mansfield*, were advancing towards *Prague* itself. *Frederic's* army amounted to no more than 30,000 men, with whom he resolved to keep on the defensive. They were attacked by the *Imperialists* near *Weissenberg*, in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, and though the victory at first inclined to *Frederic*, part of whose troops had been compleatly disciplined, yet he was entirely defeated, with the loss of above 5,000 men, besides those who perished in the *Moldau*, his baggage and cannon. *Frederic* seeing all lost, retired to *Prague*, and from thence to *Silesia*. Next day *Prague* surrendered to the elector of *Bavaria*, who imprisoned all the heads of the revolt he could seize on.

Negociations for his restoration to the *Palatinate*

ineffectual.

Progress of the *Imperialists*.

King *James* hearing of his son-in-law's fate, sent the lord *Digby* as his ambassador to *Vienna*, to mediate for *Frederic*, not that the crown of *Bohemia* should be restored to him, but that he might again be put in possession of the *Palatinate*. *Ferdinand* gave a very soothing answer to this offer of mediation, and referred the ambassador to his confederates. *Mansfield* still kept the field for *Frederic*, and *Silesia* continued firm to him, by means of the duke of *Jagerndorf*. This resistance, at a time when *Ferdinand* expected nothing but submission, provoked him so much, that he laid *Frederic* and the heads of his party under the ban of the empire; upon which the *Silesians* submitted, and at the intercession of the duke of *Saxony*, were pardoned upon their paying 300,000 florins to the emperor. *Frederic* was, at this time, in *Denmark*, where the king made him great professions of friendship, but they terminated in embassies and negotiations which proved ineffectual, for *Ferdinand* rose every hour in his demands. He insisted that *Frederic*, besides renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, should resign the *Upper Palatinate* to the house of *Bavaria*, and give him personal satisfaction, by making his submissions at *Vienna*. The bounds of this history do not admit of our giving a particular detail of all the manifestos and warlike operations with which the rejection of those harsh terms were attended. The projects of *Bethlem Gabor*, and the protestants of *Hungary*, came to nothing, through the perseverance of the *Imperialists*. *Bohemia* was reduced by the duke of *Bavaria*, *Lusatia* by the elector of *Saxony*, *Moravia* by the count *de Buquoy*, and the emperor, in consideration of the services done him by the elector of *Saxony*, gave him the investiture of *Lusatia*, while at the same time he gave the duke of *Bavaria*

ria a commission for carrying all the other parts of the *Imperial* ban into execution, and confirmed his promise of investing him with the electoral dignity, and the dominions that had belonged to the late elector *Palatine*. Nine of the principal *Bohemian* directors, who had managed the affairs of that kingdom before *Frederic's* election, were beheaded, and those of a subordinate order were hanged or suffered other deaths.

The active count *Mansfield* was now the only support of *Frederic's* cause in *Germany*. He was still at the head of a flying army of 8 or 9,000 men, with which he performed incredible actions against the duke of *Bavaria*, whose troops, however, surrounded him as he was preparing to penetrate into the *Lower Palatinate*, by the way of *Franconia*. *Mansfield*, in this distress, had recourse to stratagem. Being known all over *Europe* to be a soldier of fortune, he proposed to the *Bavarian* to enter with his army into the *Imperial* service, and amused that duke so effectually, that he and his troops found means to escape into the *Lower Palatinate*, where their presence gave fresh vigour to the cause of *Frederic*. He arrived there just in time to save *Frankendal* from being taken by the *Spanish* general *Cordova*, whose superiority of numbers had obliged *Vere*, the *English* general who commanded the *Palatine* troops, to retire to *Worms*, while *Frederic* was soliciting in *Holland* and elsewhere for succours, but obtained only magnificent promises.

*Bethlem Gabor*, at the head of the *Hungarian* malecontents, still stood his ground in *Hungary*, where *Buquoy* commanded the *Imperialists* and took *Presburg*. After that he laid siege to *Neubause*, but *de la Tour* coming to its relief, intercepted a convoy, in defending which *Buquoy* was killed, and in him the *Imperialists* lost one of their greatest military supports. The siege of *Neubause* was then raised, and *Gabor*, joined by the duke of *Jagerndorf*, who commanded the protestant *Moravians* and *Silesians*, retook many places, but they were repulsed before *Presburg*. *Christiern* of *Brunswic*, a prince of a very extraordinary character, at this time joined the cause of *Frederic*. Being possessed of several very valuable ecclesiastical livings, he was an enemy to priests, almost to enthusiasm, and he wore in his hat one of the electress *Palatine's* gloves, in token of his being her professed champion. He raised an army in *Westphalia*, and joined *Mansfield*, who had retired to *Alsace*. The prince of *Baden Dourlach* was likewise brought over to the same cause, which now resumed a smiling aspect. *Christiern* acted with great success, but some barbarity, in the county of *La Marck*, and attacked the dominions of the landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*; and about the same time, the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, for some family reasons, declared in favour of the elector *Palatine*. *Ferdinand* ordered the duke of *Brunswic* and the landgrave of *Hesse* to desist from hostilities, and the former was checked by the count of *Anhalt*, who commanded the electoral troops of *Cologne*. The defeat that

Progress  
of the Im-  
perialists.

*Buquoy*  
killed in  
*Hungary*.

*Frederic's*  
cause re-  
vives.



*Christiern* had received, seemed to encrease his ferocity. Falling back into the countries of *Paderbourn* and *Munster*, he recruited his army, no man being of so profligate a character as not to be received into his service; and he is said to have been guilty of barbarities that disgraced the cause he had espoused.

*Ferdinand* finding the protestant cause revive, resolved to decide it by granting advantageous terms to *Bethlem Gabor*, that he might be at liberty to employ his full force against the *Palatine* interest. A negociation being begun, *Gabor* consented to renounce the title and kingdom of *Hungary*, in consideration of his being made a prince of the empire, and receiving the investiture of certain estates in *Hungary* and *Silesia*, with many other advantages. This treaty being concluded, *Ferdinand*, who about the same time married *Eleanora*, the sister of the duke of *Mantua*, called a diet, in which he confirmed the protestants in their religious privileges. Those compliances were in a great measure owing to the vast successes of *Mansfield* in *Alsace*, where he was opposed by count *Tilly*, the *Imperial* general, who became afterwards so famous in the history of *Germany*. The marquis of *Baden Dourlach* was, at this time, in the field at the head of 16,000 well appointed troops, and a large train of artillery, and had begun his march to join *Mansfield*, when he learned that the latter, by one of those military stratagems of which he was so great a master, had gained a considerable advantage over *Tilly*. This induced him to change his resolution, and he advanced towards *Tilly* that he might have the glory of completing his destruction. *Frederic*, who about that time had arrived at *Mansfield's* army from *Holland*, through *France*, which he traversed in disguise, endeavoured to dissuade the marquis from this march; but it was too late, and *Tilly* having been reinforced by some *Spanish* regiments, killed 2,000 of his men, took his cannon and baggage, and it was with difficulty that the marquis escaped with part of his cavalry to *Mansfield*, who was then besieging *Lademburg*, which he took, and put its garrison to the sword. That active general then marched against the archduke *Leopold*, who was besieging *Frankendal*. *Mansfield* having cut in pieces a detached part of his army, filled the rest with such a panic, that they fled with the loss of all their artillery and magazines, and *Mansfield's* soldiers killed 2,000 of them in the pursuit.

He joins  
*Mans-*  
*field's*  
army,

which  
amounts  
to 20,000  
men,

*Mansfield* then re-crossed the *Rhine*, and joined *Frederic* and the marquis of *Baden*, by which their army amounted to 20,000 men. If it had been possible for so small a force to have re-established *Frederic* in his *Palatinate*, the zeal and abilities of *Mansfield* would have done it. But he was obliged to make war as a partizan: he had no magazines but what he took from his enemies; his troops had no subsistence but what they raised from contributions and plunder, and the slightest check was sufficient to interrupt the operations of a

whole

whole campaign. On the other hand, *Tilly* and the *Imperial* generals had at their backs large opulent countries, from which they were plentifully supplied with provisions of all kinds. Their troops were regularly paid, and they could easily recover any unfortunate blow in the course of a campaign. Twenty thousand men, however, was a very considerable army, and it ravaged the bishopric of *Spire*, plundered the country of the landgrave of *Hesse Darmstadt*, with whom the landgrave of *Hesse* was at variance, and made himself prisoner. *Tilly* was all this while reinforcing his army and watching his opportunity, which he found and improved so well, that he attacked or cut off the rear of *Mansfield's* army, and the main body was obliged in great disorder and confusion, being destitute of money and provisions, to fly into the *Palatinate*. The duke of *Brunswic's* army was now all the resource which *Frederic* had. *Christiern* had been very successful in his ravages in the countries upon the *Lippe*, and had fixed his head quarters at *Lipstadt*. The *Imperialists*, under the prince of *Anhalt*, having been reinforced with 10,000 men, sent them from the *Low Countries*, threatened to besiege him in that city: but he was favoured by a diversion made by the *Dutch*, which obliged the archdutchess, governess, to recall her troops. *Christiern*, upon this, began his march to join *Frederic* and *Mansfield* in the *Palatinate*. In his progress he was attacked by *Tilly*, who waited for him at *Hanau*, and entirely defeated; his infantry, consisting of 6,000 men, were as is the duke of killed, drowned, or made prisoners, and all he himself could do, after acting with great bravery, was to join *Mansfield* *Brunswic*, with five troops of horse. This defeat of *Christiern* neither discouraged him nor *Mansfield*; they stuck close by *Frederic*, who thought proper to release the landgrave of *Darmstadt*, but the marquis of *Baden Dourlach* dismissed his troops, and took refuge in *Hochberg*; while the elector, with the other heads of the party, retired to *Alsace*. In this state of affairs, discouraging as it was for the protestant cause, *Ferdinand* still seemed to be in suspense. His plausible treatment of all the great powers in *Europe*, *Spain* excepted, who applied in favour of *Frederic*, had hitherto kept them quiet, and none of them proceeded farther than solicitations. He plainly saw, that if *Great Britain*, *France*, or *Denmark* should enter upon hostilities, *Frederic* might soon reinstate himself in his *Palatinate*, and his ministers, at last, fairly intimated, that his *Imperial* majesty could do no effectual service to the *Palatine* unless he should apply for it without having arms in his hand. *Frederic* took the hint, dismissed the brave *Mansfield* and *Christiern* from his service, and retired to *Sedan*, just about the time that the *Imperialists*, under *Tilly*, had compleated the conquest of the *Palatinate*, which they cruelly ravaged, and by their restoring popery in every place where it was possible to introduce it, they plainly discovered that the war on their part was religious as well as temporal.

*Mansfield*  
defeated.

*Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunswic* were at this time at the head of 10,000 foot, and 8,000 horse, and dreaded or courted by all the powers of *Europe*. They hovered near *Sedan*, as being undetermined what party to embrace; but, at last, penetrating into *France* to assist the *Hugonots* there, and to raise the siege of *Bergen-op-zoom*, they were defeated, with the loss of 5,000 killed and wounded, by the duke of *Nevers*, and *Gonzales*, the *Spanish* general. In this battle the duke of *Brunswic* lost his right arm. *Mansfield*, undismayed by this blow, entered into the service of the *States General*, continued his march, and forced *Spinola* to retire from before *Bergen-op-zoom*. *Ferdinand* having thus gained his ends thro' the pusillanimity of the king of *England*, by whose advice *Frederic* had disarmed himself, ventured to throw off the mask by proceeding with the utmost severity against the *Bohemian* protestants, and forcing all the towns in his hereditary dominions to receive popish magistrates. All the protestant churches in *Prague* were shut up, their ministers were obliged to leave that city in four hours, and its university was consigned to the *Jesuits*. The protestant princes complained of this, but *Ferdinand* was now next to absolute in the empire, and calling a diet at *Ratisbon*, he, by his *Imperial* power, transferred the electoral dignity of the *Palatinate* to *Maximilian*, duke of *Bavaria*. This destination was neither agreeable to the fundamental laws of the empire, nor the inclinations of the *Roman* catholic powers, particularly of *Spain*, which was then earnestly cultivating friendship with *Great Britain*. The electors, and other princes of that communion in the empire were in hopes of coming in for part of the spoils, but were disappointed; and *Ferdinand* trusted to their divisions for the execution and confirmation of his own award. In a subsequent diet, *Ferdinand* solemnly invested *Maximilian* with the electoral dignity, though half the princes of the empire were ready to take arms against him.

The spoils  
of the *Pa*  
*latinate*  
divided.

To appease the king of *Spain*, he gave him up a large share of the *Lower Palatinate*, and he gratified the landgrave of *Darmstadt*, the archbishop of *Mentz*, and the bishops of *Worms* and *Spire*, with other portions of the same, as they lay most convenient for their several dominions. The emperor, at the same time, transferred the landgraviate of *Marpurg* to the house of *Darmstadt*, and found means to make the elector of *Saxony*, the most powerful protestant prince then in *Germany*, easy with regard to the unjust arrangements he had made. To manifest his power to the utmost, *Ferdinand* dispatched commissaries to require the states of *Lower Saxony* to dismiss from their frontiers the duke of *Brunswic*, who was still at the head of a considerable army. They were obliged to comply, and the duke in his march to join *Mansfield* was defeated by *Tilly*, with the loss of 3,000 men. *Mansfield* hearing of this defeat, intrenched his army so between *Embsen* and *Meppen*, that *Tilly* durst not attack him; and 6,000  
of



of the remains of the *Brunswic* army, entered into the service of the *States General*, but in the mean while, *Tilly* fell into *Westphalia*, where he took *Lipstadt*. The *States General* had the honour of being, at this period, the only bulwarks of *Europe* against the house of *Austria*; but all that their generals, the princes *Maurice* and *Henry* of *Orange*, could do, was to act upon the defensive. The emperor's generals defeated *Bethlem Gabor* in *Hungary*, where he was raising new commotions, and he was forced to promise never again to take part with the enemies of the house of *Austria*. In short, *Ferdinand*, at this time, acted as the tyrant of *Germany*.

The cause of the elector *Palatine* became every day more and more that of protestantism, and the king of *England*, at last, grew sensible of the delusion he had been laid under by *Spain*. He furnished *Mansfield* with money to make a diversion into the *Spanish* dominions, and the princes of the *Lower Palatine's Saxony* applied to *Christian* king of *Denmark*, who partly through vanity, partly through interest, undertook to be their champion, instead of the duke of *Brunswic*, who, at this time, resigned his command. This was the foundation of the great scheme for reducing the power of the house of *Austria*, which was afterwards so successfully pursued by *Gustavus Adolphus*; it is but doing justice to the memory of king *James*, to own that the original design was planned out in his council, and assisted by his money. *Christian* having taken proper measures for the tranquillity of his own dominions, was acknowledged to be the head of the princes and states of the circle of *Lower Saxony*. Having declared war against the emperor, he took post in the neighbourhood of *Bremen*, where *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunswic* joined him with the troops, which the *English* money had enabled them to raise. *Tilly* and the famous *Wallenstein*, now created duke of *Friedland*, opposed them, but they were obliged by *Christian* to raise the siege of *Nienburg*, though it was carried on with the utmost fury by *Tilly*, who lost a great number of men in his retreat. The duke of *Saxony*, by this time, had proposed a negotiation for peace, but to no purpose, and his *Danish* majesty having received considerable subsidies from his allies, the war recommenced. *Tilly* and *Wallenstein* obliged *Christian* to abandon *Hamelen* and *Minden*, and to entrench himself under the cannon of *Verden*, in expectation of a reinforcement of 12,000 men, promised him by the *States General*.

*Charles I.* had now succeeded to the crown of *Great Britain*. The expences of his marriage, and the backwardness of his people to trust him with money, disabled him from supporting the protestants so vigorously as he undoubtedly intended, and early in the spring of the year 1626, the administrator of *Magdeburg* was defeated by *Wallenstein*, but in the mean while *Ferdinand* procured the crown of *Hungary* for his eldest son. Though *Christian* could not be reckoned among the great generals of his age, yet he was hearty and forward

1626.  
Invasion  
of Ger-  
many by  
the king  
of Den-  
mark.

in the cause he had espoused, and while he suffered himself to be advised by *Mansfield*, he made head beyond expectation against the two *Imperial* generals. Not having a great opinion of his troops, who were but new raised, he kept upon the defensive, and avoided a general battle with so much art, that *Tilly* was more than once on the point of retreating, when he became master of *Calenberg*, the bishopric of *Hildesheim*, and the dutchy of *Brunswic*, all of them plentiful countries. *Christian* dividing his army into three parts, took several places in the bishopric of *Hildesheim*. The duke of *Weimar*, who acted under him, reduced the bishopric of *Osnaburg*, and might have opened his way through *Munster*, to the *Palatinate*, but, for pecuniary reasons, he rejoined *Christian* on the banks of the *Elbe*, while *Tilly* took the important city of *Gottingen*. The king, instead of making some effort in the field, to give the *Imperialists* a diversion, undertook the sieges of some unimportant places; and *Tilly* at last, watching his opportunity, forced him to come to a general engagement, in which the latter was defeated, with the loss of the landgrave of *Hesse*, many of his best general officers, 5000 *Danes* who were killed, and almost double the number taken prisoners. This battle was fought on the 28th of *August*, and the king of *Denmark* was obliged to fly with part of his cavalry to *Holstein*.

*Mansfield*  
defeated,

Neither *Mansfield* nor the duke of *Brunswic* were concerned in this battle, they being at the head of the other two divisions of the protestant army. *Mansfield* undertook to watch the motions of *Wallenstein*, and retook the province of *Magdebourg*. Pursuing his march towards *Silesia*, the *Imperialists* took possession of a bridge, and while *Mansfield* was endeavouring to force it, that he might penetrate into *Hungary*, having outmarched *Wallenstein*, the latter came up with him at *Deffau*, and beat his army, so that he was obliged to retire towards *Brandenburg* with a vast loss of infantry, baggage and artillery. *Gabor* was then in arms against the *Imperialists* in *Hungary*, and favoured by the *Turks*. *Mansfield's* aim was to join him, and he was so far from being discouraged by his late defeat, that he took the field again with 25,000 men, and though closely followed by *Wallenstein*, he effected his junction with *Gabor*. But while all *Europe* was in expectation of some decisive blow being given to the house of *Austria*, from that quarter, the brave *Mansfield* found himself betrayed. *Gabor* and the *Hungarian* malecontents were at this time far advanced in a treaty with the house of *Austria*, and *Mansfield* instead of entering upon any important action, saw his army daily rotting away, by the diseases which the autumnal rains and the want of provisions produced. But the discovery of *Gabor's* treachery sunk deeper into *Mansfield's* spirits than all his illustrious defeats had ever done. Finding himself attacked by a slow fever, which some writers pretend was the effect of poison, he left the remains of his army to the care of *Gabor*,

*Gabor*, and set out, attended with some of his officers, for *Venice*; but found himself mortally seized at a village near *Zara* in *Dalmatia*. Perceiving he was near his end, he gave orders that he should be dressed in his richest apparel, and he expired standing, supported by two of his domestics, with all the sentiments that became a christian hero and patriot, at his death the age of 45.

This great general was the natural son of the governor of and *Luxembourg*, but being legitimated, he had received an excellent education, and served an apprenticeship to war in the *Imperial* and *Spanish* armies. Being disgusted at a repulse he received from the emperor *Rodolph*, he enlisted himself in the protestant cause, which he served with incredible spirit and intrepidity to his latest breath. No general of his time knew, so well as he did, the art of finding resources after a defeat; for he always then appeared greater and more terrible than he did after victory, and he may be said to have been in his own person, for some time, the sole support of the protestant cause in *Germany*. In his private life, he was open, unsuspecting, and generous, beyond example. Having discovered that his principal secretary held a correspondence with his chief rival, and enemy, *Buquoy*, he gave him 300 rix-dollars, and dismissed him, with a letter, recommending him to that count's service. At another time, having discovered that his apothecary had been bribed to poison him, he gave him money, that his necessities might not tempt him to perpetrate such crimes for the future. As he was a soldier of fortune, his bounty and magnificence obliged him to insist upon high terms for his services, which were not always complied with; but they who declined them, always found reason to repent their doing so. The *Dutch* used to observe, that his services were excellent, but his payment extravagant, for which reason they employed him too little. *James I.* knew his merit, and rewarded it nobly; though he never was properly in his service, he not having the courage to employ him.

This year was likewise distinguished by the death of another great protestant general, the duke of *Brunswic*, who died when he was no more than 30 years of age, the fellow labourer of *Mansfield*. That prince had great talents for war, and was sincere and zealous for the cause he espoused; but his violence of temper often hurried him into oversights, and his hatred of priests, sometimes rose to inhumanity. The *Imperialists* having now nothing to fear on the side of *Hungary*, *Tilly* resumed the siege of *Nienburg*, which was reinforced by the king of *Denmark*, whose army, by the auxiliaries he had received from *France* and *Holland*, now amounted to 24,000 foot, and 15,000 horse. *Tilly* not being able to face this army, amused it with marches and countermarches, during great part of the campaign, till he could be joined by duke *Maximilian* of *Saxony*; but the woeful consequences of the deaths

Duke of  
*Brunswic*  
died.



deaths of the two great protestant generals, as likewise that of the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, which happened about the same time, now appeared. The *Austrians* took *Brandenburg*, the king of *Denmark* was obliged to intrench himself on the banks of the *Weser*; daily skirmishes passed, to the disadvantage and discouragement of the protestants, and, at last, the *Imperialists*, under the duke of *Lunenbourg*, to draw the war out of *Germany*, suddenly made an irruption into *Holstein*, to which the king of *Denmark* was obliged to detach 12,000 of his best troops. This movement left *Tilly* at liberty to act as he pleased. He took *Northheim*, *Havelberg*, and the fort near *Ardemburg*, with many other places of importance, and was upon the point of conquering *Holstein*, when its duke proposed an accommodation. Here the war seemed to be at a crisis, and protestantism to be at its last gasp. *Tilly* prescribed, instead of treating. He demanded that his *Danish* majesty should deliver up to the emperor the fortresses of *Gluckstadt*, and resign all the possessions and claims he had in *Germany*, besides paying for the expences of the war, and opening the navigation of the *Sound* to the *Imperialists*. Those terms being rejected, *Tilly* proceeded to the conquest of *Holstein*, where he drove the *Danish* king and army from post to post, taking every place that stood in his way, till *Christian* was obliged to fly to *Jutland*. Even there, he was followed by the *Imperialists*, who either cut in pieces his troops, or obliged them to enlist in their service.

Haughty  
demand of  
the *Impe-  
rialists*  
from the  
*Danes*,

and the  
elector  
*Palatine*.

In *Lower Saxony*, *Nienburg* being no longer supplied by the *Danes*, was forced to surrender. The elector of *Brandenburg*, and the marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, detached themselves and their subjects from the protestant league, as did many other princes, who thought that the power of the house of *Austria* was now uncontrollable, at the very time that the distresses of the protestants were inventing the means of their deliverance. *Ferdinand*, though he had bore his successes with great moderation, and never discouraged any solicitations made in favour of the *Palatine*, yet could not help manifesting his ambition, where fair professions would no longer serve his purposes. Besides *England* and *Holland*, the dukes of *Lorraine* and *Wirtemberg* interceded with so much earnestness, that *Ferdinand* was, at last, obliged to explain himself, by demanding *Frederic* to ask him pardon, to renounce the crown of *Bohemia*, to establish the catholic religion in the *Palatinate*, and to pay for the expences of the war, but the duke of *Bavaria* was still to retain the electoral dignity. Those demands were found too impracticable to be complied with; and, from thenceforth, *Ferdinand* took measures, as he now thought himself powerful enough to effect it, for rendering himself superior to the *Germanic* constitution, and independent in the exercise of his prerogative, upon all the electors, *Roman catholic*, as well as protestant. He gave the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, with the abbey of *Hirschfeld*, and the bishoprics

prices of *Strasbourg* and *Passau*, to his son *William*, and intended to have given him likewise, the bishoprics of *Magdebourg* and *Bremen*. His ministers and generals made no secret, that the protestants were to be deprived of all the ecclesiastical possessions they had seized or secularized, that their religion was to be no longer tolerated in *Germany*, and that the electors would be reduced to a condition not better than that of the titular grandees of *Spain*. That their actions might correspond with their threatenings, they quartered their troops indifferently, upon the *Roman* catholics and the protestants, and even the duke of *Bavaria*, and the elector of *Triers*, began to form secret connections with *France*, as the only power who could deliver them from being swallowed up by the house of *Austria*.

Cardinal *Richelieu* was then the first minister of *France*, A diet at and was fully convinced of the necessity of checking the *Mulbau-*  
*Austrian* greatness; but he was on the eve of a war with *sen*  
*England*, and doubtful of his situation with *Savoy*, and the *Italian* princes. All he could do, was to supply the king of *Denmark* with money, to prevent his sinking under his misfortunes, and to send a minister to offer his master's mediation between the emperor and the protestants, and secretly to embarrass the intended election of a king of the *Romans*, which was accordingly delayed; but the crown of *Bohemia* was placed upon the king of *Hungary's* head. A diet, however, was opened at *Mulhausen*, where the *French* envoy, *Marcheville*, made many plausible proposals for the peace, which he urged so artfully, that the *Imperial* ministers could not conceal from the diet, their master's real designs upon the liberties of the empire, and of resuming the ecclesiastical territories, possessed by protestant princes, but they found themselves unable to succeed in the last mentioned scheme. When the affair of the elector *Palatine* came to be debated, the *Roman* catholic electors were willing that he should be reinstated in his dominions, or the greatest part of them; but they insisted upon his asking pardon of the emperor, and his renouncing the crown of *Bohemia*, and the electoral dignity, threatening, that if he refused to comply, they would take arms on the side of the emperor. In the mean while, the king of *Denmark*, with the money he had received from *Richelieu*, equipped a fleet, with which he ravaged the sea coasts belonging to the *Imperial* party, but he could not prevent *Staden*, which had in it an *English* garrison, commanded by colonel *Morgan*, from being taken by *Tilly*, after an obstinate resistance, and the war in those parts was carried on with great success against the *Imperialists*. *Ferdinand* could not, with indifference, see the flourishing state of the *Hanse* towns, and demanded that they should assist him in establishing a new company, to whom the passage of the *Sound* should be open for carrying on a trade in the north. They saw his drift, refused his request, offered to be neutral, but

Progress  
of the  
king of  
*Denmark*.

but prepared to defend themselves. A congress was held at *Lubec*, where the protestant cause wore so good a face, that the *Danish* commissioners insisted upon the restitution of all that had been taken from their master, and upon liberty of conscience being exercised over all the *Lower Saxony*, while the *Imperialists* insisted upon their former terms, with very little abatement, and that all their allies should be comprehended in the treaty.

*Wallenstein* created duke of *Mecklenburg*.

*Wallenstein*, by this time, had obtained his favourite point, that of being created duke of *Mecklenburg*, by the emperor, who had put the former dukes under the ban of the empire. He was in hopes of perpetuating that noble duchy in his family, and as it lay between *Denmark* and the empire, he was afraid, that if the war was renewed, he might lose possession of it. The differences which had been started at *Lubec*, carried the *Imperial* commissaries to him, who they knew enjoyed the emperor's confidence, to ask for instructions, how far they could recede from their demands. To oblige the king of *Denmark*, he mollified the terms; so as to be entirely acceptable to his *Danish* majesty, but with an exclusion of the dukes of *Mecklenburg* from their former dominions. The congress still continued at *Lubec*, where *Wallenstein's* terms were accepted. The electoral rights of the duke of *Bavaria* were confirmed, but those of the *Palatine* rejected. His *Danish* majesty, however, still entertained a warm friendship for the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who had been prescribed for adhering to his interest, and a resentment against the duke of *Holstein*, who had entered into a separate treaty with the emperor, for himself, during the late war. In the conferences at *Lubec*, the great *Gustavus Adolphus* was thought of so little consequence by the emperor, that his ambassador had been refused a seat in the assembly. This slight, perhaps, would not have determined *Gustavus* to the part he afterwards so illustriously acted, had he not previously concerted with the courts of *England* and *France*, a deep laid plan for the reduction of the *Austrian* power. He encouraged his *Danish* majesty in proceeding to hostilities against *Holstein*, his *Imperial* majesty's ally, and the emperor plied *Christian* with repeated monitorial letters to desist. While this quarrel was in dependence, the emperor *Ferdinand* enjoyed an imaginary triumph, and a seeming state of security. He published an ordonnance at *Vienna*, commanding the protestants to restore all the ecclesiastical possessions and effects, that had come into their hands since the pacification of *Passau*, and he committed the execution of it to *Wallenstein*.

Scheme laid for reducing the *Imperial* power.

Proceedings of an assembly at *Heidelberg*.

The *Roman* catholics easily perceived, that the same power which then unjustly operated against the protestants, might affect themselves, and they joined in remonstrances against it, in an assembly which was held at *Heidelberg*, where the elector of *Saxony* presided. That prince was then possessed of great treasures, and was in the secret of the powerful confederacy,



deracy, that had been formed against the house of *Austria*. The emperor's agents and commissaries, being excluded from the meeting, he ventured to lay it before its members, who so carefully concealed it, that the emperor, the three ecclesiastical electors, and the duke of *Bavaria*, were entirely ignorant of it, when they met at the diet of *Ratisbon*. The temper of the princes there startled the emperor, who now thought that nothing could stand before him. Even the elector of *Bavaria* declared, that the deliberations of the diet could not be free, while *Ferdinand* had 150,000 troops in *Germany*, and joined with the catholic princes, in desiring he would desist from his edict of revocation of the ecclesiastical benefices, and confirm the treaty of *Passau* for forty years to come. *Ferdinand* did all he could to soften this peremptory opposition, in which the princes persevered so strenuously, that he was obliged to dismiss *Wallenstein* from his command, and to reduce his army to 40,000 men, but those were veterans.

*Wallenstein* dismissed from his command,

This dismissal was not so cautiously managed, as to prevent *Ferdinand* from perceiving that the duke of *Bavaria* was at the bottom of the opposition to his measures, and aspired to be king of the *Romans*. The duke was too well supported for *Ferdinand* to crush him, and it was with difficulty that he evaded his being put at the head of the army, the command of which was given to *Tilly*, who was unexceptionably qualified for the same. *Wallenstein* dissembled his resentment and kept up his state; which was far beyond that of the emperor himself. At this diet the ambassadors of two great crowned heads appeared, one from *Charles I.* of *England*, and the other from the *French* king; but nothing was done effectually for the service of the deprived elector *Palatine*, and the *French* court said, that it would not be debarred from giving assistance to its ally the king of *Sweden*, who by this time had declared war against the house of *Austria*, alledging among other reasons, foreign to this part of our history, that *Ferdinand* had arbitrarily deprived the two dukes of *Mecklenburg* of their dominions, and had unjustly seized upon many estates in the *Lower Saxony*, and *Pomerania*, and treated his *Swedish* majesty in a manner unbecoming his dignity. Whatever might be in those allegations, it is certain, that *England* and *France* very properly thought, that the *Imperial* power in *Germany* was at this time dangerous to the liberties of *Europe*. The king of *Denmark's* vanity was touched at seeing the preference given to the *Swede*; but he was made easy by *France*, and *Gustavus* rendered himself master of the isle of *Rügen*, by which he secured to himself two important posts. He then surprized *Stetin*; notwithstanding the reluctance expressed by *Bogislaus* duke of *Pomerania*, at his becoming master of the place; nay, he even obliged that prince to make a temporary resignation of his sovereignty into his hands during the war. *Ferdinand* all this time remained wrapt up in a security, which was dictated by the opinion he entertained of his

which is given to *Tilly*.

King of *Sweden* declares war against the house of *Austria*.

his own greatness, the contempt he had for the *Swedish* power, and the ruined condition of *Denmark*. He had imagined that *Great Britain* would not interfere in the war; but when he saw *Charles I.* send 8000 troops to the assistance of *Gustavus*, he deigned to write a threatening letter, commanding *Gustavus* to return to his own country, on pain of being driven to it by the whole force of the house of *Austria*.

He in-  
vades  
Germany.

*Gustavus* treated this message with the contempt it deserved; and as he was to receive from *France* a subsidy of 1,200,000 livres, he agreed to grant the *Roman catholic* princes of the empire, the duke of *Bavaria* especially, a neutrality, if they did not assist the emperor, and that the *Roman catholic* religion should still be exercised in the conquered places. It is amazing that *Gustavus*, in this expedition, met with more opposition from the protestants, than he did from the *Roman catholic* princes. The latter gradually embraced a neutrality, but the former were afraid of provoking the emperor, and of being punished before the *Swedes* could assist them, even if they should but appear to be neutral. An assembly was held at *Leipsic*, consisting of the electors and princes of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the duke of *Brunswick-Lunenbourg*, the marquis of *Baden*, with the other heads of the *German* protestants, and deputies from four of their great cities, where they had under consideration, the means of reducing the *Imperial* power, which they proposed to do, by raising and maintaining an army of 40,000 men, but independent of *Gustavus*. They sent *Ferdinand* a formal intimation of their intentions, and he condemned them; upon which they began seriously to reflect on the danger they were in from the austerity of *Ferdinand*, and to think of strengthening themselves by favouring *Gustavus*, whose progress by this time was incredibly rapid. He had taken *Colberg*, *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and *Dammin*, in the depth of winter. *Tilly* commanded the *Imperial* troops, but perceived that he was not now the first general of his age. He was encamped in the neighbourhood of *Magdebourg*, from whence he marched and retook *Frankfort* upon the *Oder*, but it was again taken by the king of *Sweden*, who gave it up to be plundered by his soldiers, because the inhabitants favoured his enemies.

His pro-  
gress  
there.

The elector of *Saxony* continued still irresolute, partly on account of his connections with the emperor, partly because he wished to see *Germany* delivered from the *Imperial* tyranny by the league of *Leipsic*, rather than by *Gustavus*. *Tilly* having lost *Frankfort* laid siege to *Magdebourg*, and the elector of *Saxony* denied *Gustavus* a passage through his territory to relieve it. *Gustavus* unwilling to make that elector his declared enemy, besieged and took *Potsdam* with many other places upon the *Elbe*; but *Tilly* took *Magdebourg*. That unhappy city had been long the object of the *Austrian* resentment, which was now gratified to the full. *Tilly* put 30,000 of the inhabitants to death, and his soldiers after plundering it, re-

Cruelty  
of Tilly,  
who takes  
*Magde-  
bourg*.

duced it to ashes. This cruelty at once created caution and horror in the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*. The army of *Gustavus* did not consist of above 30,000 *Swedes*, besides his *English* auxiliaries, and the emperor having now made peace in *Italy*, had drawn his troops from thence into *Germany*. *Gustavus*, who had relied on the protestant electors and princes, thought that they were rather afraid than unwilling to assist him, and he resolved to give them a plausible pretext for breaking their timid neutrality. He appeared before the gates of *Berlin*, and threatened to lay it in ashes, if they were not opened to his army. The elector of *Brandenburg* obeyed, and not only admitted his troops, but gave him possession of the strong fortrefs of *Spandau*, during the continuance of the war, and a free passage through all his dominions. This success of *Gustavus*, determined the landgrave of *Hesse*, who had been intimidated by the threats of *Tilly*, to follow the example of the *Brandenburg* elector. He entered into a convention with *Gustavus*, (who promised to reinstate him in all the fiefs, which the rapacity of the *Austrian* house had wrongfully taken from him) to give him admittance into all the strong places of his dominions, which were, however, to be restored to him, upon the determination of the war, and to assist him vigorously with all his forces. This convention was of infinite service to *Gustavus*; and the elector of *Saxony*, who likewise had been threatened by *Tilly*, resolved to follow the landgrave's example, as soon as *Gustavus* passed the *Elbe*.

The German  
princes join  
*Gustavus*,

The treaty between those two powers, was pretty much of the same nature as that which *Gustavus* had concluded with the landgrave; but each party obliged himself not to enter into any negotiation with the emperor without the consent of the other. The elector reviewed his army, which consisted of 15,000 men, and a proportionable train of artillery, at *Torgau*, and marched to *Wittinberg*, where the elector met with the marquis of *Brandenburg*, and *Gustavus*. The dilatory measures of the two electors had given *Tilly* some advantages; for he was now master of *Hall* and *Leipsic*, near which his army was encamped. The elector of *Saxony*, grieved at seeing his dominions a prey to two armies, pressed *Gustavus* to hazard a general battle. The king seemed shy, the better to fathom the elector's intention; but perceiving that the latter was resolved to risk every thing, he formed the order of battle. *Tilly's* opinion, in the *Imperial* council of war was, that he should continue in his trenches, till he received the reinforcements he expected; but in this he was over-ruled by the counts *Patenheim* and *Furstenberg*, the officers next in command under him, and he was obliged to advance his army into the plain of *Brcintienfeld*. *Tilly* saw the *Swedish* army advance with an order and discipline, of which he thought no troops but his own were capable, and which gave him a presage of the event of the day. He fell for some minutes into an absence.



who defeats the *Imperialists* at the battle of *Leipsic*.

fence of mind, during which, the other generals made a most injudicious order of battle. When he recovered, he altered it to vast advantage. Each army was about 40,000 strong. *Gustavus* charged the left wing of the *Imperialists*, which, by a false motion, had been detached from their main body, and routed it, while *Tilly* at the head of his cavalry, did the same by the *Saxon* troops, who were raw and unexperienced. *Gustavus* returned in time from the pursuit, and ordering a division of his army, under *Tusfeld*, one of his officers, to join him, he fell upon the victorious part of the *Imperial* army, defeated it, took their cannon; and *Tilly*, who was wounded by three musket-shots in his body, was with the utmost difficulty carried off to *Hall* by the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*.

This battle is justly reckoned the first regular engagement, according to the modern art of war, that ever was fought. Each general displayed great judgment in his disposition; but nothing could resist the impetuosity of the *Swedes*, when headed by *Gustavus*, who exposed his person as freely as did the meanest subaltern of his army. The battle was fought on the 17th of *September*, 1631, and it cost about 9000 *Austrians* their lives, besides 5000, who were made prisoners, the loss of their baggage, artillery, and trophies of war, while that of the *Swedes* did not amount to above 700 men. *Tilly* removed from *Hall* to *Halberstadt*, and from thence to *Franconia* to join the reinforcement he had expected before the late battle, by which his army again amounted to above 40,000 men. In the mean while, the city of *Leipsic*, and all that part of *Saxony* which had been seized by the *Imperialists*, fell into the elector's hands, and *Gustavus* multiplied his conquests with inconceivable rapidity, and subdued all the tract that lies between the *Elbe* and the *Rhine*, though full of fortifications. *Tilly*, though doubly superior to him in strength, tamely beheld his progress, while he took *Erfort* and *Wurtzbourg*, and beat up the *Imperial* diet at *Frankfort*. Even *Mentz* surrendered to the arms of *Gustavus*, who about this time re-established the dukes of *Mecklenburg* in their dominions, and opened his way into the *Palatinate*, having crossed the *Rhine* in sight of a body of *Spanish* troops, posted upon the bank to dispute his passage. Upon his entering the *Palatinate*, he was joined by the deposed elector *Frederic*; but being under secret engagements with *France*, *Gustavus* would give him no positive assurance of his re-establishment. *Worms*, *Heilbron*, *Spire*, *Germerheim*, *Landau*, and *Weissemburg*, were among the number of the *Swede's* conquests, and even *Strasbourg* in *Alsace* submitted to his arms. In another quarter, about the beginning of *November*, his troops expelled the *Imperialists* from *Rostoc* and *Wismar*; so that he now was possessed of all the country from the *Baltic* to *Lorrain*.

The vast reinforcements *Gustavus* had received during the course of his victories, had left it in his power to suffer the elector of *Saxony* to command a separate army of his own subjects,

1631.  
Farther conquests of *Gustavus*,

subjects, with which he penetrated into *Bohemia*, and took who raises the city of *Prague*. The true aim of *Gustavus*, and the the jealous court of *France*, was to have annihilated the power of the lousy of house of *Austria*; but the *Saxon* elector could enter into no the elector such views, being only for reducing it. Upon his taking of *Saxony*. *Prague*, *Gustavus* pressed him to pursue his conquests, but he now began to be as jealous of the *Swede* and the house of *Bourbon*, as he had been before uneasy under the *Imperial* yoke. He suffered his troops to abandon themselves to luxury and idle habits, while the *Imperial* general, *Galas*, took possession of the strong town of *Pilsen*, and stopt his farther progress. In other places of *Germany* the *Swedish* triumphs were complete. *Bremen*, *Wetteravia*, *Westerwald*, the states of the *Lower Saxony*, and at last, even the *Leipsic* confederacy fell in with the views of *Gustavus*, and became his allies, if not his subjects. The affairs of *Ferdinand* at this time, were equally complicated as distressed. He now plainly perceived that his favourite, the elector of *Bavaria*, held a secret correspondence with the court of *France*, and the inactivity of *Tilly*, who was known to be devoted to the *Bavarian* interest, gave him reason to think that he was betrayed. His *Austrian* ministers would not venture to advise the entire dismissal of *Tilly* from his command, because he was strongly supported by *Spain* and *Bavaria*; but they advised him to recal *Wallenstein*, who was then at *Znain* in *Moravia*, sullenly enjoying the misfortunes of his country, in revenge of his disgrace. *Ferdinand* assented, and *Wallenstein* accepted of the absolute command of the *Imperial* army, without being subject to the controul even of the council of *Vienna*. This independency was contrary to all the rules of sound policy, but dictated equally by the vanity and pride of the house of *Austria*, which had always disdained to put its generals under restrictions from blood and rapine.

The progress and conquests of the *Swede*, at this time, were The em- such, that some warm protestants had immaturity hinted, as peror ap- if *Gustavus*, not contented with the conquest of *Germany*, plies to would attempt that of *Italy*, and appear before the gates of the pope *Rome*. *Ferdinand* endeavoured to avail himself of those vaunts, and the by alarming the pope and the *Italian* princes, but all was in *Italian* vain. They dreaded the power of *Sweden* far less than that states. of *Austria*, and they sent him neither the men nor money he demanded. The *French*, on their part, were equally active and equally unsuccessful in their endeavours to detach the three ecclesiastical electors from the interests of the emperor. The *Spaniards* held *Coblentz* in the electorate of *Triers*, which *Gustavus* would have subdued, had not that elector obtained the protection of *France*, and given up *Hermanstein* as a pledge of his fidelity. *Gustavus*, at this time, found himself embarrassed by nothing so much, as by the jealousy which his successes had raised among his allies, which having endeavoured to dispel, he entered *Franconia*, where all resistance yielded

Captivity  
and death  
of Tilly.

to his arms, with an intention to pass the *Danube*, that he might penetrate into the *Upper Palatinate*, and from thence into *Bavaria*. *Tilly* continued in that country at the head of a little army, with which he endeavoured to cover *Ingolstadt*, when all of a sudden *Gustavus* took *Donawert*, and laid the greatest part of *Suabia* under contribution. *Tilly* made such dispositions for preventing the *Swedes* passing the *Lech*, that *Horn*, one of the bravest of the *Swedish* generals, thought it highly improper to attack, but *Gustavus*, under favour of his artillery, made good his passage after a most desperate engagement, in which *Tilly* was mortally wounded, and died in a few days after, in the 70th year of his age. Had not *Gustavus Adolphus* appeared, *Tilly* would have died with the reputation of the greatest general in *Europe*, for he had seen more service than *Wallenstein*, who had not yet arrived at the meridian of his glory. *Tilly*, however, stained the laurels he acquired, by the deluges of innocent blood which he shed, but his cruelty was in part owing to the sanguinary complexion of the court he served.

*Gustavus*  
impolitically dis-  
covers his  
ambition.

The passing the *Lech* was one of the most glorious exploits of *Gustavus*; but he committed an irreparable fault in politics, when upon the reduction of *Augsburg*, he not only established the protestant religion in that city, but obliged its inhabitants to take an oath of allegiance to him as their sovereign. This incautious discovery of his ambition disgusted his allies, and he was repulsed by *Tilly's* son before *Ingolstadt*; but made himself master of *Landshut*, *Merspur*, and other places in *Bavaria*. His success in that duchy was greatly owing to the malignant triumph which *Wallenstein* enjoyed, in seeing the distresses of the *Bavarian* elector; but it must be owned, that *Wallenstein* performed many noble services to the emperor, by recovering all *Bohemia* to his allegiance, and obliging the duke of *Saxony* to recall part of his troops for the defence of his own electorate. Notwithstanding this, *Wallenstein* still indulged a secret hatred for those who had occasioned his disgrace, and would have chosen to have fought them rather than the *Swedes*. He sought to force the duke of *Saxony* into a particular treaty with himself. The rapid progress of the *Swedes*, whose army now consisted of 60,000 men, obliged him at last to take the field against them; but he still declined acting offensively, and took up a strong camp, with so much judgment, that *Gustavus* was repulsed in attacking it, and his army must have suffered severely, had it not been gallantly disengaged at the earnest entreaty of *Gustavus*, by *Hepburn*, an old *Scotch* officer, who had but a few hours before thrown up his commission, on a disgust that he had received from that monarch. This was one of the most perilous situations in the life of *Gustavus*, who penetrated into *Bavaria*, that he might support the *Upper Austrians* in a fresh insurrection against the emperor. *Wallenstein*, in the mean while, pressed upon the duke of *Saxony* in *Misnia*, in such a manner, that *Gustavus* was

He pene-  
trates into  
*Bavaria*,

was



was obliged to abandon *Bavaria* to relieve his ally. *Wallenstein* upon this retired to *Lutzen*, about two leagues from *Leipsic*, being weakened by detaching *Papenheim* with six regiments towards *Cologne*.

*Gustavus* thought that the hour was now come for the decisive blow to the *Austrian* power, and (what was next in his thoughts) for humbling the haughty *Wallenstein*, whom he directly attacked. Though ill served by his *German* auxiliaries, who gave way, he took, lost, and retook the *Austrian* artillery, but was himself killed in reconnoitring a post. The battle was bravely maintained by the duke *Bernard de Saxe-Weimar*, and the *Swedish* generals, who gained the victory, with the irreparable loss of their king. Few or none of the *Germans* under *Wallenstein* could have escaped being slaughtered by the incensed *Swedes*, had not *Papenheim* brought off the remainder by his cavalry; but he likewise was routed, and received a mortal wound of which he died next day. In this battle, it is reported that about 3000 *Swedes*, and 7000 *Imperialists* fell. The duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, who had wavered from party to party, and quitted that of *Sweden* soon after the death of *Gustavus*, is suspected of having given him the fatal shot, and other ridiculous surmises have been raised concerning his death, as if any thing extraordinary had happened, when a prince, who had always exposed himself as a common soldier, met with a common soldier's death. Next day his body was found stripped and mangled, and the *Germans* bought up at an immoderate rate every bit of his habit, arms, and accoutrements, as so many magical relics; for they imagined that no mere man could perform his exploits; and as such they are to this day exhibited in their repositories.

It was, with reason, thought that *Germany*, by the death of *Gustavus*, would have been delivered from the *Swedish* invasion; but that prince had brought up heroes equal to himself. The duke of *Saxe-Weimar* took the command of the *Swedish* army, and was so far from retreating, that he ordered the body of *Gustavus* to be exposed in order to animate the soldiers to pursue *Wallenstein*, who had retired towards *Bohemia*, which they accordingly did. The unfortunate elector *Palatine*, who depended entirely upon *Gustavus* for being reinstated in his dominions, no sooner heard of his death, than he relapsed into a fever, from which he had but just recovered, and which carried him out of the world. As to the emperor *Ferdinand*, he thought he had gained a complete victory, when he heard of the death of *Gustavus*, and learned that he was succeeded by his daughter *Christina*, a child of no more than six years of age. He was, however, amazed and astonished, when, before the end of the year, the *Swedes* drove the *Imperialists* out of *Saxony*. By the assistance which he received from the duke of *Bavaria*, and his remittances from *Spain*, he still hoped to retrieve his affairs, and to divide the *Swedes* from their allies, who were now greatly disconcerted among themselves.

who is supported by cardinal *Richelieu*.

His great success against the *Imperialists*.

Wife conduct of *Oxenstiern*, the *Swedish* minister.

themselves. Though they reposed great confidence in *Gustavus*, they did not transfer it to his successors in his army, and each protestant power having separate views, the confederacy must have been torn to pieces, had not cardinal *Richelieu*, from motives that are foreign to this part of our history, given them assurances of support. Every thing in short contributed to induce the *Swedes* not only to keep, but to extend their conquests in the empire; and *Oxenstiern*, the prime minister in *Sweden*, one of the greatest men that age produced, fell in with the same sentiments. He therefore resolved to continue the war, without making any alteration in the plan laid down by *Gustavus*, and he brought the protestants of the empire into the same sentiments. The elector of *Saxony*, and indeed several other princes of the confederacy, were inclined to oppose *Oxenstiern*, who they thought was too powerful in the empire, but the elector of *Brandenburg*, supported by the *French* ambassador, continued firm in the common cause, though the landgrave of *Hesse*, in effect, had deserted it.

The *Swedish* army was then in *Misnia*, from whence 14,000 men of the confederacy were detached by *Oxenstiern* against the *Imperialists*, who had regained their footing in *Lower Saxony* and *Westphalia*. The duke of *Saxe-Weimar* had at the same time fallen into *Franconia*, where he joined with *Gustavus Horn*, and drove the *Imperialists* from thence, and from *Suabia*; and they and their allies carried every thing before them in those quarters. The elector of *Saxony* still retained his aversion, at seeing the most important interests of *Germany* in the hands of the *Swedes*; but *Oxenstiern* gained his point in an assembly held at *Heilbron*, though his *Danish* majesty endeavoured to thwart him, and the king of *Poland* struck in as mediator between the two parties. *Oxenstiern* artfully declined this mediation, but to engage the other protestant powers of *Europe* in his cause, he restored the dignity of elector with great part of his paternal dominions, to *Charles-Lewis*, son and heir to the late elector *Palatine*. This he did in consequence of the power delegated to him by the senate of *Sweden*, which was so unlimited, that he acted in every respect as *Gustavus* would have done had he been alive. The assemblies were held at his house, and attended by deputies or ministers of all the princes of the empire, and the principal powers of *Europe*. He renewed and strengthened the alliance between *France* and *Sweden*, and took every measure that could unite *England* and *Holland* in the same cause. With the like assiduity, he endeavoured to reconcile all the protestant princes of the empire, to every step he had taken at *Heilbron*, while *Ferdinand* and his ministers employed every art to countermine him.

Those negotiations gave no respite to the war which still raged in *Germany*. The duke of *Lunenbourg*, who commanded one division of the *Swedish* army, took *Hamelen* on the 8th of *July*, 1633, and gave a bloody defeat to the *Austrians*; but

but *Wallenstein* defeated the *Swedes* in *Silesia*, and took *Franck- Proceed-*  
*fort* on the *Oder*. He might have proceeded farther, but he ings of  
 hated the *Swedes* less than he did the duke of *Feria*, a *Spanish Walen-*  
 general, who was then upon his march from *Italy* at the head *stem.*  
 of 30,000 men to assist the house of *Austria*. *Wallenstein* is  
 thought likewise to have had, at this time, in his eye the  
 crown of *Bohemia*. Be that as it will, it is certain that he  
 did every thing to thwart the duke of *Feria*, and to ruin his  
 army. Mean while, *Oxenstiern* endeavoured to seize the forest  
 towns belonging to the house of *Austria*, in which he was op-  
 posed by the *Swiss Roman* catholic cantons; but he negoti-  
 ated so artfully, that the *Swiss*, in general, agreed to observe a  
 neutrality. *Horn*, one of the bravest of the *Swedish* generals,  
 had, at this time, taken *Stein*, and *Constance* itself would have  
 undergone the same fate, if it had not been gallantly defended  
 by *Wolfeg* the *Austrian* governor. *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-*  
*Weimar*, after this, separated from *Horn*, and, before winter,  
 took *Ratisbon* and *Straubingen*, with some other places. The  
 rhinegrave *Otho*, who acted as *Swedish* governor of the two  
 circles of the *Rhine*, was obliged, by the duke of *Feria*, to  
 raise the siege of *Brisac*, but that duke was so effectually per-  
 plexed by *Aldringham*, the *Imperial* general, who had private  
 instructions for that purpose from *Wallenstein*, that he could  
 make no farther progress, and died of grief, while *Aldringham*  
 himself was killed in marching to relieve *Landshut*. To coun-  
 terbalance those successes of the *Swedes*, who had driven the  
*Imperialists* with great slaughter back to *Bavaria*, a misunder-  
 standing happened between them and the *Saxon* general, which  
 checked their progress in *Silesia*, and was attended with very  
 bad consequences to the protestant cause. The circles of the  
*Upper Germany* were secretly disgusted with the continuance of  
 the war, and nothing but their fear of the emperor could have  
 prevented the protestant princes themselves from uniting to  
 drive both the *French* and *Swedes* out of *Germany*. *Oxenstiern* was  
 sensible of this, and so artfully improved their apprehensions,  
 that he kept them firm, at least to appearance, in the com-  
 mon cause.

The protestants were now favoured by the greatness of *Wal-* who be-  
*lenstein*, which had long overtopped that of the emperor comes  
 himself. He had watched his opportunity, not only to be re- supported  
 venged of his enemies at the court of *Vienna*, but to render him- by the em-  
 self independent both of the emperor and the empire. He had peror,  
 prevailed with his officers to take an oath of fidelity to him in  
 his own name, without mentioning that of the emperor. He  
 had declared himself openly in favour of the protestants, and  
 had entered into secret correspondences with the *French*, whom  
 he promised to join with his army, provided they would assist  
 him in his designs upon the crown of *Bohemia*. His insolence,  
 avarice, and tyranny, defeated his ambition. He had made  
 the duke of *Bavaria*, the *Spaniards*, and the *Jesuits* his ene-  
 mies, and his inactivity during the preceding summer, disposed



the emperor to listen to the most malicious insinuations against him, till at last he became thoroughly convinced of his treachery and designs. It is to this day doubtful, whether *Wallenstein* originally set out with the views ascribed to him by his enemies, or whether he did not adopt them after he found his ruin resolved upon at the *Imperial* court. The latter opinion is the more probable, as *Oxenstiern* and the duke of *Saxe-Wiemar* always distrusted him, even after he had offered to join his army with theirs. Upon this, he offered to resign the command of his army, but was persuaded to retain it by fifty-two of his principal officers, entering into a solemn association on oath to defend his person with their lives and fortunes. This association was discovered to the emperor, who immediately assembled an *Imperial* council, and put *Wallenstein* to the ban of the empire. The execution of this ban was committed to the *Imperial* general *Picolomini*, who marched at the head of an army against *Wallenstein*, while another general, de *Maradas*, secured the city of *Prague* in its allegiance to the emperor.

and is assassinated.

*Wallenstein* beheld those measures taken for his destruction with so great indifference, that he repaired to *Egra*, which was held by an *Irish* or *Scotch* garrison, which he thought he could trust, attended only by a few of his officers, among whom were his two favourites, the counts *Tertski* and *Kinski*. Here he renewed his intrigues with the protestants, so openly, that the emperor, or his ministers, gave a secret commission to *Lesley* and *Gordon*, two *Scotch* officers, and one *Butler* an *Irishman*, to assassinate him and his principal followers, which they accordingly did in a most infamous manner, and in breach of all the laws of hospitality. The only justification brought for those murders, was, that *Wallenstein* and his friends had been put under the ban of the empire, and therefore it was lawful to dispatch them by any means. Some of the assassins, *Lesley* in particular, were nobilitated and amply rewarded for this execrable action, while the chief of *Wallenstein's* officers, who had not been massacred, lost their heads upon scaffolds. *Wallenstein*, at the time of his death, was but fifty years of age, and yielded in reputation and abilities to no general in *Europe*. That he was a great genius, appears fully from the vast height to which he raised himself, in defiance even of the emperor his master, and all his court and allies, who equally dreaded and hated him. His death was attended by some commotions in *Silesia*, which were soon suppressed, and the *Imperialists* took their measures so well, that they drove the *Swedes* out of the *Upper Palatinate*, though they repaired their loss in some degree by the progress which their famous general *Gustavus Horn* made in *Suabia*, and a great battle which the rhinegrave obtained over the *Imperialists* and *Lorrainers* in *Upper Alsace*, besides many advantages which their other generals gained at the same time.

The

The troubles of *Germany* encreased instead of diminishing, The troubles notwithstanding the unwearied endeavours of the elector of *Saxony* and other protestant princes at the *Imperial* court for restoring its peace. *Ferdinand* gave soothing answers to all their applications; but it was plain, that notwithstanding all his mortifications, he still retained his hatred of protestantism, and his resolution to become the absolute master of the *Germanic* liberties, in which he was encouraged by the *Spanish* branch of his house. The duke of *Saxony*, sensible of this, ordered his army, under the duke of *Altemburg*, and his general *Arnheim*, to enter *Lusatia*, where *Bautzen* was reduced to ashes, and *Arnheim* defeated the *Imperial* general *Coloredo*, who had advanced to raise the siege of *Sittau*. In this battle the *Imperialists* lost 4,000 men, besides, 1,400 who were taken prisoners, with their artillery, baggage, and ammunition. After this, *Arnheim* crossed the *Oder*, where he reduced *Glogaw* and many other places of importance; and *Bannier*, the *Swedish* general, after taking *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*, and overturning all before him, penetrated through *Silesia* to *Prague* itself, where he was joined by the elector of *Saxony* and *Arnheim*. In *Bavaria*, the emperor's son *Ferdinand Ernest*, king of *Hungary*, and the duke of *Bavaria*, took *Ratisbon*, after an obstinate defence made by its *Swedish* garrison, while the duke of *Weimar* and *Horn* were advancing to its relief. The *Imperialists* had, at this time, received a considerable reinforcement from *Spain*, so that their army was in a flourishing condition, and encamped before *Nordlingen*. Here the *Swedish* council of war, contrary to the opinion of *Horn*, resolved to attack them, but they were defeated, though bravely supported by the duke of *Saxe-Wiemar*, who brought off the *Swedish* cavalry to *Wirtemberg*. *Horn*, and four other *Swedish* generals were taken prisoners. In this battle, which was the most considerable the *Swedes* ever lost in *Germany*, 8,000 of them were killed on the spot, 9,000 in the pursuit, 4,000 were made prisoners, 80 pieces of cannon, and all their ammunition and baggage were taken; while the loss of the *Imperialists* did not amount to above 2,000 men.

It has been observed, that the battle of *Nordlingen*, which was fought on the 5th of *September*, and continued for a day of the and a half, was distinguished by the presence of the greatest generals of that age. The *Bavarians* were led by their own duke, as the *Lorrainers*, who were about 12,000 in numbers, were by theirs, and both those princes, as well as their troops, performed prodigies of valour. The *Spaniards* were commanded by the cardinal infant, governor of the *Low Countries*; the king of *Hungary* was generalissimo of the whole; and under them served *Martin D'Itraques*, *Piccolomini*, and the celebrated *John de Wert*. Notwithstanding the renown of those generals, *Puffendorf*, who was well instructed, says, that the battle was gained by the *Croats* and the other irregulars of the *Imperial* army, whose impetuosity was such, that even the

*Swedish* veterans could not withstand them. The consequences of the battle were, that *Suabia* and *Franconia* were reduced by the *Imperialists*, who became masters of *Heilbron*, *Heidelberg*, and the dutchy of *Wurtemberg*. The protestant princes railed against the *Swedes*, as being the authors of the misfortunes with which they were threatened, but *Oxenstiern*, though dejected, did not despair of retrieving all. *Bannier*, the rhinegrave, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Lunenburg* were still at the head of victorious armies, and the *Swedish* cavalry had suffered but little in the battle of *Nordlingen*. The greatest misfortune of the protestants was, that they were divided among themselves, and their jealousy of the *Swedes* still continued : so that the *Austrians* having crossed the *Rhine*, took possession of the country about *Mentz*, and prevented the junction of their enemies. The only resource now which *Oxenstiern* had, was in the *French* king, who had hitherto assisted the *Swedes* only with money. *Oxenstiern* offered him the possession of *Alsace*, and to engage that the *Swedes* and their allies should make no peace without his consent ; the king accepted of the condition. A fresh treaty was made between *France* and *Sweden*, and the *French* general, marshal de la *Force*, was ordered to advance with his army to the relief of the *Swedes*.

A new  
treaty be-  
tween  
*France*  
and *Swe-*  
*den*,

counter-  
balanced  
by the  
treaty of  
*Prague*.

The execution of this treaty gave a new turn to the face of affairs in *Germany*. The *French* lost *Philippsbourg*, but retook *Spire* in the depth of the winter 1634. Early next spring, the duke of *Lorraine* attempted to take *Straßbourg* and *Rhineland*, but was by the duke of *Rohan* forced to repass the *Rhine*. The seizure and imprisonment of the elector of *Triers*, by the emperor and the infant *Ferdinand*, in the *Spanish Low Countries*, gave the *French* king a handle for declaring war against *Spain* ; having first secured in his alliance the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, with those of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, and concluded an offensive and defensive treaty with the *States General*. To counterbalance those powerful alliances, the emperor, at last, concluded a treaty at *Prague* with the elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and other protestant princes. By this treaty, the protestants were established in the enjoyment of the ecclesiastical benefices they had been possessed of before the year 1627. The protestant as well as the catholic religion was to be permitted in the dominions of the empire, excepting in *Bohemia* and the *Austrian* provinces. The elector of *Bavaria* was to pay the jointure of the late elector *Palatine's* widow, but to keep possession of his electorate. All acquisitions and conquests on either side made since the *Swedish* invasion of *Germany*, were to be mutually restored. The duke of *Lorraine* was to be reinstated in his dominions, and a general amnesty was to take place on both sides.

This treaty was justly branded, as being ungenerous and unfair. No provision was made for the elector *Palatine* ; the

fruit



fruit of the *Swedish* conquests were all given away, and the *Reflecti-* emperor was in fact restored to all the power he had before the ons upon, *Swedish* invasion, the restitutions he was obliged to make by and conse- the treaty being but very trifling, and such as might have been quences of forced from him had the war continued. Room was left in the same. the treaty for other princes to accede to it, the emperor pro- mising to withdraw his troops from their dominions. Besides the duke of *Saxony*, the dukes of *Mecklenburg* and *Lunenbourg*, the princes of *Anhalt*, and *William* duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, with several cities and other states of the empire, signed the treaty of *Prague*, which, however, was far from answering the views of the contracting parties. The protestants, upon a little reflection, repented of what they had done, especially as they saw the *French* king preparing to make prodigious efforts against the house of *Austria*; and the *Swedes*, by his assistance, still keeping their footing in *Germany*. The city of *Straßbourg* refused to be comprehended in the treaty of *Prague*, and the town of *Colmar* received into it a *French* garrison. *Bernard*, duke of *Saxe-Weimar*, younger brother of him who had signed the late treaty, was, at this time, the favourite of the *French* and the protestants who had not reconciled themselves to the emperor. He was declared general of the *French* Conces- upon the *Rhine*, with an allowance of four millions of francs sions from for himself and his troops; besides which, the *French* king re- France to signed to him all his pretensions upon *Alsace*, and promised, the duke that if an accommodation should take place, he should be de- of *Saxe-*clared landgrave of that noble province. *Weimar*.

This profusion of favour to *Bernard*, who, though a brave captain and an honest man, was a protestant, and a young prince of no great importance, astonished all *Europe*, though in the event it had no effect. The war between the *French* and the *Imperialists* on the *Rhine* continued with various success; but in the mean while, the duke of *Lorraine's* brave but mercenary army, by perpetual fatigues, skirmishes and marches, was reduced to 4,000 men. *Galas*, one of the best of the *Imperial* generals, acted with great vigour against the *Swedes*, nor was duke *Bernard* strong enough to prevent *Kaiser-Couter*, where he had deposited all the effects and riches he had acquired during the course of the war, from being taken by storm by the *Imperialists*. In the month of *August*, cardinal *de Valette*, the *French* general, joined duke *Bernard* with 18,000 *French*, with whom he relieved *Mentz*, which had been besieged by the *Imperial* general *Mansfield*, and obliged *Galas* to raise the siege of *Deux Ponts*. After this, they encamped near *Mentz*, but the disposition made by *Galas* for cutting off their provisions obliged them to make a most precipitate retreat towards *Lorraine*. Being pursued by the *Imperialists*, they repulsed them in a bloody engagement, where the *Imperial* cavalry, under *Galas*, was almost ruined. The *French* and *Swedes*, under the cardinal and *Bernard*, were in the same condition,

condition, and left *Galas* at liberty to join the duke of *Lorraine*.

1636.

His army  
reinforced,

but obliged  
to retire.

In the spring of the year 1636, duke *Bernard* having concerted with cardinal *Richlieu* at *Paris* the operations of the ensuing campaign, rejoined the cardinal de *Valette*, and obtained very considerable advantages over the *Imperialists* in *Lorraine*, while that duke, with *Galas*, at the head of 40,000 men, prepared for an irruption into *Franche Comte*. Duke *Bernard* and the cardinal harrassed them so effectually, that though they penetrated as far as *Burgundy*, they were obliged to return, with the loss of 5,000 men, and without making any acquisition. By this time, the *Swedish* army under *Bannier* had been joined by 12,000 *Brandenburghers*, and defeated the *Saxon* troops in *Mecklenburg*; upon which that elector was obliged to join *Maracini*, the *Imperial* general in *Pomerania*, where they were reinforced by a fresh supply of *Austrians*, by whose assistance they took the important city of *Magdebourg*, while *Bannier* took *Havelsburg*. A general battle was then expected, but *Bannier* retired towards *Mecklenburg*; and *Maracini* took *Stargard* by storm. In the country of *Darmstadt*, the *Swedes*, under general *Lesley*, had, at first, the superiority, but were obliged to retire to join the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and their troops, in conjunction, took *Paderborn*. During those operations *Bannier* defeated the elector of *Saxony* and the *Imperial* general *Hasfield* in the plain of *Wislock*, so effectually, that of 20,000 *Imperialists*, scarcely 3,000 escaped to *Magdebourg*; the elector himself taking refuge at *Leipsic*. This victory, which was gained on the 4th of *October*, not only put the *Swedes* in possession of an immense booty, but gave such life to their cause, that the subjects of several protestant princes who had joined in the treaty of *Prague* enlisted in their army, and several places of importance admitted their garisons.

The emperor's son  
elected  
king of the  
*Romans*.

1637.  
Death,

While the war was thus raging in the empire with as much fury as ever, the emperor, after holding several diets, procured his son, the king of *Hungary*, to be elected at *Ratisbon* king of the *Romans*, on the 12th of *December*, and he and his wife, *Mary of Spain*, were crowned on the 20th of the same month. This election was, by many, held invalid because the elector of *Triers*, though no rebel to the empire, was still detained a prisoner, and the son of the elector *Palatine* had not been re-invested in his electorate. *Charles Lewis*, the young elector *Palatine*, was then at *London*, where he was most nobly entertained by king *Charles I.* and he published, by way of manifesto, a declaration of his rights, and a protest against all that was doing in *Germany*, especially in the affair of the king of the *Romans*. The emperor, *Ferdinand II.* did not long survive the advancement of his son to that dignity, for he died on the 15th of *February*, 1637, in the 59th year of his age, and the 19th of his reign. He was twice married, first to *Anne Maria*, daughter to *William* duke of *Bavaria*, by whom he

he had four children who survived him; *Ferdinand III.* his successor in the empire; *Leopold William*, grand master of the Teutonic order, bishop of *Passau*, *Strasbourg*, *Halberstadt*, *Olmütz*, and *Breslaw*, and afterwards the *Spanish* governor in the *Low Countries*; *Maria Anna*, who married *Maximilian*, elector of *Bavaria*, and *Cecilia*; *Renee*, wife to *Uladislaus*, king of *Poland*. His second wife was *Eleonora*, daughter to the duke of *Mantua*, by whom he had no issue.

In *Ferdinand II.* were united all the obstinacy, pride, bigotry, and cruelty, which have distinguished the princes of the house of *Austria*. His personal abilities were despicable, and so early as at the age of 20 years, he made an impious vow before the virgin of *Loretto* to extirminate the protestants, which he repeated and endeavoured to execute 20 years after. He must have brought the *Germanic* empire to absolute destruction, had he not had the good fortune, which is uncommon to weak princes, to be served by some of the ablest generals in the world. Though *Gustavus* made the *Imperial* crown totter upon his head, he did not profit by the calamities of the catholics, but seemed even to improve in obduracy and severity against the protestants. This perseverance, which might have ruined another prince, succeeded with *Ferdinand*. It induced the court of *Spain* to supply him both with troops and money; it tired out the protestants, who, as well as the catholics, were great sufferers by the war, and it gave his allies and generals an opinion of his firmness; so that they exerted themselves with amazing vigour in his service. Though the death of the king of *Sweden* was undoubtedly a favourable circumstance for *Ferdinand*, yet it is doubtful whether, if that prince had even lived, the protestant confederacy would have subsisted, his conduct with regard to the independence of the *Germanic* empire being so ambiguous as to give them vast umbrage at the time he was killed.

## CHAP. XLVII.

### Ferdinand the third.

THIS prince having before his accession to the *Imperial* throne, headed the *Imperial* armies in person, had a martial character, which, after he became emperor, he did not support. During the late reign, conferences between the protestants and the papists had been opened at *Hamburg*, but under such restrictions from the *Imperial* authority, that they came to nothing, and the war continued to rage. *John de Wert*, at the earnest entreaties of the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, besieged and took *Hermanstein*; but duke *Bernard* defeated the *Imperial* cavalry under *Merci*, in *Franche Comte*, and the blow was repeated by the rhinegrave, which gave *Bernard*



and state  
of the  
war.  
1638.

nard an opportunity of invading *Alsace*, where he was opposed by *de Wert*. The duke of *Lorraine* marched to the assistance of the latter, and duke *Bernard* was obliged to repass the *Rhine* without the *French* troops, whom *de Wert* defeated and compelled to lay down their arms. The protestant cause, at this time, received an irrecoverable blow by the death of the landgrave of *Hesse*, who had laid a scheme for the re establishment of the palatine family. In *January*, 1638, duke *Bernard*, to prevent the protestant cause from languishing by the landgrave's death, crossed the *Rhine* and fell upon the forest towns, many of which submitted to him; but he was obliged to besiege *Waldsbüt*. The *Imperialists* under *de Wert* and *Savelli* endeavoured to raise the siege, but they were defeated, though they retired in good order; *Bernard* pursued his blow, and attacking them again, he entirely ruined them, and sent their two generals prisoners to *Paris*, but with the loss of the rhinegrave *Philip*, and the brave duke of *Rohan*. After this, *Rhin-feld* surrendered, as did several other strong places; and at last, *Bernard* took *Friburg*, the capital of *Brisgau*, as he afterwards did the strong city of *Brisac*, in sight of the duke of *Lorraine* and the *Imperial* generals. This was a conquest so important to *France*, that the *French* general, *Guebriant*, by cardinal *Richlieu*'s orders, offered *Bernard* his own terms if he would resign it, but to no purpose, for *Bernard* constantly replied that his conquests and his honour were the same, and he would resign neither.

Successes  
of the con-  
federates.

*Bannier* was as successful in *Pomerania* as duke *Bernard* was in *Alsace*. After reducing the places of greatest importance there, he cut in pieces two regiments of *Imperial* horse. The young elector *Palatine* and his brother, afterwards the famous prince *Rupert*, were then making war in *Westphalia*, but they had too little experience to withstand *Hasfeld*, the *Imperial* general, who defeated them near *Minden*, and made prince *Rupert* prisoner. This check did not balance the losses which the *Imperialists* sustained in other quarters. Duke *Bernard* was now more formidable to the house of *Austria* than the great *Gustavus* had ever been, and, for family reasons, he had declared implacable war with the elector of *Saxony*, which prevented his ever hearkening to the secret applications of the emperor to take him off from the *French* interest. In the beginning of the year 1639, he besieged *Thau*, and by an operation then uncommon, that of throwing red hot bullets into the place, he compelled its garrison to surrender. While he was thus in the utmost possession of reputation and glory, he was attacked by a distemper which carried him off in the 35th year of his age, not without suspicion of his being poisoned by the *French* on account of his obstinacy in the affair of *Brisac*. He left the command of his army to major general *D'Erlach*, but his succession to it was strongly disputed by the dukes of *Bavaria*, *Lawenburg*, and *Lunenburg*, while his brother *William* demanded possession of all his conquests. As the

1639.

Death of  
the duke  
of *Saxe-Weimar*.

the *Weimarian* army, as it was called, though consisting of soldiers of fortune, was then very formidable, the emperor, the *French* king, and the crown of *Sweden*, made large offers to bring it over; but the plausibility of *Lewis* the XIIIth's ministers carried the dispute in his favour, by granting the officers and soldiers the most flattering terms, and the duke de *Longueville* was put at its head. In consequence of this compromise, *France* became mistress of the greatest part of *Alsace* and *Brisgau*, but behaved with great infidelity towards the young elector *Palatine*, whose cause they had pretended at first warmly to espouse.

The conferences at *Hamburgh* proved ineffectual towards settling the peace of the empire, on account of the jarring interests subsisting among the parties concerned. The landgravine of *Hesse*, who administered the affairs of that state, was, through the injustice of the *Imperial* court, obliged to throw herself into the arms of the *French*, who paid her a subsidy on condition of her maintaining a body of horse and foot for their service. All those steps were indications that *France*, having now brought over the *Weimarian* army, intended to act for herself, without regarding the interests of the *Swedes*. *Bannier* continued at the head of their army, which consisted of about 18,000 men, but without any other means of subsistence than what they carried on the points of their swords. They passed the *Elbe* in the beginning of *February*, to open their way towards *Magdebourg* and *Leipsic*. They laid the country under contribution wherever they marched, and they were so well supplied with all kinds of necessities, that their army soon encreased to 25,000 men. They quickly reduced *Misnia*, and laid siege to *Friedberg*, which *Maracini*, the *Saxon* general, advanced to relieve. After an obstinate dispute the *Saxons* were defeated, and driven to the gates of *Dresden*, with the loss of almost all their officers and 4,000 men. *Friedberg*, notwithstanding this, continued to make a most gallant defence, and *Maracini* again attempted to relieve it, but was again defeated with very considerable loss, though he had taken his measures with admirable precaution and sagacity. The *Swedes* pursued the last blow so vigorously that scarce a man of the *Saxon* army survived the slaughter who was not either wounded or a prisoner. All *Thuringia*, *Wetteravia*, *Saxony*, and *Misnia*, were now reduced by the *Swedes*, besides large tracts of the neighbouring countries. *Maracini* was taken prisoner, the famous pass at *Pirna* was seized, and the siege of *Friedberg* renewed. It was during this campaign that *Torsten*son, afterwards the famous *Swedish* general, first signalized himself.

In the mean while the *French* acted a most unworthy part by the elector *Palatine*. That prince had very just pretensions to command the duke of *Saxe-Weimar*'s army; and he proposed, by the assistance of the money he received from the king of *England* and his other relations, to put himself at its head, Treachery of the *French* to the young elector *Palatine*.

The landgravine of *Hesse* joins the *French*.

The *Swedes* again defeated the *Imperialists*.

head, and employ it in recovering his dominions. *Charles I.* after the professions of friendship towards the *Palatine* made by the *French* ministry, could not suspect that they were taking measures to disappoint him. He freely communicated the young prince's design to *Richelieu*, and demanded a passport for his passage through *France*, but the request was evaded; but the *Palatine* pursuing his journey without the necessary passport, was arrested at *Moulins*, and ignominiously treated in the heart of *France*. It is true he soon obtained his liberty, but not before the *French* had secured *Alsace* and the *Weimarian* army.

Secret negotiation between *Bannier* and the emperor.

We are apt to be surprized at the inactivity of the *Austrian* power, which had such vast resources at this juncture. *Ferdinand* had exposed his allies, the *Saxons* particularly, to the storms of the *Swedes*. *Koningsmark*, the *Swedish* general, lorded it in *Franconia*, as *Axel Gili* did in *Brandenburg* and *Mecklenburg*. In short, the estates of all the parties in the treaty of *Prague* were exposed to destruction, and the *Lower Saxony* declared for a neutrality. *Hasfeld* was the only *Imperial* general who seems then to have been in the field, but he was obliged to take refuge with the elector of *Brandenburg*, and both of them retired before *Bannier*, while the latter threatened *Prague* and took *Konigsaal*. The behaviour of the *French*, however, at last staggered *Bannier*, and he listened to the suggestions of his wife, who was related to a great personage at the *Imperial* court, to enter into a secret negotiation with *Ferdinand*, who made him most magnificent offers. The *French* discovered the correspondence, and prevailed with the regency of *Sweden* to refuse *Bannier* the full powers he solicited. It appeared that by this negotiation the *Imperialists* sought only to gain time, for *Picolomini* was soon seen at the head of 17,000 men from the *Low Countries*, in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, which left the duke of *Longueville*, who commanded the *Weimarian* army, at liberty to take up his winter quarters in *Wetteravia* and *High Hesse*, without seeming to reflect upon *Bannier's* danger.

The *French* join *Bannier*.

In reality, had that general not received a strong reinforcement from *Thuringia*, his army, which had been weakened by detachments, and garrisoning the places he had taken, must have been ruined, *Picolomini* having likewise received a strong reinforcement of *Imperialists* and *Bavarians*. *Bannier* acquainted the duke of *Longueville* with this circumstance, and threatened that if he did not join him, he would consult his own safety and make a separate peace. In the mean while, *Bannier* obliged the dukes of *Brunswic* and *Lunenbourg* to renounce the league of *Prague*, and to join the *Swedish* army with 3,000 foot and 500 horse; and at last, the duke of *Longueville*, finding he could trifle no longer, joined *Bannier* likewise, as did the *Hessian* troops in the *French* pay, and all together advanced to fight *Picolomini*. Finding him too strongly intrenched to be attacked, they fell into the country of *Hesse*,



to which they were followed by *Picolomini*, who seems to have had a peculiar art in chusing strong encampments, and to have been in all other respects, though not a great hero, a very able general. By marches and counter-marches he straitened and harrassed the confederates so much, that they were forced to move from place to place, to the great diminution of their numbers, and at last, to evacuate *Bohemia*, *Franconia*, and all the hereditary dominions of the house of *Austria*. The state of the empire required the electors to assemble at *Nuremberg*, where so many complaints were brought against the *Imperial* court, that the treaty of *Prague* was in danger of being abolished. After many debates, it was agreed that deputies from the *French* should be invited to the city of *Cologne*, and those from *Sweden* to *Lubec*, there to treat of peace with the *Imperial* ministers. Those points being settled, the *Imperial* troops were dismissed into winter quarters, after the circles of *Austria* and *Bavaria* had voted to the emperor a subsidy of 150 *Roman* crowns, and the other circles, who had been more harrassed by the war, 60.

*Picolomini* obliges the confederates to retire.

*Lutzw*, an *Imperial* minister, treated with those of *France* and *Sweden*, but all they concluded upon, was, that a congress for a general peace should be held at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, the inhabitants of which places were to be released from their oaths. The emperor refused to ratify this agreement, and the war recommenced. This obstinacy of the emperor was owing to his having gained over the diet of *Ratisbon* to consider the war with *France* and *Sweden* as a war of the empire. The marshal *Guebriant* then commanded the *French* in *Germany*, and having joined with *Bannier*, they made a sudden motion towards *Ratisbon*, where the emperor still resided with the diet, crossed the *Danube* upon the ice, surprized the *Imperial* advanced guards, consisting of 1,500 horse, took the emperor's hunting equipage, and was very near seizing his person. The country about *Ratisbon*, and that city itself, presented a most distressful scene upon this occasion; but the allies employed in the expedition, being apprehensive of a thaw, repassed the river, and joined the main army under *Guebriant* and *Bannier*, who were advanced within three leagues of *Ratisbon*, on the 26th of *February*. Marching forward, they discharged 500 shot upon the city, an insult which drove *Ferdinand* from his usual gravity and moderation. This expedition had no farther consequences than that of exasperating the emperor and the princes of the diet, and rendering the *French* and *Swedes* more formidable than ever. Soon after, the *French* marched to *Bamberg*, and *Bannier* into *Misnia*, understanding that the *Imperialists* were assembling on all hands to surround them with an army of 80,000 men. Part of this army pursued *Bannier*, who was obliged to retreat into *Bohemia*, with so much resolution, that their cavalry swam across the river *Pleiss*, and inclosed it between that and the *Moldau* so effectually, that *Bannier* must have surrendered his army,

1641.

A negotiation set on foot, but proves ineffectual.

Amazing  
retreat of  
*Bannier*.

His death  
and cha-  
racter.

The elec-  
tor of Sax-  
ony takes  
*Zuickau*.

*Torsten-  
son* suc-  
ceeds  
*Bannier* in  
the com-  
mand  
of the  
*Swedes*.

army, or have seen it cut in pieces, had he not disengaged himself by one of the most resolute and best managed retreats that is recorded in history. While all *Europe* thought him inevitably ruined, he appeared near *Neumarck*, where he joined *Guebriant*.

*Picolomini* and *Gleen*, the other *Imperial* general, accused each other on the subject of this amazing escape, and both of them repaired to *Ratisbon*, where it appeared that neither of them were to blame, but that it was entirely owing to *Bannier's* superior genius and good fortune. The fatigue he suffered proved, however, fatal to that great general, for he sickened and died at *Halberstadt* on the 20th of *May* following, in the full career of glory, and the 41st year of his age. His reputation for humanity was as great as his fame in war, and it is almost incredible, that he could support and keep together an army so long as he did, merely upon the contributions which he imposed equally on friends and foes, yet his soldiers served under him with the utmost spirit and cheerfulness. Another great man in the protestant interest died about the same time, *George* duke of *Brunswic Lunenbourg*, but his son, by the advice of his mother, remained attached to the cause of the allies. It was extremely remarkable, that though the native soldiers of *Sweden* were now almost extinct in *Germany*, and consequently *Bannier's* army was made up of *German* recruits, and though they had very tempting offers from the emperor and his allies, and were themselves at this time even without a head, yet they continued immoveably attached to the interest of *Sweden*, and offered to accept of any general whom that court should nominate. The elector of *Saxony* took advantage of *Bannier's* death to recover *Zuickau*, the garrison of which he obliged to enlist among his own troops. In *Saxony*, the *Swedes* and *French* defeated the *Imperialists* under the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, and after this, both armies went into winter quarters.

There is scarcely an example in history of such a succession of great generals, as those that headed the *Swedish* army after the death of *Gustavus*. *Torsten-son* was by the senate of *Sweden* appointed to succeed *Bannier*, and, about the time of the battle of *Wolfenbittel*, he had set out from *Sweden* at the head of 8000 *Swedes*, and taking upon him the command of their army in *Germany*, he penetrated as early as the season would permit into *Bohemia*. The politics of *France* did not suffer him to be assisted by *Guebriant*; but *France* at this time gave the *Swedes* an additional subsidy of 200,000 livres. This subsidy renewed the vigour of the *Swedes*, and consequently the waste of war. To prevent its progress, new propositions were made for peace, by the mediation of *Charles I.* who had greatly at heart the interest of his nephew, the elector *Palatine*. The war had raged so long, that all property was now confounded, and it was extremely difficult to ascertain it. The duke of *Bavaria* demanded the payment of 13,000,000 of francs, before

fore he would resign the *Palatinate* to its true heir. The *Spaniards* made a difficulty of evacuating the *Lower Palatinate*, great part of which was claimed by the archduke *Leopold*. The elector of *Brandenburg* entered into connections with *France* and *Sweden*, in hopes of recovering the duchy of *Jägerndorf* in *Silesia*. The duke of *Lorrain* abandoned the party of the house of *Austria*, and threw himself into the arms of *France*, and the treaties were renewed between *France* and *Sweden* on the one part, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, the duke of *Brunswic*, and other princes of the empire, on the other.

The emperor, all this time, appeared unconcerned at the desolation of his country. His enemies had never carried the war into *Austria*, or any of his hereditary dominions, excepting *Bohemia*; so that he was secure of immense resources, and the more the *German* princes weakened one another, the nearer he was in his approach to arbitrary power, the great aim of his family. At last, however, perceiving that *France* and *Sweden* were in earnest to humble him, he sought to break the confederacy, by offering the *Palatinate* to its count, but it was upon terms that he could not accept of with honour. *Ferdinand* had no better success with the dukes of *Lunenbourg*, with whom he had treated separately, and the *Swiss* cantons refused to call their troops from the service of *France* at his desire; but all his untowardly situation, was owing to his own pride and narrowness of spirit, which he had soon reason to repent of.

In *January 1642*, *Guebriant*, the *French* general, made a great progress on the *Rhine*, where he completely defeated the *Imperial* generals *Hasfeld* and *Lamboy*, the consequence of which victory was, that the *French* became masters of almost the whole electorate of *Cologne*. *Torsten*son was still upon the borders of *Bohemia*, and his motions were observed by the archduke *Leopold* and *Picolomini*, so that the *Imperialists* under the duke of *Saxe-Lawenburg* reduced all that part of *Silesia*, which was in possession of the *Swedes*. The duke afterwards joining the two *Imperial* generals, *Torsten*son entered *Silesia*, which brought the duke back with a strong body of *Austrians*. A battle followed, in which 3000 *Austrians* were killed on the spot; almost all their officers were taken, and the duke himself was mortally wounded. The main body of the *Imperial* army then advanced against *Torsten*son, who formed the siege of *Leipsic*; but hearing that his enemies approached the *Elbe*, he turned it into a blockade, and retired for some miles with his main body. The *Imperialists* advanced upon him in the plain of *Breitenfeld*, where a most bloody battle was fought, in which the *Swedes* obtained a complete victory, and cut in pieces 8000 of the *Austrian* best troops, besides making a vast number of prisoners, and taking the military chest of the archduke and *Picolomini*, 46 pieces of cannon, and 6000 waggons. In this battle, which was fought the 2d of November,

Behaviour  
of the  
emperor.

1642.

Conquests  
and pro-  
gress of  
the *French*  
and  
*Swedes*.

The latter  
gain the  
great  
battle of  
*Breiten-  
feld*.



ember, the *Swedes* did not lose above 1000, and so secure were the *Austrians* of victory, that their generals had brought to the field, a magnificent train of equipages, all which, besides the booty already mentioned, fell into the hands of the *Swedes*. *Torsten*son then renewed the siege of *Leipsic*, which he took after an obstinate resistance, on the 15th of *December*. So many repeated defeats and losses made but little impression on *Ferdinand*, but filled his court with dismay, and the utmost efforts were made to cover his hereditary dominions, which, in that advanced season of the year, could not be attacked.

In an interview, which *Torsten*son had with *Guebriant*, towards the beginning of the year 1643, each general plainly perceived that the other had a separate view. This did not hinder them from proceeding amicably. *Torsten*son marched towards *Frieberg* upon the *Elbe*, and *Guebriant* towards the *Neckar*. *Picolomini* marched to cover *Frieberg*, which obliged *Torsten*son to fall back into *Lusatia*, till he could be joined by the reinforcements he expected. During the winter, conferences for a general peace were held at *Hamburg*; but thro' the pride and obstinacy of the *Imperialists*, the time allotted for them was spent in adjusting the ceremonial, and the ministers adjourned their meetings to *July*, but the death of cardinal *Richelieu*, and of *Lewis XIII.* of *France*, now gave a different face to the affairs of *Europe*. *Ferdinand* endeavoured to detach the *Swedes* from their alliance with *France*, but to no purpose; for though the *Swedes* were at first doubtful with regard to the new *French* government, they were soon reassured by a great victory obtained by the latter over the *Spaniards*, and by the *French* court renewing their engagements with *Sweden*. The war continuing, the *Swedes* carried all before them in *Silesia* and *Moravia*, where it is said they made an immense booty in ready money, while *Koningsmark*, another *Swedish* general, drove the *Imperialists* out of *Pomerania*. *Guebriant*, on his leaving the electorate of *Cologne*, had marched into *Franconia*, the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, and the marquisate of *Baden*, having still the advantage over the *Imperialists*, though they pressed him with numerous armies on every side. *Ferdinand* at this time lost *Picolomini*, who, disgusted with his court and ministry, entered into the service of *Spain*, but he regained the duke of *Lorraine*, who abandoned that of *France*, and took upon him the command of the *Bavarians*.

The great defeat which the duke of *Enguien* had given the *Spaniards* at *Rocroy*, and the consequences of that battle, had enabled him to send a reinforcement to *Guebriant*, who had besieged *Rotweil*, but was hard pressed by the *Imperialists*. This helped *Guebriant* to beat his enemies, and to take the town, though it cost him his life. His death relaxed the discipline of the *French* army so much, that *Merci*, the *Bavarian* general, with ease defeated the count *de Rantzau*, who had succeeded *Guebriant* in his command, and made him prisoner with

Deaths of  
cardinal  
*Richelieu*  
and *Lewis*  
*XIII.*

and of the  
*French* ge-  
neral *de*  
*Guebriant*.

with 4000 of his men; but the famous *French* general *Turenne*, collected the remains. During those operations, a war broke out between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, which gave the interior parts of *Germany* some respite.

The miseries of *Germany* had, some months before this, Conferred obliged *Ferdinand* to agree to the proposals of the protestants, which have been already mentioned, for opening conferences at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*. His chief plenipotentiaries there, were *Henry* of *Saxe-Lawenburg*, the count *d'Aversperg*, and the baron *de Krane*. The count *d'Avaux* was first plenipotentiary for *France*, and the marquis *de Castile Roderigo* for *Spain*. The ultimate view of *France* was to reduce the power of *Austria* in *Germany*, and *d'Avaux* engaged the princes of the diet at *Frankfort*, to insist upon sharing the rights of peace and war with the emperor and electors, who had engrossed them to themselves. The princes being assured of support from *France*, (whose victory at *Rocroy* had now rendered her very powerful) thwarted the *Imperial* party in all their proposals for obliging the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, to renounce their alliance with *France* and *Sweden*, and they even insisted on being represented at the conferences for peace. Those demands startled the emperor and the electors, who were upon the point of abandoning the conferences, had they not been deterred by the prevailing arms of *France*; but the conferences were, for some time, at a stand; and the emperor applied himself to foment the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*. *Torsten*son had penetrated into *Jutland*, and *Galas*, who had succeeded *Picolomini* in his command, was sent by the emperor to assist the *Danes*, which he did in so ineffectual a manner, that the *Danes* received no benefit from his army.

The circles of *Westphalia* and *Franconia* would have formed an association, for defending themselves against the *Austrians* and the *Swedes*, but they were diverted from it by the *French* minister, who represented, that they could not defend themselves against the tyranny of the house of *Austria*, but by employing foreign troops. The *French* were as zealous for composing, as the emperor was for fomenting, the war between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and at last prevailed with them to enter into a treaty, which entirely detached *Denmark* from the house of *Austria*. *Turenne* now commanded the *French* army in *Germany*, and passing the *Rhine*, he beat count *Merci*. The latter being soon reinforced, besieged and took *Friedberg*, and would have destroyed *Turenne's* army, had he not been joined by *d'Enguien*; and the two *French* generals, in four days time, engaged and beat the *Austrians* in three bloody battles; but *Merci* saved about half of his army by a masterly retreat, but all the towns between the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*, from *Mentz* to *Landau*, were reduced by the *French*. *Ragotski*, waywode of *Transylvania*, would not lose so favourable an opportunity of distressing the house of *Austria*, and took

## A GENERAL HISTORY

*Cassovia*, pretending that he carried arms for the defence of the *Hungarian* liberties, which had been ruined by the emperor. *Ragotski* was then at the head of 60,000 men, but they were raw and unexperienced, and opposed by the *Imperial* general *Goetz*, who, with an inferior army, obtained great advantages over them. *Ragotski* had depended upon a reinforcement from *Torsten*son, but being disappointed, he retreated to *Transylvania*. *Goetz* endeavoured to retake *Cassovia*, but ruined his army in the attempt, while *Ragotski*, being supplied with *French* money, renewed the war against the emperor in other parts of *Hungary*.

Success of  
*Torsten*son  
in Ger-  
many.

*Torsten*-  
son's con-  
quests in  
*Moravia*.

During the absence of *Torsten*son, the *Imperialists* had retaken some places in *Silesia* and *Moravia*; but upon the return of that general, *Galas* was obliged to retire before him and *Koningsmark*. His army, at last, was shut up near *Magdebourg* in such a manner, that great numbers were cut off, many died of famine, and many enlisted in the service of the *Swedes*. At last, *Galas* broke, sword in hand, through the *Swedish* army, and escaped to *Lentmeritz*. *Torsten*son thought the time was now come to favour his long meditated design, of penetrating into *Bohemia*. Leaving the command of part of his army with *Koningsmark*, he seized the pass of *Presnitz*, and, with amazing rapidity, appeared before *Prague*, where the emperor and the archduke *Leopold* then resided. But *Torsten*son's march, notwithstanding all his precautions, being discovered, he found himself opposed by a strong army under the best of the *Imperial* generals. Pretending to retire, he drew the *Austrians* from their advantageous situation, gave them battle, and entirely defeated them, with the loss of 10,000 men, killed or taken prisoners. *Ferdinand* had retired to *Vienna*, which *Torsten*son now threatened, and probably would have attempted, had it not been covered by the remains of the *Imperialists* under *Galas*, and 4000 *Bavarians*. He conquered, however, all the towns on the *Moravian* side of the *Danube*, and, at last, laid siege to *Brinn*, which struck such terror into the *Imperial* court, that the emperor fled to *Ratisbon*, and the empress to *Gratz*. The design of *Torsten*son in besieging *Brinn*, was, that he might open his way for joining *Ragotski*, in *Hungary*, for he had at that time no intention of besieging *Vienna*. The emperor collected his forces under the archduke *Leopold*, and the garrison of *Brinn* made a vigorous defence, which checked the progress of *Torsten*son, and soon after that great general found himself so pressed by the gout, that he was obliged to resign his command.

*Turenne* is  
beaten in  
*Bavaria*.

The war still continued to rage in *Bavaria*, and the *Upper Palatinate*, where *Turenne* commanded the *French*, and *Merci* the *Imperialists*. *Turenne* had taken *Mariendal*, where he was surprized and defeated by *Merci*, while *Turenne* was obliged to cross the *Maine*, and retire to *Hesse*, where he collected the remains of his army. He was speedily reinforced by 8000 troops under the duke d' *Enguien*, which determined the

*French*



*French* generals to act offensively. This resolution, after many marches and countermarches, brought on the battle of *Nordlingen*, between them and the *Bavarians*, which, at first, inclined to the latter, till *Merci* being killed, the *French* obtained the victory, but not without losing 4000 of their best troops. This battle was succeeded by the surrender of *Nordlingen* and some other places to the *French*; but the archduke *Leopold*, marching to the assistance of the *Bavarians*, obliged *Turenne* to fortify himself under the cannon of *Philipsbourg*; and all of a sudden, the fortune of the war appeared to be reversed. The *French* lost all the towns they held between the *Neckar* and the *Danube*; but the emperor, at last, being taught moderation by experience, delivered the elector of *Triers*, upon certain conditions, from his captivity of ten years, and he was suffered to send a plenipotentiary to the congress at *Munster*. It is plain, from the vicissitudes of the war, that the house of *Austria* at this time might have been ruined, had the *Swedes* and the *French* been cordially united; but their views were different, and the *French* were intent upon their conquests on the *Rhine*, while they ought to have joined *Torsten*son in forming the siege of *Vienna*, which the *Swedes* not being able to do of themselves, obliged *Ragotski* to make a separate peace with *Ferdinand*.

Different  
views of  
the *French*  
and  
*Swedes*.

All this while *Koningsmark* was making so great a progress in *Thuringia* and *Misnia*, that he obliged the elector of *Saxony* to conclude a truce with him for six months, which left him at liberty to penetrate into *Bohemia*, where general *Wrangel* commanded the *Swedish* army. While *Koningsmark* was on his march, the *Imperialists* obliged *Wrangel* to retire to *Upper Hesse*, where he was joined by *Koningsmark*; and they expected to be joined by *Turenne*, which, at last, after great difficulties, they were. The *Imperialists* now retired in their turn, and the elector of *Bavaria* might have been entirely defeated, had not *Turenne* been secretly instructed by his court to venture upon no stroke that might render the *Swedes* too independent upon the *French*. Thus the remainder of the campaign of 1646, was employed in a petty war of taking and retaking posts and places, without any thing decisive happening. The *Swedes* still kept a superiority in *Silesia*, but the emperor found means to procure the crowns of *Bohemia* and *Hungary* for his son *Ferdinand*. Notwithstanding this, the *Austrian* greatness was now tottering on the brink of ruin. *Turenne* obliged the duke of *Bavaria* to make a separate peace with *France*, and to resign to the *French* several places of importance. The elector of *Saxony*, the archbishops of *Cologne* and *Mentz*, and the landgrave of *Hesse-Darmstadt*, were necessitated to follow the *Bavarian's* example. The *Swedes* gave law in *Westphalia* and *Upper Saxony*. *Wrangel* took *Egra* in *Bohemia*, and the catholic officers in the *Austrian* army refused to be commanded by their general, *Melander*,

The em-  
peror de-  
serted by  
his allies.

1646.

because he was a protestant; upon which *Ferdinand* was obliged to take upon himself the command of his army, which was again beaten by the *Swedes*.

The elec-  
tor of  
*Bavaria*  
rejoins  
him.

1648.

The elector of *Bavaria*, upon frivolous pretences, renounced his late treaty with *France*, and joining with the *Imperialists*, turned the fortune of the war in favour of *Ferdinand*, so that *Wrangel* was obliged to retire from *Bohemia* through *Saxony*, into the dutchy of *Brunswic*, where he put his troops into winter quarters. *Melander* was now reinstated in the command of the *Imperial* army, and while he was pursuing *Wrangel*, laid waste the landgraviate of *Hesse*; but the *French* obtained several advantages over the *Bavarians*. *Wrangel*, early in the year 1648, having been reinforced by the troops under *Koningsmark*, and the *Hessians*, joined *Turenne*, who had with him no more than 7 or 8000 men, and they directed their march toward the *Danube*, which they crossed at *Lawingen*. The *Imperialists* under *Melander*, were obliged to retire towards the *Neckar*, but were defeated near *Augsbourgh* with great slaughter, and the remains of their army were with great difficulty, carried off by the famous *Montecuculi* and the duke of *Wirtemberg*. The allies then laid *Bavaria* under contribution, and obliged its duke to retire to the archbishopric of *Saltzbourgh*. The *Hessians*, in the dutchy of *Juliers*, beat the *Imperial* general, *Lamboy*; the *Swedish* general, *Wittemberg*, took *Thabor*, as *Koningsmark* did the new city of *Prague* in *Bohemia*; and the prince *Palatine*, *Charles-Gustavus*, having been declared generalissimo of the *Swedish* armies, arrived before *Prague* about the end of *September*, and immediately invested the old town.

The  
treaty of  
*Munster* or  
*Westphalia*  
conclud-  
ed.

The emperor now found it high time to act, at once, with sincerity and decision, especially, after hearing that the garri- son of *Prague*, notwithstanding the glorious defence they made, must at last submit to the *Swedes*. The conferences were still going on at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, and had been greatly influenced by the events of the war. They had now continued for above six years, the greatest part of which had been spent in idle disputes, concerning precedency and titles. As the peace which ensued, is the most memorable that ever had been concluded in the empire, where it is revered as a fundamental, and perpetual law, and is to this day the basis of most of the *European* negotiations, it is necessary for the reader's better understanding it, that we give him some idea of its principal articles.

The chief  
of its con-  
tents.

It stipulated a perpetual peace between the emperor, the house of *Austria*, the states and princes of the empire, on one side, and his most christian majesty, and all his allies, especially the crown of *Sweden*, on the other. The disputes concerning *Lorrain* were referred to arbitration. The electors, princes, and states, were to be restored to the possessions they held before the war. The electoral dignity, formerly belonging to the electors *Palatine*, with all the *Upper Palatinete*, was

to

to remain in *Maximilian*, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, duke of *Bavaria*, and the male issue of his family. The *Lower Palatinate* was restored to *Charles-Lewis*, count *Palatine* of the *Rhine*, and his family, for whom an eighth electorate was erected. The confession of *Augsbourg*, and liberty of conscience, were established all over *Germany*. The *Silesian* protestants were allowed to build churches, and protestants were to be admitted into the *Aulic* council. The electors, princes, and states of the empire, were entitled to the right of voting in all its affairs, especially those concerning war, tributes, levies of troops, and treaties of peace. The bishoprics of *Metz*, *Toul*, and *Verdun* were ceded to *France*, but the metropolitan right was to belong to the archbishop of *Triers*. The emperor and the empire ceded to the *French* king and the kingdom of *France*, the town of *Brisac*, the landgraviate of *Upper* and *Lower Alsace*, the *Suntgau*, and the provincial prefecture of the ten towns situated in *Alsace*, namely, *Haguenau*, *Scelestat*, *Weissemburg*, *Colmar*, *Lindau*, *Obernheim*, *Rosheim*, *Munster*, *Val St. Gregoire*, *Kaiserberg*, and *Turingheim*. The *French* king was to keep *Philipsbourg* under his protection, but the property of the place, and all its revenues, were to belong to the bishop and chapter of *Spire*.

His most christian majesty was to restore to the house of *Austria* the four forest-towns, namely, *Rhinfield*, *Sockingen*, *Lauffenburg*, and *Waldshut*, with the county of *Haversteim*, the *Black Forest*, all the *Upper* and *Lower Brisgau*, and the towns therein situated, antiently belonging to the house of *Austria*, namely, *Neuburg*, *Friburg*, *Endingen*, *Kensingen*, *Waltrick*, *Willingen*, and *Braulingen*, with several other towns, states, and jurisdictions. Some other regulations of less moment, were made between *France* and the empire.

The archbishopric of *Bremen* and *Verden* was given up to *Sweden*, saving the rights and liberties of the town and bishopric of *Verden*, but its effects were to be secularized, and *Sweden* was to hold the fiefs of the benefices so secularized of the empire, with a vote in the diet. The crown of *Sweden* was likewise to be put in possession of the town and port of *Weimar* in *Mecklenburg*, with *Stetin* and all the *Upper Pomerania*. The elector of *Brandenburg* was to possess the *Lower Pomerania*, and after the death of the administrator, *Augustus* duke of *Saxony*, he was to enjoy the bishopric of *Halberstadt*, the principality of *Minden*, the bishopric of *Magdeburg*, with some other secularized benefices. In case of the failure of the male line of the house of *Brandenburg*, all *Pomerania* was to revert to the crown of *Sweden*; but the bishoprics of *Schwerin* and *Ratzburg*, with two commanderies of the order of *St. John*, were to be given by way of indemnification to the duke of *Mecklenburg*. In compensation for the coadjutorships of *Magdeburg*, *Bremen*, and *Halberstadt*, which the dukes of *Brunswick* and *Lunenbourg* had ceded, their



family was entitled to the alternate succession with the catholics to the bishopric of *Osnaburg*; but without any violence being offered to the state of religion on either side. The chief regulation with regard to the affairs of religion, was, that the administration of justice in the *Imperial* and *Aulic* council, should be vested in an equal number of catholics and protestants.

Protested  
against by  
the king  
of Spain.

Such were the chief regulations of this great treaty, which was branched out into an incredible variety of inferior articles, it being thought that no fewer than 140,000 restitutions were appointed by it, so careful were the contracting parties for the future tranquillity of the empire. The ministers for the county of *Burgundy*, in the name of their master, the king of *Spain*, protested against this treaty, which however was proclaimed in the two cities of *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, where it was made, and messengers were dispatched to stop hostilities on all sides. The weakness and irresolution of *Ferdinand* had almost overthrown the peace of *Munster* as soon as it was concluded. The pope published a bull annulling all the articles of it relating to religion, and prohibiting the erection of an eighth electorate. *Ferdinand* employed all his interest to procure the *Lower Palatinate* for his catholic majesty, to indemnify him for his vast expences during the war; but the princes paid no regard to his representations, and after a few difficulties were passed over, the ratifications were exchanged and the treaty was executed.

No sooner was peace restored to *Germany* than the emperor convoked a diet at *Dresden*, to terminate the differences that still subsisted between the houses of *Saxony*, *Brandenburg*, and *Neuburg*, concerning the succession to the duchies of *Juliers* and *Berg*. Though those differences were not terminated at that time, yet the tranquillity of *Germany* was effectually restored, but the emperor was obliged to postpone a diet he had summoned at *Ratisbon*, till certain differences were settled between the queen of *Sweden* and the elector of *Brandenburg*, concerning her right of sending deputies to the diet, before the elector was put in possession of all he could claim, under the treaty of *Munster*, or as the northern powers chose to call it, of *Osnaburg*, because in that city their concerns were discussed and settled. From this time, *Germany* may be said to date the stability of her constitution. In the year 1649, the *Svedes* evacuated *Bohemia*, after the emperor had agreed to pay them 42,000 florins, and all remaining differences between them, the emperor, and *France*, were settled in the months of *June* and *July* 1650. That same year the emperor convened a diet at *Ratisbon*, consisting of the electors of *Mentz*, *Cologne*, *Treves*, the elector *Palatine*, with the ambassadors of *Bavaria*, *Saxony*, and *Brandenburg*. The design of this diet, was to chuse a king of the *Romans*, *Ferdinand* ardently wishing that the election might fall upon his eldest son. The states of the empire insisted upon the ambassador of *Sweden*,

1649.

1650.  
A diet at  
*Ratisbon*.

*Sweden*, in right of the places ceded to that crown, having a seat in the diet, and the disputes upon this, grew so high, that *Ferdinand* was obliged to adjourn the assembly, and to call an electoral diet, to be held at *Augsbourg*, May 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1653. At that time and place, *Ferdinand*, the emperor's eldest son, was chosen king of the *Romans*, and besides the usual ceremonies, he swore to the observance of the treaties of *Munster*, *Osnaburg*, and *Nuremberg*. Notwithstanding all those promising appearances of peace, the duke of *Lorraine* was still dissatisfied, and that too with justice, as by the treaty of *Munster*, *Ferdinand* had promised to remove his troops out of the empire; but it now appeared that he intended to do it without paying them their arrears. The duke indemnified himself, by ravaging *Alsace* and *Westphalia*; but none of the electors or free towns would consent to pay him the sum he demanded, the payment of which they threw entirely upon the emperor. *Ferdinand*, unable or unwilling to satisfy him, was mean enough to apply to the crown of *Spain*, in whose service the duke was, to have him arrested, and the archduke *Leopold*, governor of the *Low Countries*, decoyed him to *Brussels*, from whence he was sent prisoner to *Toledo* in *Spain*.

1653.

The duke  
of *Lorraine*  
arrested.

The duke, when he was arrested, sent the following note to his lieutenant-general, the count *de Ligneville*: "Separate yourself instantly from the *Spaniards*, kill and burn whatever is in your way, and remember *Charles of Lorraine*." His troops however continued in the *Spanish* service, and his brother *Francis*, who succeeded to the command of them, upon being paid 100,000 crowns, evacuated the places the duke held in *Germany*. Before the diet of *Ratisbon* rose, great numbers of complaints from the subjects of the ceded countries, came before them against the *French* and the *Swedes*, who pretended, that since the treaty they had no right to their antient privileges. *Bremen* bravely defended her's by force of arms, and maintained them likewise by the interposition of the circles of *Westphalia* and *Lower Saxony*, as well as of the *Dutch* and the *Hanse* towns. From those encroachments, the diet concluded, that it would be proper for the princes and states of each religion, to chuse a head to serve as a guarantee for the observance of the treaty. The elector of *Saxony* was chosen the chief for the protestants, and the elector of *Bavaria* for the catholics. It was regulated that the elector of *Bavaria* should retain the title of Arch Steward of the holy *Roman* empire, and the elector *Palatine* that of Arch Treasurer, and that no princes should have seats in the diet, unless they had fiefs immediately holding of the empire.

Differ-  
ences  
with the  
*Swedes*.

Upon the breaking up of the diet, the *Imperial* court returned to *Vienna*, where the young king of the *Romans* died of the small-pox, and his brother *Leopold* was crowned king of the *Hungary*. *Ferdinand* then applied himself to the affairs of *Italy* and *Spain*, which are foreign to this part of our history, while the protestants and *Roman* catholics were equally busy in

Death of  
the king  
of the *Ro-*  
*mans*.

The emperor's great designs.

His death, issue,

and character.

in ascertaining the several rights they had acquired by the treaty of *Westphalia*. Mean time the elector of *Brandenburg* was on very bad terms with *Charles-Gustavus*, to whom *Christina* had resigned the crown of *Sweden*, and *Ferdinand* laid hold of that opportunity to gratify his resentment against the *Swedes*, by forming a general confederacy for humbling them, consisting of the kings of *Denmark* and *Poland*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the *Crim Tartars*, but while he was meditating those mighty schemes, he died at *Vienna* in the 49th year of his age, and the 20th of his reign, just as *Germany* began to breathe from the miseries of war. *Ferdinand* was first married to *Mary of Austria*, sister to *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*, by whom he left *Leopold*, who succeeded him, and *Mary of Spain*. By his second nuptials with *Leopoldine*, daughter to *Leopold* archduke of *Innsbruck*, he had the archduke *Charles-Joseph*, who died at the age of 13, *January 7, 1664*; and by his last, with *Eleonora de Gonzague* of *Mantua*, he had the archduke *Ferdinand-Charles*, who died in 1659, and the archduchess *Eleonora* and *Mary-Anne*.

We have little to add to the character of this prince, different from what we have said of his predecessors. The fortitude, or rather stoicism, with which he bore the storms of fortune, that so long had beat upon him, would have been highly commendable, had they not proceeded from a pride and obstinacy that no calamity could subdue. In short, he had all his family failings and virtues, but he is said to have been more liberal than most of his predecessors, though that liberality was ill placed. Being attached to worthless favourites, he often made a wrong choice of his generals, and disgusted those who were most deserving. In his own person he was brave; but after his accession to the empire, he seldom headed his armies in person. He was well served by the houses of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*; the former from a principle of patriotism, and the latter from that of gratitude. The *Germans* who had invited in the *Swedes*, found reason to repent their connections with them; and *Ferdinand* could not relax so far from his natural severity, as to open a door for uniting his whole empire, by publishing an act of amnesty, or taking such measures as might drive those unwelcome visitors out of his dominions.

## CHAP. XLVIII.

### LEOPOLD.

State of the empire.

THOUGH the treaty of *Munster* pacified the internal troubles of *Germany*, yet it seemed to encrease those of *Europe*. The late emperor had taken part in the war between the *Poles* and the *Swedes*. The *Turks* were in possession of *Buda*, and threatened *Germany* itself; the *Swedes* had acquired



quired *Pomerania* and the dutchy of *Bremen*; an army of Germans was in *Italy* to overawe the house of *Savoy*, another was in *Poland*, where, in contravention of the treaty of *Westphalia*, the Imperialists had taken *Cracow*, and above all, the French, the natural and avowed enemies of the house of *Austria*, were in possession of *Alsace*. *Leopold*, the late emperor's son, was indeed king of *Bohemia* and *Hungary*, but was not quite seventeen years of age; his constitution was weakly, and the management of his affairs was in the hands of his uncle, the archduke *Leopold*. The necessity of the juncture called aloud upon the electors to give a head to the empire; and *France* as earnestly endeavoured to retard or embroil the election. Her ministers first offered to befriend the archduke *Leopold*, if he would stand for the Imperial dignity; but he declined it. They then encouraged the duke of *Neuburg*, but were earnest with the duke of *Bavaria*, who refused it likewise. Their aim was to disunite the empire from *Spain*, and to obtain a favourable construction of the treaty of *Munster*, particularly with regard to the disputes concerning *Lorrain*. Having, as they thought, secured the last mentioned point, *Leopold* arriving at his 18th year, the age of majority required chosen by the golden Bull, was chosen emperor, and signed a capitulation confirming the rights of the empire, and promising not to enter into the war between the kings of *France* and *Spain*, nor to make foreign alliances without the consent of the electors.

To strengthen the quiet of *Germany*, the electors of *Mentz*, *Triers*, *Cologne*, the *Palatins*, the king of *Sweden*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, and the duke of *Lunenbourg*, entered with *France* into an alliance, offensive and defensive, which was called the *League of the Rhine*, and was formed for maintaining the peace of *Westphalia*, and to prevent German troops from marching to the assistance of the Spaniards in the *Low Countries*. It was not long before *Leopold*, who of all mankind, in his own person, was the least fitted for war, shewed an inclination to become a party in all the wars of *Europe*. He befriended the Danes against the Swedes, but he was obliged by the latter to raise the siege of *Stetin*, and the princes of the empire exclaimed against his violating the peace of *Westphalia*, by ordering his troops to march into *Pomerania*. *Leopold* wanted to transfer the diet from *Frankfort* to *Ratisbon*; but the princes refused to obey him; and the French, who were then about concluding the *Pyrenean* treaty with *Spain*, procured the city of *Juliers* for their friend the duke of *Neuburg*, who appeared at the head of the opposition to *Leopold*. The French and English endeavoured to mediate between *Denmark* and *Sweden*, and *Charles-Gustavus* dying, a treaty was made, to which *Leopold* and the marquiss of *Brandenburg* acceded.

The pacification of the north, left *Leopold* at liberty to attend the affairs of *Transylvania*, where young *Ragotski*, with various fortune, had for some years maintained a war against the

Intrigues  
of the  
French.

1659.

Affairs of  
*Transyl-*  
*vania.*

Turks,

*Turks*, but was unfortunately killed in an action near *Her-  
manstadt*, when he was on the point of obtaining a complete  
victory. *Leopold* had given *Ragotski* just as much assistance as  
served to exasperate the *Turks* against him, and saw them ready  
to pour into *Hungary*. He had raised one *Janos* to be a candi-  
date for the waywodeship of *Transylvania*, and the *Turks* had  
given their interest to count *Botskay*, whom *Janos* defeated and  
killed. *Leopold* upon this, sent two armies into *Transylvania*  
to take possession of the two fiefs of *Zathmar* and *Zambolic*;  
but the *Transylvanians* and *Hungarians* hated the house of  
*Austria* so much, that they gave up *Waradin* to the *Turks*,  
rather than consent to admit an *Austrian* garrison. In the  
mean while the *Turks* nominated one *Michael Abaffi* to be  
waywode of *Transylvania*, and the sultan ordered 60,000  
men to reinforce the *balha* of *Buda*, who was to com-  
mand in the war against the *Germans*. Count *Staremburg*,  
*Montecuculi*, and baron *de Souches*, all of them great generals,  
commanded for *Leopold* in *Hungary* and *Transylvania*, and even  
the *French* king had sent him a body of 8000 troops to assist  
him against the infidels. It was plain, by the severe and cruel  
procedure of *Leopold's* ministers in *Hungary*, that he wanted  
to subdue the protestants there, rather than to oppose the  
*Turks*. In every town where they became masters, nothing  
but gibbets and scaffolds were seen for the execution of the  
protestants, who were every where treated as rebels, for re-  
monstrating against the loss of their liberties; but at last, the  
spirit of discontent arose to such a height among the *Hunga-  
rians*, that the *Germans* under *Montecuculi*, were obliged to  
evacuate *Upper Hungary*, and take quarters in the *Lower*; but  
the *Austrian* tyranny and oppression were so intolerable, that  
the *Hungarian* peasants cut off numbers of the *Germans* in  
their march. The latter made reprisals till all the country be-  
came a scene of bloodshed.

1663.

War with  
the *Turks*

See  
Vol. VIII.  
p. 218.  
1664.

In the year 1663, a diet was held at *Ratisbon*, to deliberate  
upon the means of executing the treaty of *Westphalia*, and  
resisting the *Turks*, who had, by this time, taken *Newhausen*,  
and made good their winter-quarters in *Upper Hungary*, where  
they were more welcome than the *Germans*. From thence  
they advanced towards *Friuli*, but a large detachment of them  
were cut in pieces by the brave count *Serini*, who, next cam-  
paign, drove the *Turks* from many places which they possessed,  
between the *Drave* and the *Danube*, and *Souches* at the same  
time obtained vast advantages over the infidels; but all of them  
were ineffectual for driving them out of *Hungary*. So far from  
that, they formed a design of marching to *Vienna* itself,  
under the grand vizir, but they were defeated near *St. Godard*,  
by *Montecuculi*, with the loss of 16,000 men and their train of  
artillery. This defeat disposed the infidels towards a peace,  
and the negotiations were opened next day, and concluded at  
*Temeswar*, the 10th of *August* 1664. The reader, in the pre-  
ceding part of this work, will meet with the terms of the  
treaty

treaty which was then concluded. The *Hungarians* complained that they were sacrificed by that peace, and threatened a universal revolt. They even intercepted the messenger which was carrying the treaty to *Vienna*, and it was with difficulty that *Leopold*, who was at this time intent upon his marriage with an infanta of *Spain*, cajoled them into an approbation of the treaty. When they returned to their own country, they actually revolted, and endeavoured to decoy *Leopold* to *Presburg*, where they intended to have seized his person, but he avoided the snare.

In 1666, *Leopold* married *Margaret Teresa* the infanta of *Spain*, but *Lewis XIV.* in virtue of his marriage with another infanta, claimed possession of the *Low Countries*, and made a great progress in conquering the *Spanish Flanders* and *Franche Comte*. This province then forming a circle of the empire, his catholic majesty's ministers endeavoured to make the diet at *Ratisbon* parties in the quarrel, but to no purpose, the diet having the internal peace of the empire more at heart. The elector *Palatine*, endeavouring to repeople his country, drew great numbers of inhabitants from *Mentz*, *Cologne*, and *Lorrain*, for which the elector of *Mentz* declared war against him, and making a great progress in his dominions, the *Palatine* sheltered himself under the castle of *Frankendal*, where he was defeated, which obliged him to sue for peace, and a suspension of arms was accordingly agreed to. Mean while, in the year 1668, *Lewis XIV.* declared war against the emperor, and took *Besancon* and *Salins*, and at last, all the *Franche Comte*. The *English* and *Dutch* offered their mediation, and a congress was opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, but to no purpose. The *French* king was then in the meridian of his glory, and forced the *Spaniards* to deliver up to *French* him all that is now called *French Flanders*, with *Courtray*, *Bergues*, and *Furnes*, upon his evacuating *Franche Comte*. A clares war diet had been convoked at *Presburg* in *Hungary*, where some against regulations were made in favour of the protestants, who him. shewed great dispositions to rebel, but such was their intestine divisions, that they remained in peace for that year. The empire, however, continued as much embroiled as ever, and the elector *Palatine* was defeated by the duke of *Lorrain*, but through the mediation of the *French* king, an accommodation took place, by which the duke of *Lorrain* was made general of the *Austrian* horse, that were to march into *Hungary*, where every thing was again in disorder.

The *Austrian* encroachments in that kingdom were so intolerable that the counts *Serini* and *Tattembach* entered into an execution association against the court of *Vienna*, and even applied for assistance to the *Turks*. This was a circumstance extremely unfavourable for the emperor, as it gave the *Germans* and the *Hungarian* Roman catholic powers very bad impressions of the *Hungarian* malcontent protestants. *Tattembach* was arrested by the emperor, and the confederacy between him and *Serini* was discovered. The *Hungarian*

1666.  
*Leopold*  
married.

1668.

The  
king de-  
clared war  
him.



*Hungarian* malcontents, however, still continued very powerful, and the emperor was obliged to apply for assistance to the diet of the empire; but *Leopold* being well served by his generals, the brave *Serini*, and his brother-in-law count *Frangipani*, were taken and sent prisoners to *Vienna*, upon which *Ragotski* laid down his arms, but by his mother's mediation he preserved his estates. It soon appeared, that the confederacy which had been formed against the emperor, was far spread, and that his chief general *Nadasti* was involved in it. The principal conspirators were tried; and *Serini*, *Nadasti*, and *Frangipani* had their hands and heads cut off. *Leopold* then treated *Hungary* as a conquered country, and obliged the malcontents to defray the expence he was at in making and keeping them slaves. *Lewis XIV.* by this time, had broken the triple league formed against him by the *English*, *Swedes*, and *Dutch*, and he invaded the latter. The emperor and the elector of *Brandenburgh* endeavoured to stop his progress, but *Lewis*, intoxicated with his success, lost all the magnificent conquests he made upon his first irruption, and in 1674, he carried the war into the empire. *Leopold* strengthened himself by an alliance with the *Dutch* and *Spaniards*, the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Palatine*, the landgrave of *Hesse* and the duke of *Brunswic*; and this confederacy overawed the electors of *Mentz* and *Cologne*, who were in the interests of *France*.

1674.  
Success of  
the French

in *Franche*  
*Comte*.

The *French* arms made a most rapid progress in *Franche Comte*, where they took *Besançon* and other places of great importance, while the *Germans* were excluded from entering *Alsace*, and obliged to retire to a camp between *Hiedelberg* and *Philipsbourg*, from whence they were driven by the *French* general, *Turenne*, who made himself master of all the *Palatinate*, and gave it up as a prey to his soldiers; so that it became soon a scene of solitude and misery. The princes of the empire, alarmed at the thoughts of taking a *French* yoke, joined the *Imperial* army between *Mentz* and *Franckfort*; upon which *Turenne* repassed the *Rhine*, and the *Imperial* army marching to take up winter quarters in *Upper Alsace*, *Turenne* again defeated it, and forced the *Germans* to take refuge under the cannon of *Straßbourg*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* joining the *Imperialists*, *Turenne* was again obliged to retire, but watched his time so well, that he defeated 6,000 of their cavalry at *Mulhausen*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* bravely declared against the *French*, who for that reason prevailed with the *Swedes* to invade his dominions. The elector complained to the diet of this hostility, and the king of *Sweden* was declared to be an enemy to the empire. The elector, by an amazing march, surprized the *Swedes*, who lay dispersed through the marches of *Brandenburgh*, and after defeating them at *Therbellin*, drove them into *Mecklenburg*. *Montecuculi* was by the emperor appointed to oppose *Turenne*, and the war was carried on between those great generals in a manner

manner that left it hard to decide to whom the palm of victory *Montecuculi* ought to be assigned. *Turenne* happening to be killed as he was viewing his batteries, left *Montecuculi* master of the field, and the *French* army, as if it had lost its soul and spirit, re-passed the *Rhine* with some loss, being pursued by *Montecuculi*. After this, the *Imperialists* besieged *Triers* by way of diversion to the *French*, and the latter were defeated in endeavouring to relieve the place, which surrendered the 20th day after the trenches were opened. Death of *Turenne*.

Notwithstanding this advantage, the house of *Austria* must have sunk under that of *Bourbon* had it not been bravely supported by the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the other protestant princes, who prevailed with the *Danes* and the *Dutch* to attack *Sweden*. The bishop of *Munster* took *Bremen* and claimed to hold it, being supported by the emperor; but the dispute between him and the protestant princes on that account was settled by commissaries from the emperor. Mean while the *French* carried all before them in the *Low Countries*, but *Montecuculi's* age and infirmities obliging him to resign the command of the army, he was succeeded by the brave duke of *Lorraine*, who defeated the *French* in *Alsace*, and besieged and took *Philippsbourg*, which capitulated on the 10th of September. After this, he forced the duke of *Luxembourg*, the French general, to repass the *Rhine*. The duke of *Saxe Eisenach* was, the Imperialists. the same campaign, obliged by the *French* marshal *Crequi*, to lay down his arms, and to promise not to resume them against *France*, during the remainder of that campaign. The elector of *Brandenburgh* and his allies, in the mean while, took *Stetin* from the *Swedes*, together with the isle of *Rugen*, and the city of *Stralsund*, and drove them out of *Pomerania*. While the elector was preparing to follow those blows, the *French* over-ran *Juliers*, and took *Aix-la-Chapelle*. The duke of *Lorraine*, after the duke of *Saxe Eisenach's* disaster, passed the *Rhine*, and obtained some advantages over the *French*; but having orders to put his troops into winter quarters, the *French* took that opportunity to besiege and take *Friburg* and some other places, and both armies going into winter quarters, the duke of *Lorraine* went to *Vienna*, where he espoused the emperor's sister, the princess *Eleonora*. This winter, the marquis of *Brandenburgh* compleated the conquest of *Pomerania* by taking *Gripswald*. In May 1678, the duke of *Lorraine* sought to bring the *French* to an engagement near *Brisac*, and obliged them to retire into *Alsace*, after failing in a design they had upon *Strasbourg*. The true intention of the duke of *Lorraine* was to have besieged *Friburg*, but that brave prince was this year most scandalously supported by the court of *Vienna* and its allies. The marquis of *Brandenburgh* and his *Danish* majesty were intent upon making conquests upon the *Swedes*, and settling them. The *Dutch* wished for a peace, and the other *German* princes were tired of war; but above all, the emperor's finances were in most wretched order, and he minded nothing

1676.

The duke of *Lorraine* made general ofThe duke of *Lorraine* made general of

1678.

nothing so much as to tyrannize over and enslave the *Hungarians*, so that the duke of *Lorraine* was, this campaign, destitute both of money and magazines.

*Tekeli* chosen head of the *Hungarians*.

The oppressions of the *Hungarians* were so great, that they at last took arms, but the emperor sent 10,000 men to support his general *Spankau* in that kingdom. *Leopold*, about the same time, suppressed the office of palatine of *Hungary*, as being too independent, and appointed a viceroy to govern that kingdom. The *Turkish* bashaws and governors supported and encouraged the malcontents, of which *Leopold* complained at *Constantinople*, but received very little satisfaction. At last, *Leopold* ordered some of the chief malcontents to repair to *Vienna*, where the office of *Palatine* was restored, but not the power; and the *Imperial* ministers made such demands that the *Hungarians* saw their ruin was resolved upon. *Abaffi*, the waiwode of *Transylvania*, sent the malcontents some troops, under the command of *Emeric*, count *Tekeli*, one of the richest of the *Hungarian* nobleman, but he dying, his son, who was but 15 years of age, to avoid the implacable resentment of the court of *Vienna*, fled to *Poland*, where finding no protection, he returned to *Transylvania*; where, by his great capacity and services, young as he was, he became *Abaffi*'s general and chief minister. *Tekeli* being now at the head of 12,000 men, entered *Upper Hungary*, and declared himself prince and protector of that kingdom, and obliged the *Imperial* army to retire under the cannon of *Eperies*. *Tekeli* then published manifestos, inviting the *Hungarians* to join him in his endeavours to recover their antient rights; and his army encreasing to 20,000 men, he took *Eperies*, defeated count *Lesley* the *Imperial* general, ravaged all the *Austrian* dominions in that neighbourhood, and cut off several bodies of the *Imperialists*, to whom he gave no quarter. This humbled the court of *Vienna* so much, that they employed the bishop of *Strigonia*, who was primate of *Hungary*, to receive the demands of the malcontents. These were, that they should be reinstated in their religion and privileges, and that their diet should have the power of chusing their palatine. They threatened, at the same time, if their demands were not granted, to put the *Turks* in possession of their cities on the mountains. *Leopold* was obliged to temporize till his armies being reinforced, the malcontents thought proper to conclude a truce.

Peace of *Nimeguen* concluded.

*Charles II.* king of *England*, at this time, offered his mediation to the *European* powers who were at war, and it being accepted of by the *Dutch*, *Nimeguen* was appointed for the place of negociation. The plenipotentiaries accordingly met there. The *French* king demanded that *Franche Comte* should be annexed to his dominions for ever, together with part of the *Spanish Flanders* and *Friburg*, but offered to return *Philipsbourg* and its dependencies to the emperor, and to restore, but upon very inadmissible terms, *Lorraine* to its duke. The emperor made a strong opposition to those terms, but all was in



in vain. The *English* mediators were partial in favour of the *French*; the *Dutch* had actually signed their own peace, and *Lewis* was preparing to unite his whole force against the empire, so that *Leopold* was obliged to give way, and his plenipotentiaries signed likewise. The elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had acted so generous a part against the common enemy, was obliged to restore the conquests he had made upon the *Swedes*, and to accept of 300,000 crowns by way of indemnification. He complained loudly of his treatment, and exclaimed against the *States General* for having given him up as a prey to *France*, but they pleaded their inability to save him.

During the treaty of *Nimeguen*, *Van Gale*, the turbulent and warlike bishop of *Munster*, died, and his successor was obliged to restore all his part of *Bremen* and *Verden* which he had taken from the *Swedes*. *Leopold* concluded a peace at the same time with the crown of *Sweden*, though the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the king of *Denmark* protested against the treaty, as being entered into on the part of the emperor in breach of his engagements with them. Sixteen thousand *Swedes* under *Horn* invaded *Prussia*, great part of which they ravaged with fire and sword. But though it was then the dead of winter, the elector put himself at the head of 9000 men, and drove the *Swedes* out of his dominions with such slaughter, that scarcely 3000 of them returned home. The *French* king resented this so greatly, that he was preparing to fall upon the elector with a very superior force, and had even entered upon hostilities, when he thought proper to conclude a peace on the terms prescribed by the *French*, and his example was followed by the king of *Denmark*. It was now evident that the *French* king had concluded the peace of *Nimeguen* with a most wicked intention. He ordered chambers of re-union, as they were called, to be erected at *Brisac* and *Metz*, by which he proposed to annex to his crown, the whole frontier of the empire in that quarter, as belonging to the cities and states which had been ceded to him by the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*, and many of the possessors of those fiefs fearing to lose them, actually performed homage to him, as holding of his sovereign court of *Brisac*. This was followed by a vast train of other oppressions and usurpations, and it was thought by some, that he intended, as king of *France*, to claim the empire in right of *Charles* the Great, though he never explicitly owned his intention. The king of *Sweden* and the elector *Palatine* refused to pay him homage for the estates they held in *Alsace*, for which they were adjudged to be forfeited. The affair was carried before the diet at *Ratisbon*, where the king's and elector's complaints met with a cold reception, so afraid were the princes of reviving the war. A negociation, however, followed at *Franckfort*, but both parties employed the intermediate time in preparing for war.

Bishop of  
*Munster*  
restores  
*Bremen*.

Insolence  
of the  
*French*,

who seize *Straßburg*. *Lewis XIV.* pretended that *Straßbourg* was part of *Alsace*, and most perfidiously seized it, but suffered the protestants to retain the exercise of their religion. The ambitious views of *France* could now be no longer concealed, and a powerful confederacy was formed against *Lewis*, consisting of the circles of *Franconia* and the *Upper Rhine*, the electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria*, the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, and the dukes of *Lunenburg*, within the empire; and the crown of *Spain* and the *States General* without. The elector of *Brandenburgh* had his reasons, arising from the conjunction between the emperor and *Sweden*, for opposing this *German* confederacy; and he pretended, that without the consent of the *Germanic* body, the emperor could not make the empire a party in the war. He was joined by the king of *Denmark* and the bishop of *Münster*, and they formed a league for preserving the tranquillity of the empire. The emperor was soon obliged to wink at the encroachments of *France*, that he might oppose the progress of the *Turks* in *Hungary*, an account of which the reader will meet with in a former part of this work. When the success of *Tekeli* was such that it was evident the infidels intended to besiege *Vienna*, *Leopold* applied for assistance to *Sobieski*, king of *Poland*, who generously overlooked all his differences with the house of *Austria*, and promised to assist him if his capital was attacked. Mean while, *Tekeli* was, by the *Porte*, declared king of *Upper Hungary*, and the sultan published a manifesto, taxing the emperor with his perfidious treatment of the *Hungarians*, who were protected by the *Porte*. *Leopold* now forgot his quarrel with *France*, and the opposing the *Turks* became the common cause of the empire, if not of *Christendom*. The duke of *Lorraine* was called from his government of the *Tirolese* to take upon him the command of the *Imperial* troops at *Presburg*. He immediately laid siege to *Neubausel*, but the *Turks* were in motion in so many different quarters, that he raised the siege and passed the *Raab*, that he might cover the frontiers of *Moravia*.

The duke of *Lorraine* retires before the *Turks*. The *Turks* employed their *Tartars* in cutting off the supplies from the *Imperialists*, but the latter obtained many advantages over them while they were marching through the mountains of *Raab*. Their numbers, however, were so great, that the duke of *Lorraine*, who had not above 24,000 men under his command, was forced to retire under the cannon of *Vienna*, from whence the emperor retired to *Lintz* on the 13th of *July*. The reader, in the place referred to, will meet with a full account of the siege of *Vienna* by the *Turks*, which proved so glorious to all the Christian powers who were concerned in raising it. It is sufficient to observe here, that while that siege was forming, the duke of *Lorraine*, being cut off from all communication with *Vienna*, retook the town of *Presburg*, and beat *Tekeli* in several encounters. The defence made by *Staremburg* and the garrison of *Vienna* was very glorious; but it is uncertain how much longer they could have held

held out, had not the infidels been attacked at the very time Siege of they were, by the king of *Poland* and the duke of *Lorrain*, *Vienna* and forced to a precipitate retreat, but without great loss on raised by either side, though it undoubtedly was more than a victory to the king the *Imperialists*. After the danger was over, *Leopold* returned of *Poland* to *Vienna*, and next day had an interview with his deliverer, and the the king of *Poland*; but it passed, without warmth of acknow- duke of ledgment or gratitude, in a stupid formal ceremonial, nor would *Lorrain*. *Leopold* relax one punctilio, notwithstanding the infinite obligations that *Sobieski* had laid him under. The latter magnanimously overlooked all this, and in a few days he joined the duke of *Lorrain* and the elector of *Bavaria* in compleatly defeating the *Turks*, who lost 10,000 of their best troops in the plains of *Mohatz*. *Leopold*, instead of improving the consternation of the infidels, as he might have done by marching his victorious army to the very walls of *Constantinople*, consulted how to be revenged upon the *Hungarians*, by again reducing them to a state of slavery. He had taken *Gran*, and was master of both sides of the *Danube* as far as that place, and *Sobieski* was earnest for his coming to an accommodation with the *Hungarian* malcontents. The duke of *Lorrain* was of the same opinion, and the heads of them were invited to a conference in the duke's tent. The malcontents relaxed nothing of their former demands, but rather rose upon them, and *Leopold* seemed to be uneasy till he should get quit of his allies, that he might have no check upon the full gratification of his revenge. The elector of *Bavaria*, the marquis of *Baden Dourlach*, and many other princes, had already marched home with their armies, and their example was, at last, followed by *Sobieski*, who was disgusted with the gloomy severe behaviour of *Leopold*.

In 1684, a long truce with *France*, which had been formerly proposed, was in agitation, and the emperor transferred the conferences from *Ratisbon* to the *Hague*, which dissatisfied the electoral college so much, that they accepted of the terms offered by *France*. *Leopold* still holding out, the *French* general, *Crequi*, watched his opportunity and took *Luxembourg* and *Triers*. *Leopold* was then obliged to agree to the truce with *France* for 20 years, and to leave *Lewis* in possession of *Strasbourg*, *Fort Kehl*, and all the posts on the *Rhine* towards that important frontier, the protestants still being allowed the exercise of their religion in the places annexed to the *French* crown. *Leopold* might have prevented those losses and mortifications had he been less intent on his revenge upon the *Hungarians*. The duke of *Lorrain* had taken *Vicegrade* and *Vatz*, defeated the grand vizier's army, passed the *Danube*, and besieged *Buda*. The vizier endeavoured to relieve it, but was again defeated, and the city probably must have been taken, had not the duke of *Lorrain* sickened; and an infectious kind of a distemper, occasioned by great rains, attacked the *Imperialists*, which obliged them to go into winter quarters.

1684:  
A truce  
concluded  
with  
*France*.

ibid. p.  
249.



1685.  
Divisions  
in Ger-  
many.

Early in the year 1685, *Leopold* prevailed with the states of the empire to promise to furnish him with 35,000 men. The pope was to give him money, and the duke of *Lorrain* was to command the army. The death of the elector *Palatine* at this time created great disturbances in *Germany*. *Lewis XIV.* took part with the elector's sister, the dutchess of *Orleans*, who claimed the allodial possessions and his personal estate; but the allodial possessions were, by virtue of the late elector's will, seized by the duke of *Neuburg*, as being the chief of the palatine branch, which he was admitted to be by the *French* king, the affair being referred to the arbitration of the pope, and the duke of *Neuburg* put in possession of the electorate. The duke of *Lorrain*, at this time, was besieging *Neubausel* in *Hungary*, but the *Turks* having burnt the lower town of *Vicegrade*, had laid siege to *Gran* or *Strigonia*. The duke advanced to raise the siege, and drawing the *Turks* from their intrenchments, defeated them; upon which he took *Neubausel* by storm, and put all within it to the sword without exception. *Novigrade*, and *Lower Vicegrade* next fell into the hands of the *Imperialists*, and the *Turks* applied to the duke for a cessation of arms. He referred them to the emperor, but in the mean time continued his hostilities against the infidels, whom he drove across the *Danube*. By those successes, and by the coldness of the *Turks*, who are greatly determined by events, the *Hungarian* malcontents were left in a manner to the mercy of their enemies; and the *Imperial* generals, *Schultz* and *Caprara*, made a great progress in reducing their country to the emperor, who by offering them an amnesty, took off great numbers from *Tekeli*. That unhappy prince had been unfortunate, and therefore in the eyes of the *Turks* he was criminal. Being suspected of holding a correspondence not only with the *Poles* but the *Austrians*, the bashaw of *Waradin* had orders to put him in irons, which were executed; and his lieutenant general *Patrozzi*, submitting to the emperor, his generals had no farther difficulty in reducing *Upper Hungary*.

The Hun-  
garians  
distressed.

1686.  
The Im-  
perialists  
take *Buda*.

In 1686, the campaign there was opened by the elector of *Bavaria* taking *Alba Regalis*, which gave so much spirit to the *Imperialists*, that without waiting for the reinforcements they expected, they again laid siege to *Buda*. The place was obstinately attacked and defended, but a breach being made, a most dreadful carnage ensued. The duke, understanding that the grand vizier was advancing, redoubled his fire, and though he had already lost 3,000 men in the storm, on appearance of the infidels van guard, he gave orders for a fresh assault, which was carried on with so much resolution, that the place was taken sword in hand, and no quarters given during the first fury of the assailants, either to the garrison or the inhabitants. The duke of *Lorrain* next took *Segeden* and *Quinque Ecclesia*, and the enemy retiring precipitately over the *Drave*, he became master of both sides of the *Danube* as far as that river.

The

The infidels then offered peace, but *Leopold* demanded six millions of ducats, to indemnify him for the expence of the war, that the *Turks* should evacuate *Hungary*, and give satisfaction to all his allies. The *Porte* rejected those conditions, which *Leopold* offered to mitigate, that he might be at leisure to oppose the *French* on the side of *Alsace*. To effect this purpose, the electors of *Brandenburg*, *Palatine*, *Bavaria*, and *Saxony*, the kings of *Sweden* and *Spain*, the circles of *Francia*, and the *Upper Rhine*, entered into a confederacy with *Leopold*, to oblige *France* to stand by her engagements. This did not alter the dispositions of the *French*, for invading the empire, by fortifying *Hunningen*, and building a bridge over the *Rhine*, under pretence that the late treaty which had been concluded at *Augsbourg*, had rendered those measures necessary for their safety.

A confederacy against France.

The campaign still continued in *Hungary* between the *Turks* and the *Imperialists*, who were commanded by the duke of *Lorrain* and the elector of *Bavaria*, tho' entirely to the disadvantage of the infidels; but every advantage gained over them by the *Imperialists* added to the chains of *Hungary*. The emperor *Leopold* convoked the states at *Presburg*, to which he and his court had repaired with great pomp, and required them to declare his son *Joseph*, a boy of nine years of age, their king, and that the succession to the throne was hereditary in the house of *Austria*. The *Hungarians* objected to the latter condition, and sought redress of their grievances, but were obliged to comply, by giving up all their former privileges, and declaring their crown hereditary, on condition, that if the heirs male of the two houses of *Austria* should fail, they might be at liberty to chuse their own sovereign. All the favour they obtained from the emperor, was, that the criminal chamber of *Eperies* should be suppressed, after it had put to death almost every man in *Hungary*, who had dared to stand up for the liberties of his country. The elector of *Bavaria* was then prevailed upon to take upon him the chief command of the army against the infidels, during the duke of *Lorrain's* indisposition, and the reader may in another part of this work be informed of the great successes that attended the christian arms this year in *Hungary*, and of their taking *Belgrade*, after a vast slaughter of the infidels.

Vol. VIII. p. 255. and 256.

The *Turks* defeated.

The arch-duke *Joseph* declared king of *Hungary*.

Vol. VIII. p. 264.

The prince of *Furstenberg* had, by the intrigues of the *French*, been chosen elector of *Cologne*, but wanting the necessary qualifications, the pope preferred to him prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*; and the duchess of *Orleans* had not yet been satisfied in her claims upon the *Palatine* estate. Those two points gave *France* at this time a handle for breaking the truce, and recommencing hostilities upon the *Rhine*. The dauphin was sent at the head of an army towards *Cologne*, and took *Philipsbourg*; but *Lewis* offered peace to *Germany*, if the election of the prince of *Furstenberg* was declared valid, and if all the possessions ceded to himself, by the treaties of *West-*

1638.

*phalia*

The  
grand  
confede-  
racy a-  
gainst  
*France*  
formed.

State of  
the *Impe-  
rial* and  
*French*  
forces.

*phalia* and *Nimeguen*, were secured to him by a perpetual peace. But this was in effect, according to his interpretation of those two treaties, demanding the sixth part of the empire in fee, and the conditions being rejected, the *French* troops fell into the *Palatinate*, and became masters of *Mentz*, *Manheim*, *Frankendal*, *Triers*, *Spire*, and *Worms*. All *Europe* now thought that *Lewis XIV.* aimed at universal monarchy, and protestants and catholics were equally concerned in putting a stop to the progress of his arms. The prince of *Orange*, *William III.* who was then upon the throne of *England*, the elector of *Brandenburg*, and the duke of *Zell*, all of them princes of great abilities and firmness, had formed a plan for a general confederacy against *France*. This project was too much in favour of the emperor for him not to accede to it. The elector of *Saxony*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the duke of *Hanover*, and many other princes of the empire did the same; the states of *Holland* became capital parties in the alliance; *England*, *Spain*, *Denmark*, and *Sweden*, became so likewise, and every contracting party took his share in the war. The troops of *Saxony*, *Hesse*, and *Hanover*, covered *Frankfort*, an army of *Imperialists* marched to the *Rhine*, the *Brandenburghers* to *Wesel*, and about 3000 men were thrown into *Cologne*, while the states of *Holland* sent troops into *Juliers*, and endeavoured to secure such places in the electorate of *Mentz*, as the *French* had not yet seized on, and the safety of the other parts of the empire, were in the like manner provided for, while the diet at *Ratisbon* declared *Lewis* to be an enemy to the empire.

Three great armies were formed, besides that in *Hungary*, which was commanded by prince *Lewis* of *Baden*. Thirty thousand men were to act under the elector of *Brandenburg* on the *Lower Rhine*; 30,000 were to assemble under the elector of *Bavaria* at *Heilbron* on the *Upper Rhine*, and 40,000 under the duke of *Lorraine* assembled at *Frankfort*. The execution of those mighty enterprizes was wretched. The avarice and indifference of the *Imperial* court had suffered all the necessities of war to run to ruin; no care had been taken to provide boats and materials for bridges, the magazines were destitute of provisions, and the fortifications of artillery, while the *French* were provided with every requisite that could render war successful. This difference exhibited to the world a melancholy but striking proof of the vast superiority which a single and absolute direction gives in war, compared to the disunited efforts of different heads, some of them, perhaps, disagreeing upon the most important points of conduct, if not of interest.

The *French* threw into *Mentz* a garrison of 12,000 men, the allies reinforced that of *Coblentz*, and their princes assembling, instead of proceeding directly to action, spent their time in settling idle ceremonials; but at last they resolved to besiege *Mentz*, where the *French* marshal *D'Uxelles* commanded.



This fatiguing siege lasted seven weeks, and the place surrendered on the 8th of *December*; the garrison marched out taken by with the honours of war, as did that of *Bonn*, which was the *German* about the same time besieged by the elector of *Brandenburg*; and after this their army went into winter quarters. In *Hungary*, the prince of *Baden* defeated the *Turks* in three engagements, and took *Nissa* and *Widin*.

In 1690, an electoral diet was held at *Augsburg*, for choosing *Joseph*, king of *Hungary*, king of the *Romans*, which he was on the 24th of *January*; the electors agreeing to the measure, &c. rather from the necessity of the juncture, than any affection they had for the house of *Austria*, which they now considered as endeavouring to render the empire hereditary in itself. The successes of the *Austrians* in *Hungary*, this year, gave great spirit to the confederacy, the princes of which met at the king of *Hague*, with king *William* at their head, and formed one of the most august assemblies that *Europe* ever beheld. The brave duke of *Lorraine* was now dead; he was succeeded in his command by the elector of *Bavaria*, who was to act upon the *Rhine*, while the elector of *Brandenburg* was to head another army, in the neighbourhood of *Cologne*. The *French* army was equal in number, and commanded by the dauphin; so that it was expected the fate of *Europe* would depend upon the ensuing campaign. The duke of *Savoy* about this time was so exasperated at the insolence of the *French*, that he acceded to the grand alliance. He was a brave and a useful ally, but the unfortunate events which happened to the emperor in *Hungary* this year, forced *Leopold* to withdraw his troops from the *Rhine*, and the *French* were so active, that to the inexpressible loss of the common cause, they became this year masters of the greatest part of *Savoy* and *Piedmont*: At last the duke of *Schomberg*, and the famous prince *Eugene* of *Savoy*, having overcome all the difficulties which the corruption and slowness of the *Imperialists* had thrown in their way, preserved to the duke the remaining part of his dominions. On the *Rhine*, the allies, who continued there to be very weak, were beat by the duke de *Lorges*, who took the duke of *Wirtemberg* prisoner, laid his country under contribution, and obliged the landgrave of *Hesse* to repass the *Rhine*. Had the *French* at this time pursued their conquests in *Germany*, that body must have been brought to the brink of destruction. But the vanity of *Lewis XIV.* impelled him to form the siege of *Namur*, which was covered by marshal *Luxembourg* with 70,000 men. The allies under king *William*, and the elector of *Bavaria*, being reinforced by 12,000 *Hanoverians*, unexpectedly attacked the *French* at *Steinkirk*, but, after an obstinate dispute, they were defeated and forced to retire.

It is impossible to express the horrid barbarities committed all this time by the *French* armies in *Germany*, especially in the *Palatinate*, which from one end to the other was a continued blaze, and presented scenes of butchery and misery; but an event

Campaign  
in *Italy*.

now happened of the greatest consequence to the internal concerns of *Germany*.

A ninth  
electorate  
erected in  
favour of  
the house  
of *Hano-  
ver*.

1689.

1692.

State of  
the war  
with the  
*Turks* and  
the *French*.  
1693.

The house of *Lunenbourg* had been of infinite service to the empire, and *George-William* duke of *Zell*, one of the most accomplished princes of that age, had distinguished himself by his opposition to *France*, especially in the year 1675 and 1676. We have already mentioned him as one of the glorious triumvirate, who formed that grand confederacy against *Lewis*, and king *William* paid him two visits in person, to consult him upon his expedition against *England*. Dying without any male issue, his daughter was married to his nephew *George-Lewis*, afterwards king of *Great Britain*, and son to *Ernest* duke of *Hanover*. *Ernest-Augustus*, by his œconomy and large possessions, was one of the most powerful princes in the empire. He kept up a standing army of 10,000 foot and 5000 horse in his own dominions, besides whom, he had considerable bodies of troops acting in *Hungary*, and the *Morea*, against the infidels, and on the *Rhine* and in the *Netherlands* against the *French*. The vast eminence of the duke of *Zell*, in the empire, had caused his house to be mentioned in the electoral diet in 1689, as proper to be erected into a ninth electorate; but he being then old, and having no male issue, he transferred all his interest to his brother *Ernest*. The relation of the latter to the royal family of *England*, by marrying the nearest protestant heiress of the crown, engaged king *William* so strongly in his favour, that he represented to *Leopold* the necessity of attaching to the grand confederacy the family of *Lunenbourg*. *Lewis XIV.* equally sensible of his importance, made great offers to *George-Lewis*, which he rejected, and continued to distinguish himself at the head of his father's troops, either against the *Turks* or the *French*, and in the year 1692, the emperor agreed that his father should be created the ninth elector of the empire. He was seconded by the electors of *Saxony* and *Brandenburg*, but opposed by the other electors, and the college of the cities. *Leopold*, on the 19th of *December*, without regarding the opposition, gave him the investiture of the electorate; but it was pronounced to be null by the diet of *Ratisbon*, as being contrary to the fundamental laws of the empire. The new elector, as an acknowledgment for the honour done him, engaged to furnish 6000 troops to serve against the *Turks*, and 3000 against the *French*, and from the time of his receiving his investiture, he was looked upon as an elector.

The *French* and *Turks* were all this while gaining ground, chiefly through the sloth and dilatoriness of the court of *Vienna*. The former had rejected a proposal of peace, sent them by *Leopold*, in the beginning of the year 1693, and soon after the *French* passed the *Rhine* and took *Heidelberg*, which surrendered on the 24th of *May*. Their general *de Lorges* was then upon the *Neckar*, and was reinforced by the dauphin himself. Their intention was to have forced the prince of *Baden's*

*Baden's* intrenchments near *Otmarshheim*; but after two attempts, in which they were repulsed with loss, they retreated, part of their army marching to *Piedmont*, and part to *Flanders*, while a few remained in the dutchy of *Wirttemberg*, from whence, however, they were soon driven by the *Germans*. In *Flanders*, *Luxembourg* took *Huy*, and beat the allies at *Landen*; and in *Piedmont*, the *French* general, *Catinat*, beat the duke of *Savoy*, who attacked him against the opinion of the great prince *Eugene*. In *Hungary*, the duke of *Croy* commanded the *Imperialists*, and attempted to retake *Belgrade*, which had again fallen into the hands of the *Turks*; but he was obliged to raise the siege, while king *William* laboured, but in vain, to make peace between the *Othmans* and the *Germans*. In the winter, the duke of *Croy* having closed the campaign, repaired to *Vienna*, where he laid before the emperor, the necessity of acting with greater vigour against the infidels, but all the effect his remonstrances produced, was to load the hereditary dominions with new taxes, which were sunk in the pockets of those who levied them, without contributing to the public service. In short, the *Imperial* finances were at this time in so miserable a condition in *Hungary*, that the troops and garrisons were in danger of revolting or mutinying. In *Germany* the princes were dissatisfied upon many accounts; but complained chiefly of the duke of *Hanover's* investiture; and it cost *England* and *Holland* immense sums to maintain the credit of the *Imperialists* in *Italy* and *Flanders*. But if *Leopold* was thus distressed, *Lewis* was far from being at ease. The prodigious armies he was obliged to keep on foot, and the badness of the late harvest, had laid his kingdom under vast misery, and he laboured hard to bring about either a general or a separate peace with the confederates; but he still stuck to terms which they rejected. A dispute about the succession to the bishopric of *Liege*, gave the *French* a fresh handle for embroiling the affairs of the empire, but the dispute was determined in favour of the elector of *Cologne*.

Vol. VIII.  
p. 294,  
&c.

Discon-  
tents pre-  
vail in  
*Germany*.

In *Flanders*, the allies attempted to penetrate by *Pont d'Espieres* into *French Flanders*, but were prevented by the vigilance of the dauphin, and marshal *Boufflers*, while king *William* took *Dixmuyd* and *Huy*, by which they lost all their footing in the bishopric of *Liege*. Upon the *Rhine*, prince *Lewis* of *Baden* made so good a figure, though with an inferiour army, that the marshal *de Lorges* thought proper to retire, after ruining the neighbouring country. Upon this the confederates made a sudden irruption into *Alsace*, where they laid the *French* acquisitions under heavy contributions, and finding that the *French* were preparing to surround them, they recrossed the *Rhine*. The success of the house of *Hanover* seems, about this time, to have encouraged the elector of *Brandenburg* to apply to the emperor likewise, for an augmentation to his dignity. Many disputes of a long standing had



The elec-  
tor of  
*Branden-  
burg* made  
king of  
*Prussia*.  
1695.

had subsisted between his house and that of *Austria*, concerning certain fiefs in *Silesia* and *Bohemia*; but those differences were now settled. The elector gave up to *Leopold* the circle of *Schwiebus*, and in return received the title of *King of Prussia*, the reversion of the principality of *East Friesland*, the barony of *Limburg*, and a promise of being paid 250,000 florins, and that a new protestant deputy should be admitted into the *Aulic* council. In the winter of the year 1695, a faint attempt for a general peace was made under the mediation of *Sweden*; but that blowing over, king *William* besieged and took *Namur* in sight of the *French* army, and ordered marshal *Boufflers* who commanded in it to be arrested, by way of reprisal, for the detention of the garrisons of *Furnes* and *Dixmuyd*. Upon the *Rhine*, the campaign this year was almost entirely passive, both armies lying on the defensive, and nothing happening but a few skirmishes. In *Hungary*, the *Imperialists* had built some vessels upon the *Danube*, but they were useless for want of money to pay men for working them; nor could the court of *Vienna* prevail upon its officers to take the field, till they had security for their pay; and it was the beginning of *August* before their army there could be put in motion. In the mean while, the *Turks* attacked and defeated *Veterani*, the *Imperial* general, upon the frontiers of *Transylvania*, but the elector of *Saxony* advancing against them, they thought proper to repass the *Danube*.

Duke of  
*Savoy*  
makes a  
peace with  
the *French*.

The emperor complained heavily, to the states of the empire, of his being so ill supported in *Hungary*; but received little or no satisfaction. In *Flanders*, and on the *Rhine*, the campaign was spent, without any remarkable action between the *French* and the confederates, in marches and countermarches, the particulars of which can be of no benefit to the reader. The *Germans* closed the campaign by a new irruption which they made into *Alsace*, where they laid the country under contribution. This indecisive state of the war tired out the duke of *Savoy*, who concluded a secret treaty with the *French*, which he afterwards called the neutrality of *Italy*, and he made it no secret, that if the emperor did not evacuate *Italy*, he was resolved to join his arms with those of the *French* king, and to force him. The treaty, which was in the main very advantageous to the duke, was strengthened by a match between the duke of *Burgundy* and princess *Mary Adelaide* of *Savoy*. The *Imperialists* retired towards the *Milanese*, and the duke of *Savoy*, who, that same campaign, had commanded them against the *French*, now commanded the *French* against them, and obliged the *Germans* to accept of a neutrality for *Italy*, upon their being paid 300,000 crowns, in lieu of winter quarters. In *Hungary* the *Imperialists*, under the elector of *Saxony*, were defeated by the *Turks*. After this, the *Imperialists* going into winter quarters, the elector returned to *Dresden*, and agreed to renounce the protestant religion, that he might be qualified to be a candidate for succeeding the great *Sobieſki*, in the crown of *Poland*,  
and

The *Turks*  
beat the  
*Imperia-  
lists* in  
*Hungary*.

and at the same time he marched his army towards *Warsaw* Vol. VIII. to support his pretensions. Great advances were now made p. 306, by all parties towards a general peace, but without relaxing and 307. in their preparations for war. The *French* and confederate armies faced each other upon the *Rhine*, but without coming to any general engagement, tho' prince *Lewis* took *Eberenburg*. In the north of *Germany*, a difference arose between the two branches of the house of *Mecklenburg*, that of *Schwerin*, and that of *Strelitz*, concerning the succession to the dutchy of *Gustrow*. The emperor ordered that dutchy to be put under sequestration till he should determine the right of succession. The duke of *Strelitz* had no objection to that measure, but having put the *Swedes* in possession of the town of *Gustrow*, they for some time refused to evacuate it, though the emperor had pronounced his sentence in favour of the duke of *Mecklenburg-Schwerin*. Some of the directors of the *Lower Saxony* pretended, that *Leopold's* determination violated the modes of succession observed in that country; but the duke of *Strelitz* receiving an addition to his revenue out of that dutchy, the matter was compromised, and the *Swedes* retired.

Disputes  
in Meck-  
lenburg.

By this time, the conferences for a general peace were pretty far advanced at *Ryswick*; but it was thought that the emperor acted a very disingenuous part through the whole of this negotiation. He was unwilling to see the grand confederacy dissolved by any accommodation, before he got his second son, the archduke *Charles*, advanced to the throne of *Spain*, which was now on the point of being vacant, by the declining state of his catholic majesty's health. The *French* king, on the other hand, having the same succession in his eye for the duke of *Anjou*, second son to the dauphin, offered very advantageous terms to the allies, and proved himself a better politician than the emperor or his ministers; for the *English*, *Spanish*, and *Dutch* plenipotentiaries signed the treaty at *Ryswick*, and at last the *Imperialists* were obliged likewise to acquiesce in a cessation of arms, which terminated in a peace. *France* gave up *Philipsbourg*, *Friburg*, and *Brisac*, with some other places, but retained *Strasbourg*. The re-unions made by the chambers of enquiry at *Mentz*, and other places, were declared void, and the duke of *Neuburg* was re-established in the *Palatinate*; but the claims which the dukes of *Orleans* had upon it, were referred to the pope. This treaty passed, and was concluded, without any stipulation made in favour of the reformed religion; the emperor not pressing it, *France* paid little or no attention to the representations made by the protestant princes on that head.

Treaty of  
*Ryswick*.

We have nothing to add to the accounts we have already Vol. VIII. given of prince *Eugene's* campaign against the *Turks* in *Hun-* p. 311, *gary*, and the glorious victories he then obtained over them; but &c. in fact the house of *Austria* was now so much exhausted, that it was unable to carry on even a successful war, and the famous peace of *Carlowitz* was, chiefly by the mediation of lord *Paget*, the

## A GENERAL HISTORY

The duke  
of Hano-  
ver made  
an elector.

Succession  
to the  
crown of  
Spain dis-  
puted.

the *English* minister, concluded on the 15th of *January*, 1698. In this peace, or rather truce for 25 years, *Transylvania* was secured to the emperor, together with his *Hungarian* conquests; and the *Venetians*, *Poles*, and *Muscovites*, were included as parties. In the mean while, the discontents of the protestants, at the peace of *Ryswick*, still grew; but all the answer that the protestant princes obtained to their representations, was, that the religious articles of that peace were conformable to the treaty of *Westphalia*. *Ernest* duke of *Hanover* died in the middle of this year, without having been admitted into the electoral college, and the same opposition continued against his son, who likewise received the investiture from the emperor. The other electors pretended, that this investiture was a breach of the *Golden Bull*, and appealed to the kings of *France* and *Sweden*, as guarantees to the peace of *Westphalia*. But those applications gave very little concern to the emperor, whose chief dependence was upon the friendship of the *English* and the *Dutch*.

Upon the death of the electoral prince of *Bavaria*, whom the king of *Spain*, who had no hopes of having heirs of his own, had nominated for his successor, the treaty of partition was concluded, by which the house of *Bourbon* was to have *Naples* and *Sicily*, the dutchy of *Lorrain*, the marquise of *Final*, and the province of *Guipuscoa*; the duke of *Lorrain*, *Milan*; and all the rest of the *Spanish* monarchy was to descend to the archduke, as being the issue of that infanta of *Spain*, who had not, as her elder sister the queen of *France* had done, renounced all right of succession to the throne of *Spain*. The emperor still insisted upon his being heir to the whole, and refused to agree to the treaty of partition, but soon heard of the king of *Spain's* death, and that by his will, he had left his succession to the duke of *Anjou*, the dauphin's second son. He immediately declared his second son, archduke *Charles*, king of *Spain*; but the *French* had filled that kingdom with their fleets and armies. The emperor claimed the *Milanese* as a fief of the empire, but the duke of *Anjou* had already been recognized as duke of *Milan*. A war was now inevitable. The emperor filled all *Europe* with his manifestos, but the kings of *Denmark*, *Sweden*, and *Poland* refused to declare against the *French*. The parliament of *England* was out of humour with king *William*, for concluding the partition treaty, and the *Dutch* depended on the resolutions of the *English*, which were soon known to be favourable to the emperor. While matters were thus undecided, the elector of *Brandenburg* offered, upon the emperor acknowledging him to be king of *Prussia*, to maintain 10,000 troops in his service; and the elector of *Hanover* stipulated to continue his contingency.

Prince *Eugene*, who had behaved so gloriously against the *Turks*, was by the emperor appointed to command in *Italy*, where the *French* were very strong; he defeated them at *Carpi*,  
and



and repulsed them, with the loss of 3000 men, at *Chiara*, and Prince towards the end of the campaign, he laid great part of *Mantua* Eugene under contribution, and made good his winter quarters upon com- the *Oglio*. The electors of *Bavaria*, *Cologne*, and *Mantz*, mands in with the circles of *Suabia* and *Franconia*, resolved upon a *Italy*. neutrality, but with a secret view of favouring *France*, the two former being brothers and uncles to the duke of *Anjou*. The *French* king likewise engaged in his interest, the dukes of *Wolfenbittel* and *Saxe-Gotha*, and the bishop of *Munster*; and the duke of *Saxony* would have followed their example had the situation of his affairs admitted of it. No sooner did the dukes of *Hanover* and *Zell* hear of the dispositions of *England*, than they entered with great spirit into the views of the confederacy against *France*. They obliged the duke of *Wolfenbittel* to break off his connections with her, and transfer his troops into the service of the confederates. The *English* and *Dutch* about the same time concluded a triple alliance with the emperor, on the 7th of *September*, and left the *French*, who were now garrisoning all the *Spanish Flanders*, no more than two months time, for giving satisfaction to the allies; and if it was denied, they were to proceed offensively with all their forces. Upon the death of king *William*, queen *Anne* prosecuted his schemes; and both *England* and *Holland* declared war against *France*. The *Dutch*, understanding that the elector of *Cologne* had invited *French* troops into his country, seized several of his towns, and assisted the *Imperial* general, the prince of *Nassau-Saurburg*, in besieging *Kaiserwert*, which they took after a siege of almost two months. The duke of *Burgundy* arrived at the *French* army on the 10th of *June*, and the *French* marshal *Boufflers* was baffled in an attempt he made to make himself master of *Nimeguen*, where the great duke of *Marlborough* took upon himself the command of the allied army. He advanced directly towards *Brabant*, with a view of fighting the enemy; but, at the request of the *Dutch* deputies, he contented himself with taking *Venlo*, *Maseick*, *Stevenswert*, and *Ruremond*, with several other places of less importance; but highly beneficial to the *Dutch* to have them wrested out of the hands of *France*. *Boufflers*, upon this, fell back upon *Tongres* in order to guard *Liege*; but the allies reduced it likewise, and stormed the citadel.

General  
confederacy  
against  
*France*.

So promising an opening of the war, encouraged the *Ger-* Progress  
*man* protestants to shake off their neutrality, and a powerful of the  
army of the empire being formed, the command of it was allies.  
given to prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, under the king of the *Romans*,  
who took *Landau* on the 12th of *September*. The *Imperialists*  
then would have attacked the *French* marshal, *Catinat*, but  
finding him too strongly intrenched, the king of the *Romans*  
returned to *Vienna*, and left the command of the army of the  
empire to the prince of *Baden*. The elector of *Bavaria* had  
by this time declared himself in favour of *France*, and had  
seized upon *Ulm* and several other places, by the *Imperial*  
army

army being weakened through the detachments it was obliged to send off to protect the inferior princes of their party. The diet was then sitting at *Ratisbon*, and upon the elector of *Bavaria's* desertion to the *French*, war was declared against *Lewis*, and he was put to the ban of the empire; but the *French* army was so numerous on the *Rhine*, that it obtained several advantages over that of the prince of *Baden*. It was commanded by *de Villars*, who attacked the prince upon his retreat, but with loss to himself. The *French*, after an obstinate engagement, were repulsed; but *Villars*, by his personal bravery, regained the day. This battle was fought at *Friedlingen*, and the prince of *Baden*, having received reinforcements, insulted the *French* army, which repassed the *Rhine*, but before the end of the campaign they took *Triers* and *Traerbach*, while the *Bavarians* beat count *Palfi* and became masters of *Kempton* and *Weissenberg*.

**Success of the war in Italy,** In the mean while the war in *Italy* was carried on between *Villeroy* the *French* general and prince *Eugene*, who was very ill supported by the *Imperial* court, with various success. The prince had formed a design for surprising *Cremona*, but when he had almost effected it, he was obliged to retreat, tho' he carried off *Villeroy*, who had been made a prisoner in the town. The *French* after this, becoming greatly superior in numbers, the prince was obliged to act upon the defensive; till a battle was fought at *Luzzara*, in which both sides claimed the victory, but the consequences were in favour of the *French*, who made themselves masters of *Luzzara* and *Guaftalla*. In the year 1703, the duke of *Savoy*, being afraid of the *French* progress in *Italy*, made an advantageous treaty with the emperor *Leopold*, and declaring for the confederates, the *Imperial* general *Staremberg*, after one of the most amazing marches recorded in history, joined him with 15,000 men. In *Germany*, the *Imperial* generals, the counts *Stirum* and *Schlick*, attacked *Bavaria* in different quarters, to execute the ban of the empire against its elector, who defeated the two *Imperial* generals, and afterwards got possession of *Ratisbon*, upon which the diet and *Alsace*. transported itself to *Lintz*. *Villars*, who commanded the *French* upon the *Rhine*, took *Fort Kehl*, with several other strong places, but was defeated in attempting to force the *German* lines under the prince of *Baden* to join the elector. That junction was not formed till the 19th of *September*, and the two generals then defeated count *Stirum*, near *Donawert*, in his march to join the prince of *Baden*. The *French*, at this time, had an army of 40,000 men upon the *Rhine*, under the duke of *Burgundy*, who took *Brisac*.

**Duke of Marlborough takes Bonn.** On the *Lower Rhine*, the duke of *Marlborough* invested *Bonn*, and took it after a siege of 14 days, and then joined the rest of the confederate army, who had been by the *French* obliged to retreat under the cannon of *Maastricht*. Being now superior to the *French*, the allies, at last, took *Limburg* and *Huy*, and, on the 17th of *December*, *Gueldres* itself surrendered

dered to the *Prussians*. On the *Upper Rhine*, marshal *Villars* having joined the elector of *Bavaria*, the latter took *Inspruck*, the capital of the *Tirol*; but the vigilance of count *Staremburg*, and an insurrection of the *Tirolese* peasants, obliged him to desist from his design, to join the duke of *Vendosme*, and to evacuate that province. In the mean while, the marshal *Tallard*, to whom the duke of *Burgundy* had resigned the command of his army, prepared to besiege *Landau*, which the prince of *Hesse* marched from the *Netherlands* to relieve. *Tallard*, having received a reinforcement of 10,000 men, marched out of his lines to fight him, and an engagement followed near *Spierbach*, in which the confederates were defeated, with the loss of 3,000 men, and the marshal returning to the siege, *Landau* surrendered on the 16th of *November*, and on the 6th of *December* following, the elector of *Bavaria* invested and took *Augsburg*.

Towards the end of the year 1703, the emperor *Leopold* 1703. found means to bring over the king of *Portugal* to the grand The king alliance, and his son, the archduke *Charles*, who continued to of *Portugal* take upon himself the title of king of *Spain*, paid a visit to gal *ac-* *England*, where he was received in a magnificent manner by cedes to the queen and court, and sailed to *Portugal* with a fleet, at- the grand tended by transports carrying about 9,000 *English* and *Dutch* alliance. troops, who were to assist in placing him on the throne of *Spain*. War now raged all over *Europe*, but we are to confine ourselves to *Germany* and its neighbourhood. About three years before, the famous *Ragotski*, who set up as the champion of *Hungarian* liberty, was arrested by the court of *Vienna*, but making his escape into *Hungary*, he formed a new party of malecontents, who ravaged the *Austrian* dominions to the very gates of *Vienna*. As a diversion of this kind was of the utmost prejudice to the common cause of the confederates, they offered their mediation; but the terms the *Hungarians* demanded, though perhaps reasonable, were thought by the court of *Vienna* to amount to an independency of the *Hungarians* upon the house of *Austria*. *Ragotski* and the Hun- Progress garian noblemen of his party, were at the head of above 60,000 of the war. fighting men, supported by the court of *France*. The *French* and *Bavarians* were masters of all the posts upon the *Neckar* and *Danube*; an army of 30,000 *French* under count *Marsin* threatened *Vienna* on one side of the *Danube*, while the *Hungarians* insulted it on the other. In short, partly by the obstinacy of the court of *Vienna*, and partly by the power and strength of its enemies, all *Europe* now thought the house of *Austria* upon the brink of ruin. Marshal *Tallard* sought to effect a junction with the elector of *Bavaria*, but prince *Lewis* of *Baden* lay between them, intrenched within the lines of *Stolhoffen*, *Kinchel* and *Behel*. Marshal *Tallard*, by a feint which he made towards part of *Switzerland*, artfully amused the allies, till he penetrated through the *Black Forest*, and effected the junction.

Count



Negotia-  
tions at  
London for  
relieving  
the em-  
pire.

Count *Wratislau* was then the *Imperial* minister at *London*; and *Leopold*, by prince *Eugene's* advice, instructed him to represent to queen *Anne*, that nothing but the assistance of *England* could now save the empire from perdition; and that it was far more agreeable to the spirit of the triple alliance to assist the house of *Austria* in its extremity of distress, than for their armies to lie on the frontiers of *Holland*, which were in no danger. The duke of *Marlborough* was then in *England*, and in consequence of *Wratislau's* memorial, he had orders to set out for *Holland*, where he conquered all opposition among the states against marching to the *Moselle* at the head of a powerful army. The *French*, at first, imagined that he intended to penetrate into *France* by the *Moselle*, and endeavoured to stop his progress by pretending to undertake the siege of *Huy*, which the duke knew to be in no danger. He advanced by rapid marches, and on the road received an account that the elector of *Bavaria* and *Tallard* intended to march directly to *Vienna*, and that a large army of *French*, under *Villeroy*, was assembling on the *Moselle*; so incapable were the *French* of entering into the idea of the mighty design the *English* general had formed. *Marlborough* arrived at *Coblentz* on the 25th of *May*, and on the 3d of *June* he acquainted the *States General*, by a letter, that his mistress had ordered him to march directly to the relief of the empire, desiring that their troops might accompany him in the expedition, which was agreed to. *Villeroy*, still imagining that the duke intended to march to the *Upper Rhine*, took his posts accordingly; and prince *Eugene*, who was to command a separate army on the *Rhine*, had an interview with the duke of *Marlborough*, where every thing was settled with regard to the joint command of the latter with prince *Lewis*.

Rapid  
progress  
of the  
duke of  
*Marlborough*.

On the 2d of *July*, the duke of *Marlborough* had advanced with such rapid marches, that he arrived at *Schellenburg*, where he beat the *French* and *Bavarians* out of their intrenchments, but with very considerable slaughter on both sides. The enemy retreated to *Donawert* on the *Danube*, and their loss in the engagement and their flight was computed at above 6,000 men. The confederates advanced towards *Donawert*, near which they passed the *Danube* on the 5th of *July*. The marshals *Villeroy* and *Tallard* had, by this time, passed the *Rhine* at *Fort Kehl*, to the assistance of the elector of *Bavaria*, who was in his turn in a desperate situation. The confederates had made him the most flattering offers to detach him from his connections with *France*, but all was to no purpose, though he was now in danger of being cut off, even from his own electorate, which the confederates ravaged in a most unmerciful manner. Though some have praised the firmness of the duke of *Bavaria* on this occasion, yet the duke of *Marlborough* complained that he had amused him with a negotiation, only that he might get time for the *French* to join him. Neither the tears nor sufferings of his subjects could move him to accept of the

terms

terms offered him by the allies; and notwithstanding the vigilance of prince *Eugene*, he was joined by *Tallard* at *Biberach* near *Ulm*, with 22,000 men. The duke of *Marlbrough* lay then with his army at *Friburg*, but immediately moved his camp, and advanced against the enemy, whom he found advantageously encamped near *Hochstet*, their right flank being covered by the *Danube* and the village of *Blenheim*, and their left by that of *Lutzengen*. Some days before, the duke of *Marlbrough* and prince *Eugene* had contrived to detach prince *Lewis* of *Baden* to undertake the siege of *Ingolstadt*, as they were afraid that he was too cautious to agree to the desperate service they were about. Many reasons determined them to lose no time in bringing on a general engagement, though the general officers under them represented it as impracticable without the ruin of the army. The action began about nine in the morning of the 13th of *August*, and after some cannonading, the duke of *Marlbrough* ordered the morasses in the front of the *French* to be passed, in order to begin a general attack. This was performed with so much intrepidity by the *English*, and some *Hessian* battalions, that though part of the *English* infantry at first received a check in attacking the village of *Blenheim*, yet the cavalry, whom the *French* did not endeavour to obstruct, having passed the morasses, the battle became general. The *English* carried all before them wherever they attacked, and at last, in a manner, shut up the flower of the *French* army in the village of *Blenheim*. *Tallard* wanted to disengage them, but they were so hardly pressed by the confederates, that they no longer observed any order of battle, but ran towards a bridge upon the *Danube*, into which great numbers of them were pushed, and perished. In their rout, marshal *Tallard*, and many of the general officers under him, were made prisoners. Prince *Eugene*, who was engaged against the elector of *Bavaria*, had been several times repulsed, but returning always undauntedly to the charge, the elector hearing that the *French* were defeated, retreated, just at the time the *German* troops had resolved to desist from any more attacks.

This was one of the most important, as well as decisive, battles, that had been fought for some ages in *Europe*, and it is certain, that the victory gained by the allies was owing principally to that sound judgment and cool intrepidity which always distinguished the duke of *Marlbrough*, and gave him a superiority even over his illustrious friend, prince *Eugene*; though it cannot be denied, that the *French* generals before the battle, had been guilty of a continued series of misconduct. The duke of *Marlbrough* saw the error they had committed in thinning their center, and pressed upon that, by which he cut off all communication between the body commanded by *Tallard*, and that which was shut up in the village of *Blenheim*; and to this circumstance the confederates owed their victory, all the troops who remained in the village of *Blenheim* being

Loss of the  
French.

obliged to lay down their arms and surrender themselves prisoners. It is difficult to fix, with any precision, the number of troops on both sides; but it is certain, that that of the confederates was inferior to the *French*. Ten thousand of the latter lay dead on the field of battle, 13,000 were made prisoners, and besides vast numbers of the infantry, the greater part of thirty squadrons perished in the *Danube*. The confederates took above 100 pieces of cannon, 24 mortars, 129 colours, 171 standards, 17 pair of kettle drums, 3600 tents, 34 coaches, 300 laden mules, 2 bridges of boats, 15 pontons, 24 barrels and 8 casks of silver. The loss of the confederates amounted to 4485 men killed, 7525 wounded, and 273 lost or made prisoners.

Conse-

quences of  
the battle.

The battle of *Blenheim*, which we have dwelt the longer upon because we cannot have so proper an opportunity of introducing it in another part of our history, delivered the empire from immediate destruction, but did not secure it from future danger. The duke of *Marlborough* sent an express, desiring prince *Lewis* to leave the siege of *Ingolstadt*, and rejoin him with his army. *Augsburg* opened its gates to the confederates, and prince *Lewis* besieged *Landau*, which after a most glorious defence, was surrendered to the allies. In short, during the course of this campaign *Bavaria* was subdued; *Ratisbon*, *Augsburg*, *Ulm*, and *Meningen* were recovered, and the duke of *Marlborough* turned his victorious arms from the *Danube* to the *Rhine* and the *Moselle*, where besides *Lindau*, *Treves* and *Traerbach* were taken. The vast success of the confederates under the duke of *Marlborough*, served only to raise the pride and obstinacy of the house of *Austria*. *Leopold* indeed rewarded the duke of *Marlborough*, who was by no means indifferent with regard to his own interest, with the principality of *Mindelheim*, because he expected still more important services from him, but he suffered prince *Lewis* in a manner to force the duke to the siege of *Landau*, which cost the allies near 10000 men in killed and wounded. The king of the *Romans* appeared in the confederate camp attended by priests and *Jesuits*, and observed a gloomy, sullen, reserve towards his best friends if they were protestants, and was always sure to occupy the post of honour when no danger attended it, while the *Roman catholic* part of the allies behaved in a manner that shewed them deeply mortified at being obliged to protestants for their deliverance.

*Landau* be-  
sieged and  
taken.

Indolence  
and dis-  
content of  
the Ger-  
man prin-  
ces.

Nothing could, however, abate the duke of *Marlborough's* ardour for the common cause. He repaired to the court of *Prussia*, to prevail with that monarch to supply the scandalous neglect which the court of *Vienna* shewed towards the brave prince *Eugene* in *Italy*, where, under infinite disadvantages, he had been beaten by the *French* and the duke of *Vendosme* at *Casal*. Even the *German* princes in confederacy with *Leopold*, looked on the success of the allies with an evil eye, as thinking that they served only to entail upon them the mi-  
series



series of war. The leading men of the republic of *Holland* were dissatisfied with the vast load imposed upon them by the grand alliance, and complained that the glorious campaign of 1704, which had cost them so much, had contributed nothing to their security. Prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who was a bigoted *Roman catholic*, took every opportunity to mortify the *Dutch* officers, and the circle of *Suabia* complained that it was unable to furnish its contingent to the common cause, through the ravages it had suffered both by friends and foes. After the battle of *Blenheim*, the emperor ventured to order the ministers of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* to leave *Ratisbon*, which on that account they threatened with a bombardment, and the emperor proposed to transfer the diet to *Egra*. Such was the confused gloomy state of affairs in *Germany*, even after it was delivered by the glorious battle of *Blenheim*, when the emperor *Leopold* died at *Vienna* on the 3d of *May*, 1705, after reigning 46 years.

1705.  
Death,

In 1666 he married *Maria Teresa*, daughter to *Philip IV.* king of *Spain*, and the archduke *Charles* claimed that throne. Upon her death, he married *Claudia*, daughter to his cousin the archduke *Ferdinand*, and upon her death, he married *Eleanora*, daughter to the elector *Palatine*. His first wife left behind her only one daughter, *Maria Antonietta*, who in 1685 was married to *Maximilian Maria*, elector of *Bavaria*; it was their son who died young, who was destined to the crown of *Spain*. *Leopold*, by his second wife, had no issue who survived her, and by his third, he left two sons, *Joseph* and *Charles*, and three archdutchesses, one of whom was married to the king of *Portugal*.

issue,

The character of *Leopold* is of a most unamiable kind. His person was forbidding and disagreeable, his manners were haughty and reserved, and his behaviour such as proved that he thought all mankind created only for him and for the support of the house of *Austria*. He was perpetually surrounded by *Jesuits*, and he had nothing dignified either in his way of thinking or living. His external appearance as to dress was mean and contemptible, and through the religious gloom his mind had contracted, he loved to live in low dark chambers, nasty and meanly furnished. His great delight lay in hunting and music, in which last he is said to have been a composer, and he was the first who ever set *German* words to opera tunes. With all those defects of mind and person, *Leopold* understood the *Germanic* constitution, and by balancing parties in the empire, he maintained an ascendancy in the diet. The crown was twice fixed when it was tottering on his head, not by his own address or courage, but through the alarm which the other powers of *Europe* took at the greatness of his enemies. Had *Vienna* been taken by the *Turks*, all *Germany* and *Poland* must have followed its fate, and for that reason they stepped in to its deliverance. Had the *French* broken the power of the house of *Austria* in 1704, their empire on the continent must have

and character of the emperor *Leopold*.

have been more formidable than any since the days of *Charles the Great*, as they could have given law in *Germany*, and must have been in possession of *Spain* and *Italy*. *England* and *Holland* saw their own danger, and in delivering the house of *Austria*, they delivered themselves from the yoke of that of *Bourbon*.

## C H A P. XLIX.

J O S E P H.

Succeeded  
by *Joseph*.

THE emperor *Joseph* mounted the *Imperial* throne with flattering omens. He set on foot a negociation with the *Hungarians*, and to give it the greater effect, he displaced the ministers who were said to be under the influence of the *Jesuits*, whom the *Hungarians* considered as the sources of all their sufferings in the late reigns. *Joseph* offered to call a diet, where the *Hungarian* claims should be candidly examined; to publish a general amnesty; to give them the most ample satisfaction with regard to all their claims upon the *Jesuits*, who they said had amassed prodigious riches by plundering them; and to confirm all their antient privileges. *Ragotski* assembled the heads of his party, who concluded that those offers were made only to disunite them, and insisted upon their former rights of chusing their own sovereigns, garrisoning their own forts, and that all places of power and profit in *Hungary* should be filled with natives. Those were the unanimous sentiments of the assembly, but the terms being rejected by the emperor, his allies again offered their mediation. Ministers were accordingly nominated by *England* and *Holland*, and conferences were opened at *Tyrnau*. During the negociation, hostilities went on between the *Hungarians* and the *Imperialists*, but generally to the advantage of the latter, which encouraged the emperor to retract the offers he had made, and the conferences came to nothing.

Affairs of  
the em-  
pire.

In *Upper Hungary*, *Heberville* commanded the *Imperialists*, and raised the blockade of *Waradin*, but was obliged to fight, under great disadvantages, the army of the malecontents, who were intrenched at *Schibo*, and who gave way to the intrepidity of their enemies. By this victory, *Transylvania* was again reduced to the *Imperial* power, but even that did not compensate for the dreadful ravages which *Lower Hungary*, *Moravia*, and the hereditary dominions suffered from the malecontents. They were even joined, through the prospect of plunder, by many of the *Austrian* peasants, and rejected all terms offered them by the emperor.

Those commotions in *Germany* and *Hungary* were of infinite service to the affairs of *France*. *Lewis*, with great composure, applied himself to repair the misfortunes of the last campaign.

campaign. He had still great resources : his arms were superior to those of the allies in *Italy* and *Portugal*, and *Villars*, ority of one of his most fortunate generals, was still at the head of a *France* fine army, which had orders to march towards the *Moselle*, over the while *Marfin* commanded another upon the *Rhine*. The elec-allies. tor of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* besieged and took *Huy*, and *Liege* must have likewise fallen into their hands, had it not been for the superior fortune of the duke of *Marlborough*, who forced the *Bavarian* lines, and obliged the elector to retire precipitately towards *Louvain*. By this retreat *Huy* was again reduced by the confederates, and the *French* and *Bavarians* in those quarters, must not only have been inevitably ruined, but *Antwerp*, *Liere*, and *Mechlin* must have fallen into the hands of the allies, had not the *Dutch* refused to second *Marlborough's* vigorous efforts, which gave an opportunity for the elector to become master of *Diest*. This was not the only mortification that the great *Marlborough* underwent in this campaign. He was stung with the dilatory proceedings of prince *Lewis* of *Baden*, who treated him with the utmost haughtiness, and had even the insolence to complain of him to the courts of *London* and *Vienna*, and it soon appeared that the *French* were in the secret of all his intended measures. The *Imperial* army on the *Rhine*, at this time, lay at *Lauterburg*, so strongly encamped, that *Villars* did not think proper to attack it ; tho' it is acknowledged, that during the course of the campaign, *Villars* behaved with great abilities as a general, but he was greatly assisted by the obstinacy and jealousy the *Germans* and *Dutch* discovered towards the duke of *Marlborough*. Upon the separation of the allied army, *Villars* reinforced the elector of *Bavaria* with 30 batallions and 50 squadrons ; but the prince of *Baden* receiving reinforcements likewise, he obliged the *French* to retire behind their lines at *Haguenau*, and from thence under the cannon of *Strasbourg*. Upon this, prince *Lewis* formed the siege of *Haguenau*, and pressed it so vigorously, that the garrison must have surrendered themselves prisoners of war had not the *French* governor been unaccountably suffered to escape, with all his men, by a quarter of the town that was not invested.

About this time, one of the pope's officers quarrelled with the *Imperial* ambassador's domestics at *Rome*, who was imprisoned, but soon after set at liberty. The ambassador, count *de Lamberg*, reported the affair to the court of *Vienna*, who ordered him to leave the ecclesiastical state, and the nuntio at *Vienna* the *Imperial* territories. *Joseph*, in the progress of this quarrel, acted as if he intended to revive the antient *Imperial* claims in *Italy*. He demanded that his holiness should dismiss his secretary of state ; that he should banish his governor of *Rome* ; that some proceedings against the archduke's minister should be burnt by the hand of the common hangman ; and that the pope should not only admit an *Imperial* garrison into *Ferrara*, but send a minister to apologize for his conduct at *Vienna*.

Quarrel  
between  
the pope  
and the  
emperor.



Barbarity  
of the *Im-*  
*perialists* in  
*Bavaria*,

This quarrel had very bad consequences with regard to the electress of *Bavaria*; she was then at the head of the regency of that electorate, and the princes of the empire, who were always averse from seeing their country desolated, or the order of succession to their great fiefs set aside, had prevailed with the emperor to enter into a compromise with the electress, by which the elector was to be considered in no other light than that of a *French* general. The electress was to receive the revenues of the electorate, and the *Bavarians* were in other respects to enjoy all their privileges. The pope was a guarantee to this agreement; but his quarrel with the emperor disabled him from interposing in favour of the electress, and *Bavaria* was, in all respects, treated worse than if it had been a conquered country; for the *Austrians*, not contented with reducing the inhabitants to the most deplorable misery, even broke, in search of hidden riches, into the graves of the dead. To colour those inhumanities, the *Austrians* pretended that the *Bavarians* in general were treacherous to the *Imperial* cause, and they went so far as to order a public appearance of all the youths of the electorate, that they might be draughted as recruits for the *Imperial* armies.

followed  
by an in-  
surrection,  
which is  
quelled.

Those oppressions exasperated the *Bavarians* into an insurrection, and they joined some malecontents that were in arms in *Bohemia*. Being about 20,000 in number, they reduced some places, but as they were destitute of arms and discipline, they were easily quelled by the *Imperialists* promising them an amnesty, which was most perfidiously broken, and nothing was seen thro' all the towns of the electorate, but natives expiring upon wheels and gibbets. In short, the *Austrians* behaved in such a manner as if they were resolved that one half of the *Bavarians* should be exterminated by the sword, and the other by want and famine. The reader, in other parts of this work, will learn the great revolutions which the interposition of *Charles XII.* of *Sweden* in the affairs of *Poland* occasioned in the empire, by which *Saxony*, as well as *Bavaria*, became a scene of misery, but not to so great a degree. The emperor was all this while prosecuting the elector of *Bavaria* with the utmost vigour in the aulic council, where he and the elector of *Cologne* were proscribed. The ecclesiastical dignity of the latter procured him some mitigation of his censure, but a price was fixed upon the elector of *Bavaria's* head, and even his children were deprived of their electoral titles.

The duke  
of *Bava-*  
*ria* re-  
treats.

No severity could shake the elector of *Bavaria* in his engagements with *France*. *Villars* had obliged the prince of *Baden* to abandon the *Sar*, and after that the *Moter*. He then passed the *Rhine* with all the appearance of an ignominious flight, leaving behind him his tents, stores, ammunition, and part of his artillery. The consequence was, that *Villars* took possession of all the tract from the *Moter* to *Spirebach*, and even retook *Haguenau*; but demands coming thick upon him for reinforcements to *Italy*, he undertook no other measures of importance

importance during that campaign. The situation of the emperor's affairs in *Hungary* craved the like detachments to be sent from the prince of *Baden's* army to stop the progress of the malecontents, who had broken into *Austria*, where they made an immense booty, and laid great part of the country under contribution, while other parts of the *Imperial* dominions underwent the same calamities. *Ragotski*, at the head of 40,000 men, took *Strigonia* in *Lower Hungary* by assault. The other malecontent generals, who were likewise at the head of armies, met with no opposition in their ravages, and the emperor himself narrowly escaped being made prisoner by those insurgents while he was hunting in the forest *Eberdorf*. In *Italy*, the affairs of the emperor were equally unfortunate; the *Bourbon* general, the duke of *Berwick*, took *Nice*, and all *Piedmont* was ready to have been swallowed up by the *French*. The spirit of the *Imperialists* was dejected, and 4,000 of their army had deserted upon prince *Eugene's* making a journey into *Germany*. His business there was to concert the measures for delivering the duke of *Savoy's* dominions from the *French*. *Joseph's* ministers proposed to raise money upon the *Bavarians*, who were already exhausted. Prince *Eugene* proposed to borrow it from the *English* upon a mortgage of the *Silesia* mines. This scheme was adopted, and the money being raised, prince *Eugene* returned to *Italy*. By this time, the *French*, under the marshal *Feuillade*, had invested *Turin*, the capital of *Piedmont*, with such an army as rendered the reduction of it almost certain, especially considering the great distance of prince *Eugene's* army. In the mean while, the duke of *Vendosme* had beat 12,000 *Imperialists* under count *Ravensthu*, and prince *Eugene* received the news on the road. The return of prince *Eugene* reanimated the drooping *Imperialists*. He collected together all the reinforcements he could, and undertook such a march into *Piedmont* as the duke of *Marlborough* had performed into *Germany*. Leaving the prince of *Anhalt* in *Italy*, to keep the communication with the empire open, he gained three days march of the duke of *Orleans* and marshal *Marsin*, who then commanded the *French* in *Italy*, and advanced towards *Turin*. His army was about 28,000 strong, that of the duke of *Orleans*, who had joined *Feuillade*, amounted to above 40,000, who were attacked and utterly defeated by prince *Eugene*. About 10,000 *French* were killed on the spot, and above 5,000 taken prisoners, 150 pieces of cannon, and an incredible quantity of all military stores, besides 3,000,000 of livres in specie. The consequence of this wonderful victory was, that besides *Piedmont*, *Milan*, *Mantua*, and all the places the *French* held in *Italy*, fell into the hands of the *Imperialists*. But we are now to return to *Germany*.

The  
Germans  
worsted in  
*Italy*;

but prince  
*Eugene*  
beats the  
*French*  
and raises  
the siege  
of *Turin*.

The campaign of 1705 had been upon the main unfortunate to the confederates, but it was glorious to the duke of *Marlborough*. It was now evident that the miscarriages of it had been occasioned entirely by the duke not being invested

1705,  
1706.

The  
French de-  
feated at  
the battle  
of Ramil-  
lies.

The great  
conse-  
quences of  
the same.

with sufficient powers to carry his own ideas into execution. This was acknowledged even by the enemies he had among the *Dutch*, and his powers were enlarged during the winter of the year 1705, notwithstanding all the opposition made by the *Frenchified* party in *England*. On the 25th of *April*, 1706, the duke of *Marlborough* arrived at the *Hague*, and after concerting the operations of the approaching campaign with the deputies of the *States General*, he went to *Maastricht*, where he took upon him the command of the confederate army, consisting of 74 battallions of foot, and 123 squadrons of horse and dragoons, having with them 100 cannon, 20 haubitzers, and 42 pontoons. The *French* king not imagining that the confederates had been so strong, ordered his general, marshal *Villeroy*, by all means to venture a battle before the allies could be joined by their reinforcements. *Villeroy* was himself brave, but incautious and forward, and he passed the *Danube* to give battle to the duke, who could scarcely believe his own good fortune. On the 22d of *May*, both armies received the reinforcements they expected, but the *French* remained greatly superior in number. Next morning the confederates moved in eight columns to attack the *French* army under the elector of *Bavaria* and marshal *Villeroy*. The place of battle was an aperture of about half a mile, lying between the head of the *Gheet*, where *Ramillies* is situated, and the side of the *Mebaigne*, and the great struggle lay at the village, which the *French* first got possession of. The duke weakened his right that he might make the stronger impression on the enemy's right, which, after an obstinate dispute, was defeated, and the duke had then time to support the *Dutch* and the *Danes*, who had been pressed by the household troops; upon which the victory became compleat on the part of the confederates, and it was with difficulty that the duke of *Bavaria* and *Villeroy* escaped being made prisoners. Eight thousand of the enemy's bravest troops were killed in the field, 6,000 were taken prisoners, and their loss in the whole, including deserters and prisoners, did not amount to less than 20,000 men; while that of the confederates was but very inconsiderable.

The *French* army, defeated at *Ramillies*, was one of the finest that *Lewis* had ever sent to the field, and the consequences of the victory were proportionable. To sum up the glories of this campaign, in the words of the great *Marlborough's* monumental inscription, "*Louvain, Brussels, Malines, Liege, Ghent, Oudenarde, Antwerp, Damme, Bruges, Courtray, surrendered; Ostend, Menin, Dendermond, Aeth, were taken; Brabant and Flanders were recovered; places which had resisted the greatest generals for months, for years; provinces, disputed for ages, were the conquests of one summer.*"

The victory at *Ramillies*, once more saved the empire and the house of *Austria*; the former beheld it with coldness, if not dislike, and the latter with ingratitude. It was enough for the princes of *Germany* if they were secure from war and contributions,



contributions, and they made it no secret, that they were indifferent as to all other considerations. Though the emperor had been delivered and saved by his protestant allies, yet he continued as inexorable as ever, against all indulgences to that religion, till the stern *Charles* of *Sweden*, who then held the balance of power in *Europe*, obliged him not only to make concessions, greater than ever had been made by his family, and even submissions, to which the house of *Austria* had been always a stranger. An assembly of the circles of the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, *Suabia*, and *Franconia*, met at *Heilbron*, and voted to raise 40,000 men for their own defence, against the house of *Austria*, as well as *Bourbon*; but *Joseph* shewed a spirit far superior to any of his predecessors, since the days of *Charles V.* By his altercations with the pope, and his refusing the investiture of *Milan* to his brother, the king of *Spain*, he plainly discovered his intentions to revive the *Imperial* powers in *Italy*. His father had promised to cede to the duke of *Savoy*, who had behaved so gloriously in the common cause, the province of *Alexandria*, and other estates in *Italy*; but *Joseph* evaded *Leopold's* promise, till he was forced to comply with it by his allies. His passion for being master of *Italy*, appeared by his agreeing, that *Lewis* should withdraw from thence his garrisons and artillery, by which the *French* armies in the *Low Countries* were augmented with 18,000 men, who must otherwise have fallen into the hands of the victorious prince *Eugene*.

Prince *Lewis* of *Baden* being now dead, the protestant princes demanded the command of the army of the empire, for the margrave of *Brandenburg-Bareith*, upon a compromise, that it should devolve alternately upon a *Roman catholic* and a protestant general. The directory of *Mentz*, and the *Roman catholics*, objected to the margrave, and the emperor took their part, but was at last obliged to vest the command in prince *Eugene* and the margrave, who were to hold it by turns. As the prince was employed in *Italy*, he could not act in *Germany*, and thus the command was left entirely with the margrave, who notwithstanding all his spirited remonstrances seconded by those of the *States General*, could not assemble an army of above 28,000 men, and those raw, ill clothed, and ill paid. This was a force very ineffectual for opposing *Villars*, who commanded for the *French* in *Germany*, especially as he had a prodigious extent of lines to guard; all which, with an immense quantity of stores and ammunition, together with the whole marquisate of *Baden-Dourlach*, the margrave was obliged to abandon to the *French*, who laid not only that marquisate, but the dutchy of *Wirtemberg*, under severe contributions. The margrave retired towards *Heilbron*, and *Villars*, without wasting his time on sieges, enlarged his contributions, and filled all *Germany* with terror. The emperor *Joseph* attributed all those disgraces, to the age and infirmities of the margrave, and the command of the army of

Ambition  
of the  
emperor  
*Joseph*.

The  
*French*  
superior in  
*Germany*.

the

the empire was offered to the elector of *Hanover*, but he declined it, and many of the princes publicly declared, that if they were not effectually supported, they must accept of the neutrality offered them by *Villars*.

The stress  
of the war  
thrown  
upon the  
*English*.

In this distress a diversion was proposed, and approved of by the emperor. The margrave of *Bareith*, receiving reinforcements, directed his march to the *Rhine*, with a view of penetrating into *Alsace*, or of drawing *Villars* out of *Germany*, but the latter took his measures so well, that the *Germans* were disappointed in both, and the emperor, to prevent the circles from closing with the proposals of *France*, once more offered the command of the army to the elector of *Hanover*, with the title of *Field-Marshal*, both which he at last accepted of, and the margrave resigned the command, after bitterly reproaching the circles for their backwardness and treachery, which had occasioned all his misfortunes. The elector took upon himself his new command at *Etlinguen*, and attempted some measures of vigour, but being disappointed in the execution, he went into winter quarters. The shameful inactivity of the diet, brought upon the members numerous reproaches from the allies during the winter, and, after long debates, they came to some vigorous resolutions, which the elector of *Hanover* was authorized to enforce, by military execution; but all was to no purpose; the circles and cities either refused or evaded the payment; and the entire stress of the war now rested upon the *English* and the *Dutch*. This backwardness had almost ruined the whole confederacy, which was distressed for money in every department of its operations. *England*, at last, was obliged to supply all deficiencies, and the duke of *Marlborough* was, by the generous assistance of the *British* parliament, again enabled to take the field, after having with great art and penetration, fixed the king of *Sweden* in a neutrality, with regard to the common cause.

Inactive  
campaign  
of 1707.

On the 13th of *May*, 1707, the duke of *Marlborough* arrived at *Brussels*, where the rendezvous of the confederate army was appointed. The *French* army was commanded by the elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Vendosme*, who were superior in number to the allies, and therefore could not be forced to a battle. This campaign afforded no laurels to either party, and the duke of *Marlborough*, in the beginning of *October*, went to *Germany*, where he concerted with the elector of *Hanover*, a more vigorous plan of operations for next year. Returning to the *Hague*, the States, upon his report, wrote a letter to the diet at *Ratisbon*, in which they said, "That their High Mightinesses would continue to contribute their utmost towards bringing about the great work, which they had, jointly with them, undertaken; but that they expected the like from his *Imperial* majesty and the empire, seeing they were obliged to it by their alliances and the common interest; and, in case of non-performance, their High Mightinesses protested against all the ill consequences thereof."

About

About this time the court of *England* planned the glorious Expedition into *Provence*, with an intention of taking *Toulon* and *Marfeilles*, which would have disabled *Lewis* from carrying on the war, and which was defeated only by the fondness of *Joseph* for extending the *Imperial* power in *Italy*. The earl of *Manchester* was ordered to communicate it to the court of *Vienna*, and to persuade *Joseph* to employ upon that expedition, the troops he intended to send to *Naples*. The emperor, in the mean while, had been persuaded to grant to his brother the investiture of *Milan*, and the earl pressed the emperor in an audience he had, to defer the *Neapolitan* expedition, but was answered very ambiguously; though his two ministers *Wratislau*, and the count *Zingendorf*, made no secret, that they intended it should proceed. The great credit of the *English* and *Dutch* prevailed. The expedition took place and miscarried, because prince *Eugene*, who was to command it, had been privately instructed by *Joseph*, and never was earnest in its success. The particulars fall more properly under another part of this history.

The preparations made by *France*, for a decisive campaign, 1708. in the year 1708, were prodigious. The duke of *Burgundy*, the presumptive heir of the *French* crown, a prince of great expectation, was appointed to command their army, which was in high spirits, on account of the prosperous state of their affairs in *Spain*, and the miscarriage of the expedition against *Toulon*. The elector of *Bavaria*, and the duke of *Vendosme*, commanded under the duke of *Burgundy*, and their army consisted of 100,000 men. *Joseph* sent prince *Eugene* to concert the operations of the campaign with the duke of *Marlborough*, and the *States General*. The conferences were opened by the prince, who gave the assembly a state of the emperor's forces, and after various consultations, between the prince and the duke, and such of the deputies of the states as they could trust, a plan of the ensuing campaign was produced; but it being thought absolutely necessary, that it should be approved of by the elector of *Hanover*, the prince and the duke set out for that court, where they brought his electoral highness over to their opinion, which was, "That most of the *Imperialists* employed the year before on the *Upper Rhine*, with the *Saxons* and *Hessians* in the pay of *Great Britain* and *Holland*, and the troops which the elector *Palatine* was to furnish, in consideration of his *Imperial* majesty's restoring him to the possession of the *Upper Palatinate*, with the prerogatives enjoyed by his ancestors, should march into the *Netherlands*, to act there, under prince *Eugene*, in concert with the *British* and *Dutch* forces, commanded in chief by the duke of *Marlborough*, and under him, by veldt-marshal *Auverquerque*."

Prince *Eugene* went from *Hanover* to *Dresden*, and from thence to *Vienna*, where, after a conference of a few hours, *Joseph* acquiesced in all that had been concerted. Upon the duke of



The *French* de- of *Marlbrough's* return to *Brussels*, he assembled the confe-  
 feated at put it in motion, but the *French* continued quiet in their  
*Ouden-* camp, with a view that the inhabitants of the *Spanish Nether-*  
*arde.* *lands*, disgusted at the severe government of the *Dutch*, would  
 revolt to the duke of *Bavaria*, who was very popular among  
 them, and *Bruges* and *Ghent* were accordingly easily taken by  
 the *French*. Upon the arrival of prince *Eugene* at the confe-  
 derate army, with some reinforcements, the *French* attempted  
 to surprize *Oudenarde*, the only pass the allies had upon the  
*Schelde*. This determined the allies to pass that river and  
 attack the duke of *Burgundy*. A battle ensued to the advan-  
 tage of the confederates, and it was owing to the admirable  
 dispositions of the duke of *Vendosme*, that the *French* army  
 was not entirely cut in pieces; but their loss amounted to  
 3000 killed and 7000 taken prisoners; tho' the loss of the  
 allies was likewise very severe. The consequences shewed,  
 that the allies were victorious, by their taking *Ghent* and the  
 surrender of *L'Isle*. But notwithstanding this success, the  
 princes of the empire made no efforts against the common  
 enemy, and every thing remained quiet upon the *Rhine*.

The male- Notwithstanding several defeats lately given to the male-  
 contents contents in *Hungary*, they were still formidable to *Joseph*, who  
 victorious to quiet their complaints, called a diet at *Presburg*. Here *Ra-*  
 in Hun- *gotzki* and his party rose in their demands upon the emperor,  
 gary. and even during the sitting of the diet, they harrassed, by  
 their incursions, the hereditary dominions, but were obliged  
 by the *Imperial* generals to retire. After this, the malecon-  
 tents crossed the *Danube*, and proceeded with fire and sword  
 to within 30 miles of *Vienna*, every where defeating the *Im-*  
*perial* troops and their best generals. They even fortified  
*Neubausel*, and entered into a new association, at the head of  
 which they placed count *Ragotski*, with full command over  
 their troops. The prosperous state of the duke of *Anjou's*  
 affairs in *Spain* at this time, encouraged the pope to shew his  
 resentment, for all the ill treatment he had received from  
*Joseph*, who now claimed *Parma*, and other towns as fiefs of  
 the empire, which claim, if admitted, might have extended to  
 all the states of *Italy*. His holiness had the courage, even to  
 refuse to acknowledge the archduke *Charles*, as king of *Spain*,  
 and he excommunicated several of the *Imperial* generals, for  
 misbehaving towards the clergy, and the subjects of the  
 church. In short, he proceeded in a manner that shewed  
 he set his *Imperial* majesty's power at defiance. *Joseph*, on  
 this occasion, acted with all the spirit, that the boldest of his  
*German* predecessors had ever discovered against the holy see.  
 He owned in effect, that he was resolved to make the *Italian*  
 princes smart for the neutrality they had observed during the  
 war, and he even forbade the clergy of *Naples* to pay their  
 annates to the chancery of *Rome*. In short, he struck at the  
 foundation of all the claims and possessions of the papal see in  
*Italy*.

*Italy.* His generals then seized upon *Comacchio*, *Magnavaca*, *Legno*, and *Cevali*, while the emperor put the dukes of *Mantua* and *Montferrat* under the ban of the empire, and confiscated their estates. This conduct, however, was far from being approved of, by the other princes of *Europe*, and even disgusted the protestant powers in the grand alliance, as it plainly indicated, that *Joseph* was much more intent upon his ambitious views in *Italy*, than upon supporting his brother in *Spain*, or opposing the *French* in the *Netherlands*. For the same purpose, in defiance of all former agreements, he expelled the duke of *Mantua* out of his dominions, transported his artillery to *Milan*, and left him an illustrious beggar for bread. The like oppressions and cruelties took place in all other parts of *Italy*, where the *Imperialists* were powerful enough to give the law.

No events, towards *Germany*, could retard the progress of *Joseph's* injustice in *Italy*, where his tyranny was such, that the states at last opposed him, and the inhabitants of the *Ferraro*se flew to arms, and drove the *Imperialists* out of their country. A formal war then commenced, and, the *English* and *Dutch* fleets flying upon the *Italian* coast, the pontifical sea-ports were threatened with a bombardment. The conclave met to deliberate upon the very hard conditions, prescribed by the *Imperial* ministers. They asked for time, but the marquis de *Prie*, who was employed by the emperor, would grant them none, and obliged them to consent, that his holiness should reduce his army to 5000 men; that he should dismiss all the *French* and *Spaniards* out of his service, and give quarters for 6000 *Imperialists*, besides accepting of other terms of very hard digestion, but at the same time, all mention of the archduke's right to the crown of *Spain*, was industriously avoided on both sides.

Affairs of  
*Italy.*

*Joseph* was now, by the assistance of *England*, possessed of vast power in the empire, and though a bigot to the *Roman* catholic religion, he employed his authority in favour of the protestant interest. In the beginning of the year 1709, the affair of the ninth electorate, that had been erected in favour of the house of *Hanover*, came under deliberation, but met of *Hanover* with vast opposition from some of the *Roman* catholic electors. *Joseph's* resolutions bore down all difficulties, and the duke of *Hanover* was admitted into the electoral college, after it had been stipulated, that the archbishop of *Mentz*, who was always president of the diet, should have the casting vote. As the constitutions of the empire required that every elector should have some menial employment about the *Imperial* palace, the dignity of Arch Treasurer of the empire, vacant by the forfeiture of the duke of *Bavaria*, was conferred upon the elector of *Hanover*, which his posterity still enjoys. At the same diet, it was decreed, that *Joseph*, the emperor, should have a vote, as king of *Bohemia*, in the electoral college. All those dispositions, with the progress of the war so fatal to

*France*,

A negoti-  
ation.

Cam-  
paign of  
1709.

Successes  
of the  
French  
upon the  
Rhine.

*France*, determined *Lewis* to apply for peace. As submissive now, as he had been haughty before, he sent *Rouille*, one of his ministers, to implore it, and he was answered, that he might be permitted to treat at the *Hague*. *Rouille* conducted the negotiation with great address. The states of *Holland* were, by the *French* king, left to make their own terms, and were offered any security they pleased to demand for their barrier; but the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* thought that no dependence was to be put on *French* promises, however specious they were, unless *Lewis* would immediately restore *Strasbourg* and *Lisè*, and demolish *Dunkirk*, *New Brisac*, *Fort Lewis*, and *Hunningen*. The conferences were held in *Holland*, and the *French* ministers made the most humiliating applications to have the terms relaxed, but all being to no purpose, *Lewis* rejected them with indignation.

The preparations for the operations of 1709, exceeded those in the preceding years of this war. A famine raged in *France*, which obliged the inhabitants to enter for bread into their armies, and *Lewis* seemed determined to stake his crown upon the event of that campaign. It has been thought with great justice, that the allies acted most impolitically in rejecting the *French* offers at *Gertruydenberg*, because the *French* were animated with indignation into a spirit of loyalty for their sovereign. *Villars* commanded the *French* army in the *Netherlands*, but it being composed of new raised troops, though superior in number to the confederates, he suffered *Tournay* to be taken and *Mons* to be invested. To raise the siege, *Villars*, whose army is said to consist of 120,000 men, marched to the neighbourhood of *Malplaquet*, where he took up a camp that was deemed to be impregnable. Nothing was so to the *English*, tho' the *French* that day fought with more courage than they had in any campaign since the commencement of the war, and after being beat out of their intrenchments, they made a very fine retreat towards *Valenciennes*. In this battle of *Malplaquet*, or of the Wood, as it is sometimes called, the confederates are said to have lost above 20,000 men, and the *French* not above 8; and all the advantage the former reaped from their victory was the taking of *Mons*; while the *French* fortified themselves in their new camp. The duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene* were severely blamed, for thus wantonly throwing away so great a number of valuable lives; and it was suspected by some, they had fought under such vast disadvantages, that they might prolong the war.

The affairs of *Lewis* were more prosperous upon the *Rhine*, where the marshal *Dubourg* beat the *Imperial* general *Merci*, and the *French* had likewise the superiority in *Italy* and *Spain*. It was no wonder that the princes of the empire, who had been remiss in furnishing their quotas during the most prosperous periods of the war, became more so after the late bloody campaign. Some of them even denied to contribute any thing towards the common cause, and their discontent was so general,



general, that the elector of *Hanover* refused to accept the command of their army, as well knowing that he must be insulted through the superiority of the enemy. He was, however, prevailed upon by the *English* ministry to resume the command, and he laid an excellent plan of operations, which was to pass the *Rhine*, and to penetrate into the *Higher Alsace*, and *Franche Comte*, and even to lay the provinces of *Champagne* and *Burgundy*, under contribution. The marshal *de Harcourt* commanded the *French* lines at *Weissenberg*, and believed that the *Imperialists* intended to attack him, but soon had intelligence that general *Merci* was traversing *Switzerland*, and had entered *Higher Alsace*, where he had advanced beyond *Hunningen*. *Merci* was a head-strong general, and having no resources, the *French* gave him battle and defeated him, by which all that belonged to the *Imperialists* fell into their hands, together with a copy of the plan of operations, that had been concerted by the elector of *Hanover*. The defeat of *Merci* obliged the elector to retreat, and greatly enlarged the *French* quarters in the empire. With regard to the allies, neither the duke of *Saxony*, nor any of the *Italian* states, were sorry at this check, which highly incommoded the emperor's affairs in *Italy*, where his demands were incompatible with the interests of his allies.

Nothing can be more certain, than that the affairs of *Europe* were, at this time, directed by two soldiers of fortune, the duke of *Marlborough* and prince *Eugene*. The latter governed the *Imperial* councils, as the former did those of *England* and *Holland*, and each found his interest in protracting the war, by carrying it on in the *Netherlands*. The *French* king endeavoured to open the eyes of their respective principals, by offering a fresh negotiation for peace, which was accordingly opened at *Gertruydenberg*. There *Lewis* offered to accept of the terms which he had rejected the year before. The duke of *Marlborough* was thought not to be impregnable to gold, and *Torcy*, one of the *French* plenipotentiaries, offered him immense sums in his master's name. Prince *Eugene* was averse to all negotiating, and *Zinzendorf* was dispatched from *Vienna* to perplex the conferences. The confederates insisted upon the *French* king not only consenting to his grandson's relinquishing the crown of *Spain*, but that he should declare war against him. *Lewis* would have granted all their other demands, but that condition was shocking to humanity, as well as parentality, and he rejected it. The conferences broke off, and both armies again took the field. The allies gained *Doway*, *Bethune*, *Aire*, *St. Venant*, and *Bouchain*, but they were thought to have lost 20,000 men, with very little prospect of their being replaced, so heartily tired were all parties of war.

The spirit of conquest was now subsided on the part of the allies, and the campaign upon the *Rhine* was passed by the *Germans* *French* and *Imperial* generals, *Dubourg* and *Merci*, in a state tired of next the war.

next to inactivity. In *Hungary*, the *Imperialists* took *Neu-hausel*, but were unable to force the malecontents to relinquish their former demands. In *Germany*, the emperor *Joseph* acted with a power more arbitrary than ever had been assumed by any of his predecessors. The electorate of *Bavaria* was portioned out among the elector of *Palatine's* family, and other favourites, without consulting the *Germanic* body, and the most wanton promotions were made to evince the force of the *Imperial* authority. The protestants and the bishop of *Hildesheim* were oppressed by the papists, under the protection of the elector of *Cologne*, and in defiance of the most solemn stipulations. They applied to the *Imperial* chamber at *Wetzlar*, which granted a decree in their favour, but it had no effect. They then applied to the circle of *Lower Saxony*, and the elector of *Hanover*, as being guarantee of their rights, seized upon the revenues of the bishopric, which was then vacant. This measure, though equitable in itself, was so alarming to the *Roman* catholics, that it was upon the point of kindling a civil war in *Germany*. The canons of *Hildesheim* complained to the emperor and the diet, where they found the protestant interest preponderate, and upon their giving redress to the protestants, the elector refunded the revenues of the bishopric. The great revolution which happened at this time, in the affairs of *Europe*, by the king of *Sweden's* defeat at *Pultowa*, had a considerable effect on the affairs of *Germany*, and the emperor, among others, put in for his share of the spoils of that unhappy kingdom.

1711.  
The emperor *Joseph* dies.

In the year 1711, the affairs of *Europe* took a new face, by the alterations which had happened in the *English* ministry. The empire was threatened by the *Turks* and the king of *Poland*, and the czar of *Muscovy* demanded from the emperor the succours stipulated by treaty, which he said he could not afford till the malecontents of *Hungary* were absolutely subdued. The duke of *Marlborough's* influence at the *English* court was now next to nothing, and prince *Eugene* with the *Imperial* ministers strove in vain to revive it. Such was the crisis of public affairs, when the emperor *Joseph* was taken ill of the small-pox, which through the unskilfulness of his physicians put a period to his life on the 17th of *April*. He died in the 33d year of his age, and in the arms of prosperity. He left behind him no male-issue by his wife, the daughter of the duke of *Brunswic-Lunenbourg*; and he died with the character of being one of the most spirited but despotic princes that ever sat upon the *Imperial* throne.

## CHAP L.

CHARLES *the sixth.*

THE system of *Europe* was now greatly changed, by the death of *Joseph*, which added to the influence of the *British* tory ministry. It was incompatible with the interests of *Europe*, that the same person should possess the *Spanish* and *Imperial* thrones; and therefore, the same reasons that took place against the succession of *Bourbon*, operated against that of *Austria*. The *Imperial* ministers at the court of *London*, in vain endeavoured to persuade the *English* ministry, that *Joseph's* death would have no influence upon the principles of the grand alliance; but preliminaries were signed with *France*, and the queen of *England* sent them for approbation to the court of *Vienna*, who absolutely rejected them. Such of the powers of the great alliance, who found their account in prolonging the war, joined with the *Imperial* court, which was not without hopes of being able, by means of the *Whig* generals and ministry, of forcing the queen into their measures. Count *Gallas* the *Imperial* minister was employed for this purpose, but the natural bent of the people was for peace; and it was easy to foresee, that the moment *England* should withdraw her contingencies of men and money, the war must be at an end. The conduct of the *Imperial* court, and several of the *Germanic* princes, favoured this system, by throwing the whole burthen of the war upon *England*, and even the *Dutch* themselves were defective in their complements in the field. The king of *Portugal*, the duke of *Savoy*, and the elector of *Hanover*, declared they were resolved to continue the war; the duke of *Marlborough* still commanded the *English* troops in the *Netherlands*, and the allies took *Bouchain*.

State of  
the em-  
pire, and  
of *Europe*.

When the campaign was over, the impracticability of continuing the war became so evident, that prince *Eugene* came to *England* to influence the queen against a peace. The reasons for putting an end to the war were strongly urged, and the prince, though highly carressed by the queen and ministry, failed of success. The *Imperial* throne was all this while vacant, and the elector of *Mentz* convoked a diet at *Frankfort* to fill it up. The electors of *Bavaria* and *Cologne* were not summoned, nor could the empress-dowager prevail with the other electors to admit her ambassador into the diet, as she had the vote of *Bohemia*, because the services which entitle an elector to vote, could be performed by a male only. The encroachments of the late emperor upon the *Germanic* constitution, rendered the election a matter of difficulty. The diet at *Ratisbon* insisted upon a perpetual capitulation being drawn up, for bounding the *Imperial* power. The electors, for ob-

*England*  
inclines to  
peace.



vious reasons, disliked that proposal, and the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* protested against the whole of the diet's proceedings. If a prince, equally powerful with the archduke *Charles*, could have been found qualified for the empire, it must have departed from the house of *Austria*, but upon the electoral prince of *Saxony* declining to be a candidate, *Charles* was unanimously chosen.

Election  
of the  
emperor  
*Charles*  
VI.

Nothing could have been more contrary to the balance of power in *Europe*, than the uniting the *Imperial* with the *Spanish* crown, and the vast dominions of the *Austrian* succession in one person; yet *Charles* was for a long time earnest to retain the *Spanish* monarchy, and insisted upon his allies making the articles of *Gertruydenberg* the basis of any future treaty of peace. The prince of *Lichenstein*, and count *Herberstein* were his ministers, and so strongly inculcated his native right to *Spain*, that he made it a matter of conscience not to depart from his pretensions. Hearing of his election, he took shipping at *Barcelona*, and landing, he had a conference with the duke of *Savoy* near *Pavia*, where he promised to cede to that house *Monferrat*, *Valencia*, *Alexandria*, and some other states, according to former stipulations, and in consideration of the vast services performed to the empire by the duke. *Charles* by the early dispositions he made as emperor, and archduke of *Austria*, discovered that he was resolved to recede from none of the powers that had been exercised by his brother. It was the 19th of *December*, 1711, when he entered *Frankfort*, and next day he swore to the observance of the *Imperial* capitulation, as presented him by the electors; but, tho' more full than that of his predecessors, it fell short of the expectations of the diet of *Ratisbon*. It was plain, however, that even the majority of the electors disapproved of the two last emperors having, by the plenitude of their own prerogative, without any intervention of the empire, proscribed the two electors, neither did they approve of the system of opposing the strength of the empire to that of *France*, whom they thought to be the natural guarantees of their liberties, against the ambition of *Austria*.

1711.

Pacifica-  
tion of  
*Hungary*.

*Charles*, after being solemnly crowned at *Frankfort*, on the 29th of *December*, repaired to *Vienna*, where he received the disagreeable news that the preliminaries of peace had been approved of by the *British* parliament, that the *Dutch* were likewise treating, and that he was on the point of being abandoned by all his allies. This situation was the more perplexing, as the *Hungarian* malecontents still insisted on the terms, with very little variation, they had formerly proposed, and the best friends of the house of *Austria* were of opinion that they should be gratified to prevent their joining the *Turks*. The *Austrian* ministry rejected this advice, and counselled their master to grant no terms to rebels. The *Turks* had then a minister at *Vienna*, who made specious declarations of friendship to that court, and informed it that his master had declared war against the czar of *Muscovy*. Those promises

were

were thought to be equivocal, and the interest of the empress regent, with that of count *Palfi*, prevailing over the *Austrian* ministry, a peace, containing an amnesty, was signed at *Zathmar*. No mention of the elective right to the crown was made in this treaty, which was not signed by *Ragotski*, though he was to be included in the amnesty, and restored to his estates, provided he submitted in three weeks. Many of the *Hungarians* protested against this peace, but they being tired with the war, two and twenty of their regiments swore fidelity to the emperor, and the remaining malecontents, being too inconsiderable to make any effectual head, submitted by degrees. As to *Ragotski*, he wandered an unfortunate but illustrious exile through various countries of *Europe*.

Prince *Eugene* had offered great things to induce the court Demands of *England* to continue the war, but no stress, from what had upon happened every year, could be laid upon *Austrian* promises, *France*. and the negotiations for peace went on. The prince removed to the *Hague*, where he was joined by the two *Imperial* plenipotentiaries, the counts *Zinzendorf* and *Conisburg*. Their demands amounted to *France* restoring *Lorrain* and all her acquisitions since the peace of *Munster*; and that *Charles* should be left in possession of the *Spanish* monarchy, excepting such portions of it as had been granted to *Portugal* or the other confederates. Those demands were by *France* and *England* considered as inadmissible; as indeed were those of the *Dutch* and *Portugal*. The *Dutch* claimed all the *Spanish* Netherlands, besides other cessions; the *Portuguese* made vast demands in *America* as well as in *Europe*. The elector of *Brandenburgh* required not only to be recognized as king of *Prussia* by *France*, but to be put in possession of the principality of *Orange* and other estates. The circles of the empire, the electors of *Triers* and *Palatine*, the duke of *Wirtemberg*, the landgrave of *Hesse*, the bishop of *Paderborn*, the duke of *Lorrain*, and prince *Ragotski*, had their separate claims; and *France* was saved by the multiplicity of demands made upon her, as it gave her an opportunity to balance the interests of the claimants. The *English* alone were moderate, considering the prodigious expence they had been at in maintaining the war. The *French* having underhand made the *British* ministry easy, knew that the other parties in the grand alliance must submit of course. The ridiculous pretensions of the emperor gave distaste to all *Europe*, and it was thought much more conducive to the preservation of public liberty, that the crown of *Spain* should devolve upon the head of *Philip* than of *Charles*.

When the conferences opened at *Utrecht*, count *Zinzen-* Negotiations for  
*dorf* and the *Imperialists* omitted no measure that could em-  
 broil the negotiation. The *French* king offered to oblige his peace at  
 grandson *Philip* to cede to the house of *Austria* all the *Italian* *Utrecht*.  
 dominions, with *Sicily* and *Sardinia*, provided the emperor  
 would renounce all claims upon the rest of the *Spanish* mo-  
 narchy. The frontier towards the *Rhine* was to be put on

the footing it was before the war; the two proscribed electors were to be reinstated. The *Imperialists* sought to gain time, in hopes of embarrassing the negociation, but all was to no purpose. The *French* plenipotentiaries stood firm to their offers, and refused to admit of any delay, and *Zinzendorf* threatened to leave the congress. He put his menace in execution, and carried off with him other ministers; but the negociations between *England* and *France* still went on. When the time came for taking the field, the suspension of arms had been signed by the *English* and *French*, and prince *Eugene*, with the earl of *Albemarle*, who commanded the *Dutch* troops, were still in hopes of striking some blow that might interrupt the peace. The signing of the preliminaries was as yet a secret to the public, but prince *Eugene* more than suspected it by the behaviour of the duke of *Ormond*, the new *British* general. The allies having passed the *Schelde*, that duke declared that he was instructed to keep separately the command of the *British* troops, and upon being pressed to attack the *French*, he produced an order, signed by his mistress, against his acting offensively. Prince *Eugene* and the *Dutch* generals affected great indifference about the *English*, and threatened to continue the war by themselves. The *Dutch* general, *Fagel*, besieged and took *Quesnoi*, but the duke of *Ormond* produced another order for proclaiming a general armistice in his camp for three months, requiring the other allies to do the same. While they waited for the sentiments of the court of *Vienna*, the duke sounded the generals in the pay of *Great Britain* with regard to the armistice, but they chose to follow the fortune of the *Imperial* arms, even at the expence of the pay and subsidies they received from *England*, and no more than four squadrons of *Holstein* horse remained with the duke of *Ormond*.

Operati-  
ons of the  
war under  
prince *Eu-  
gene*.

It was soon plain that prince *Eugene* was no longer assisted by the duke of *Marlborough* at the head of the *British* forces. His dependance now lay upon a desperate effort. The negociations between *England* and *France* had advanced so far, that the duke of *Ormond* was in possession of *Dunkirk*, but the *Imperial* general *Grovestein* was detached at the head of 1,500 horse, and carried consternation to the very gates of *Paris*. It proved, however, to be no more than a plundering expedition, and it was retaliated upon the *Dutch* by the *French* general *Villars*. *Eugene* invested *Landreci*, which opens an inlet into *Champagne* and *Picardy*. *Villars*, to save it, forced the posts upon the *Scharpe* and the *Schelde*, and beat the allies under the earl of *Albemarle* at *Denain*. The scale of fortune now was turned in favour of *France*; *Villars* took the port of *Marchienne*, though guarded by 4,000 men; the garrison of *Doway*, after an obstinate siege, was forced to surrender prisoners of war; prince *Eugene* resolved to take possession of the plain of *Queverain*, but before he could pass the *Schelde* it was occupied by *Villars*, who soon after retook *Quesnoi*, *Bouchaine*, and

in



in short all the conquests that had been made by the allies for the three preceding campaigns.

In the winter, prince *Eugene* repaired to the *Hague* to concert with the *States General* the operations of the next summer, but the series of misfortunes that had happened during the last year, had cooled the intimacy between the *Dutch* and the *Imperialists*. The former refused to give up the *Spanish Netherlands* to the emperor, who, about this time, without being elected, was receiving the crown of *Hungary* without regarding the protests and remonstrances of the remaining malecontents; some of whom appeared in arms, but were quickly dissipated. *Charles* being entirely bent upon continuing the war, laid upon his subjects the most oppressive taxes to pay the army; but its most masterly movements were defeated by the vigilance of the *French* generals. In *Dauphiny* nothing was done against the duke of *Savoy*; in *Spain* the *Imperial* army was inactive, and *Philip* looked upon himself as king without a competitor; but in *Italy* the *Imperialists* got possession of *Port Ercole*. In the north, the *Swedes* demanded the guarantee of *Pomerania* from the *Germanic* body, as stipulated by the treaty of *Westphalia*. The princes of the empire saw this fine dutchy threatened by the *Russians* and the *Danes*, and were not insensible of the danger of suffering either of them to gain a footing in *Germany*, and therefore a body of troops was ordered to *Stade*, which, notwithstanding, was reduced by the *Danes*. The *Saxons* likewise had their claim upon *Pomerania*, and its elector, the king of *Poland*, together with the czar, offered the town of *Stetin* to the king of *Prussia*, if he would assist them with a train of artillery, which he refused to do. The *Swedes* laid the *Imperial* town of *Altena* in ashes, in revenge for the ungenerous advantages their master's enemies had taken of his detention in *Turkey*; and the northern part of *Germany* presented a most gloomy appearance. The confederacy against *Sweden* was condemned, because it tended to give the czar a footing in the empire; and at *Brunswick* the princes of *Lower Germany* formed a neutral army, consisting of 20,000 men, for preserving the public tranquillity. The command of those troops was voted to be given to prince *Eugene*, and the *Russians*, as well as the *Swedes*, were required to evacuate *Germany*, especially the dutchy of *Mecklenburg*; but in the mean time, *Pomerania* was to be sequestered in the emperor's hands, as was *Bremen*; but his *Danish* majesty was to receive its revenues. *Steinbock*, the *Swedish* general, paid no regard to those and many other regulations made at the congress of *Brunswick* in *January* 1713. The czar, in person, solicited the king of *Prussia* and the elector of *Hanover* to enter into the alliance against *Sweden*, but they were backward, as they were jealous of his getting a footing in *Germany*. The ruin of the *Swedish* army, which ensued, encouraged the *Danes* to besiege *Tonningen*, but the king of *Prussia* declared that he would defend the house of *Holstein Gottorp*,

Distracti-  
ons in Ger-  
many.

1713.

## A GENERAL HISTORY

to whom it belonged, and his *Danish* majesty was forced, for that time, to desist from his enterprize, and to pay a deference to the sense of the empire. *Stetin*, in *Pomerania*, was, at this time, besieged by the allied army which acted against *Sweden*, and was now numerous, as each expected part of her spoils; but the king of *Prussia* declared that he was charged with the sequestration of that dutchy, and that he would return *Stetin* to his *Swedish* majesty as soon as he was indemnified for the expences of the sequestration.

Confederacy  
against  
*Sweden*.

The czar, the kings of *Poland* and *Denmark*, and the elector of *Hanover*, had parcelled out *Pomerania* to themselves, and they sanctified their own partition with the name of justice. The *Danish* monarch joined with the *Prussian*, and both agreed to strip the house of *Holstein Gottorp*, but under plausible pretences, while his *Prussian* majesty, by enjoying the sequestration of *Pomerania* undisputed, aspired to make it his own in perpetuity.

Obstinacy  
of the  
house of  
*Austria*,

The tranquillity of *Europe* all this while remained in suspense. *Lewis*, though old, and upon the brink of the grave, from being a suppliant for peace, now that he had obtained it of the *English*, pretended to prescribe his terms to the *Dutch* and the emperor, and even disavowed the election of *Charles*, because the electors of *Cologne* and *Bavaria* had not been present. The duke of *Savoy* acceded to the treaty of *Utrecht*, and committed his affairs to the hands of her *Britannic* majesty. The court of *Portugal* did the same, and the *Dutch*, at last, became sensible of the absurd part they were acting in their attempting to continue the war without the assistance of *England*. A coldness insensibly grew up between them and the emperor, and the renunciation of *Philip*, his catholic majesty, to the succession of *France*, with those of the princes of the *French* blood to that of *Spain*, quieted the apprehensions of the allies. The province of *Holland* declared for peace. The *Austrian* ministers remonstrated against it, and upbraided the *States General* for ingratitude. *Zinzendorf* said, that his master was the first power in *Europe*; the *Dutch* answered, that they found the queen of *England* to be the most important, and they soon determined upon peace, which they accordingly embraced. The associated circles of the empire represented themselves as being the only powers in the late confederacy that had not tasted of *British* bounty; and the queen of *England* ordered the earl of *Peterborough* to present a memorial in their favour to the emperor, who received it with great disgust, it being, as he said, conceived in too high a strain to be presented by a sovereign of *England* to an emperor of *Germany*. The *Germanic* body now saw that the peace of *Christendom* must be sacrificed to the ambition of the house of *Austria*, and *Charles* soon found himself to be the dupe of his own haughtiness. He was at last obliged to comply so far as to order his troops to evacuate *Catalonia*, and to agree to a neutrality for *Italy*.

The

The latter comprehended many objects, as the acquisitions which of the house of *Austria* there had been obtained by force and continued fraud, and had been held by the two last emperors under a the war. pretence that they were ready to resign them as soon as a general peace should be concluded. The like difficulties lay with regard to the restitution of the electorates of *Bavaria* and *Cologne*, in which *Lewis* heartily interested himself, and insisted upon their being restored to the two electors. He likewise demanded that all foreign troops should be withdrawn from *Liege*, *Huy*, and *Bonn*, and that after the death of the elector *Palatine*, the elector of *Bavaria* should be recognized as first secular elector of the empire, and that he should be put in possession of the island of *Sardinia*. He agreed that the *Dutch*, if they thought proper to do it in a certain time, should garrison *Namur*, *Luxemburg*, and *Charleroy*, and to restore *Brisac*, with all its dependencies, to the emperor, whom he was to acknowledge in that quality, and to whom he was willing to cede *Naples*, *Milan*, and the *Spanish Netherlands*. The *English* minister, the bishop of *Bristol*, was instructed to make those concessions the basis of an accommodation between the emperor and the *French* king; but *Zinzendorf* rejected them with disdain. At *Vienna*, matters were considered more soberly, and though *Charles* still professed his abhorrence to resign the *Spanish* monarchy, yet a truce was proposed, in hopes, that during it, the thrones of *France* and *Great Britain* might become vacant, and be filled with princes favourable to the *Austrian* greatness. The project of a truce which left the emperor in possession of all his acquisitions, miscarried, and a coldness ensued between the *States General* and the court of *Vienna*, which was now singly engaged in the war. *Zinzendorf* left *Utrecht* like a minister who was disgusted at his master's not having sufficient consideration paid him by the negotiating powers. But some advances were made towards a reconciliation between the emperor and the elector of *Bavaria*, and the *Catalans* continued firm to the house of *Austria*. The diet of *Ratisbon* advanced the emperor a million of crowns, and promised him more; but when the money came to be paid he found he must borrow it. Prince *Eugene* went to his camp at *Mulburg*, but instead of 120,000 men whom he had been promised, he could not muster above 40,000, and all this proceeded from the backwardness of the circles, who were every day more and more tired of the war. All the abilities of prince *Eugene* could not surmount the difficulties he was encompassed with, and *Villars*, who encamped between *Philipsburg* and *Landau*, took the latter place, and *Friburg* itself, with many other places, under the eyes of the *Germans*, who now trembled at the very gates of *Vienna*. *Charles* was then obliged to think in good earnest upon peace, and prince *Eugene* informed *Villars* that he was impowered to enter on a negotiation for that purpose at the castle of *Radstadt*. On the 27th of *November* the two generals met there, and

Advanta-  
ges gained  
by the  
*French* in  
*Germany*,



demanding the restitution of *Landau*, *Philipsbourg*, and *Friburg*. The two latter were offered him, and *Charles* consented to the reinstating the two proscribed electors in their dominions and dignities. The conferences broke up; but being reassumed a treaty was signed. *Lewis* yielded to the emperor *Fort-Kehl*, *Friburg*, and old *Brisac*; *Landau*, with some places on the *Rhine*, remained with the *French*, as did *Fort-Lewis*, but the fortifications of *Hunningen*, *Homburg*, *Selingen*, and *la Pile*, were demolished. *Lewis* acknowledged the electoral dignity in the house of *Hanover*. The two proscribed electors were reinstated in their dominions; *Sardinia* was left with the emperor, with all his *Italian* acquisitions, and it was agreed to open another negotiation in *Switzerland*, for regulating the execution of the treaty.

The  
peace of  
*Radstadt*.

The peace of *Radstadt*, in fact, put a period to one of the most devouring wars that ever had happened in *Europe*, but it was far from securing the tranquillity of *Europe*. The emperor *Charles* omitted no opportunity of enlarging his own dominions and authority, and for that purpose, he pursued with unvariable attention to the end of his life, the establishment of the pragmatic sanction. His two neices, daughters to the emperor *Joseph*, were married, one of them to the king of *Poland*'s eldest son, the electoral prince of *Saxony*, the other to the electoral prince of *Bavaria*; but both of them had been obliged to renounce all pretensions to the *Austrian* succession. By the pragmatic sanction, it was limited to the arch-duchesses, daughters of *Charles*; failing them to the arch-duchesses his neices; in their failure, to his sisters, and then to the next right heir, whether male or female. The electors of *Saxony* and *Bavaria* had their reasons for not opposing the emperor in the establishment of this pragmatic sanction; the first, because the emperor had kept the crown of *Poland* on his head, and the latter, because he was unable to do it with effect. The histories of *France*, *Spain*, and *Italy* exhibit the chief transactions in which *Charles* was concerned, after the peace of *Radstadt*, and which, in strict propriety, relate rather to the house of *Austria*, than the empire of *Germany*, the history of which is our present subject.

Death of  
the em-  
peror  
*Charles*  
VI.

The emperor *Charles* VI. having completed the great passion of his life, the guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, by the principal powers of *Europe*, and even by *France* itself, became sensible that his house could only fall by its own greatness, and that if his eldest daughter should give her hand to a powerful prince, a general confederacy must ensue among the *European* potentates, to prevent the consequences. The house of *Lorraine* had been a great sufferer for that of *Austria*; the duke had little or no power, but was young, handsome, and every way qualified to be a husband to the eldest arch-duchess. The affair, however, was of too much consequence to be executed without the concurrence of the other powers of *Europe*. The duke, among other princes, paid a visit to

George

*George II.* at *London*, and, he approving of the match, the marriage was consummated. Upon the death of *Charles*, in 1740, the *French* court pretended, that their guarantee of the pragmatic sanction, could not operate against a third party to the prejudice of its right; and the house of *Austria*, all at once, saw itself attacked by *France*, *Prussia*, *Saxony*, and *Bavaria*. Of those powers, the most formidable was that of *Prussia*, whose monarch marched his armies, without any previous ceremony, into *Silesia*, which fine province he seized for his own use, under pretence of ancient family settlements. The *French* declared their intentions, to raise the elector of *Bavaria* to the *Imperial* throne, and to put him in possession of the *Austrian* dominions, or at least to divide them; *Belleisle*, the *French* general, intrigued so successfully, that the elector was chosen emperor, and so rapid was the progress against *Mary Teresa*, daughter to the emperor *Charles VI.* that she was forced to fly to *Hungary*, that she might avoid falling into the hands of her enemy.

1740.

Distresses  
of his  
daughter,

The *Hungarians*, notwithstanding the vast provocations they had received from her family, generously espoused her cause; but she must have been ruined, had not his *Britannic* majesty taken her part likewise, in a manner that does honour to his memory. The elector of *Bavaria's* claim to the *Austrian* succession, was founded on a will said to have been made by the emperor *Ferdinand*, brother to *Charles V.* The *Saxon* pretensions rested upon the queen of *Poland*, being the daughter of the elder brother, *Joseph*; and even the king of *Spain* entered a maternal claim to *Maria Teresa's* birth-right, though that of his most christian majesty was undoubtedly preferable, but for political reasons he declined appearing as a claimant. *Great Britain* was the only power in *Europe*, who heartily embraced *Maria's* interest, and vindicated the indivisibility of the *Austrian* succession, according to the pragmatic sanction. She had the good sense to relax of her family's strictness, by granting to the *Hungarians* all the security they could demand for their liberties. She had no dependence in *Italy*, where the house of *Austria* had lost all her possessions. Her chief misfortunes, however, arose from her having too great a contempt for the house of *Brandenburg*, and its head. In the midst of her distress, the *British* parliament voted her a supply of 500,000 l. and above 16,000 men were sent from *Great Britain* to her assistance in *Flanders*. They were commanded by the earl of *Stair*, who was likewise nominated ambassador and plenipotentiary from his *Britannic* majesty to the *States General*, that he might rouse them to the defence of the house of *Austria*. But this was found impracticable, though the king of *Sardinia* declared himself in favour of *Maria*. All the *Dutch* could be brought to do, was to encrease their forces by sea and land; but though they made the strongest professions of friendship towards *George II.* that augmentation was but an ambiguous

who is  
saved by  
*Great*  
*Britain.*

guous proof of it, as it was more than suspected that they were in the *French* interest.

The king  
of *Prussia*  
invades  
*Silesia*,

The king of *Great Britain* understood better, than any prince then in *Europe*, the *Germanic* system. He knew the late king of *Prussia* had left behind him immense sums, which his son had employed in augmenting and disciplining his army, and he wanted to prevent a quarrel between him and *Maria*. This could not be done without her ceding, at least, a part of *Silesia*, which, with her family obstinacy, she refused to do. The king of *Prussia* would willingly have joined with *Great Britain* in defence of the pragmatic sanction, could she have been brought to make the cessions he demanded. Finding that the sword must decide the difference, he entered *Silesia* with one of the best disciplined armies, and the most formidable train of artillery, that *Europe* had ever seen. *Neuperg* had the command of the *Imperialists*, and a battle was fought at *Molwitz*, near the *Neiss*, where the *Prussian* cavalry was defeated, but the excellent discipline of his infantry gave that monarch the victory. The *French* improved this circumstance to the distress of *Maria*, who was then known by the title of queen of *Hungary*; and *Belleisle*, the *French* minister and general, laid down a scheme for the entire destruction of the house of *Austria*. He proposed that 50,000 *French*, of whom 20,000 were to be cavalry, should advance to the heart of *Germany*, and join the *Saxons* and *Bavarians*, while an army of 40,000 *French* were to march into *Westphalia*, to overawe the king of *Great Britain's* electoral dominions. His *Prussian* majesty could not behold, with indifference, those immense preparations, which seemed intended to give law to the house of *Brandenburg* as well as that of *Austria*. He applied to the court of *Vienna* once more in a friendly manner, by the mediation of *George II*. He offered to be a party in a league with the maritime powers, and *Russia*, for the support of *Maria*; to give her husband his vote at any future election of an emperor, and to pay her down two millions of florins, if she would yield him up even the half of *Silesia*. She rejected the terms, and must have been ruined, had not the *French* executed *Belleisle's* scheme by halves.

as the  
*French* do  
the em-  
pire.

The latter  
are com-  
manded  
by the  
emperor.

The *Bavarian* emperor, *Charles VII*. was joined by his brother the elector of *Cologne*, and the elector *Palatine*. He took upon him the command of the *French* in *Germany*, and he summoned count *Kevenhuller*, the governor of *Vienna*, to surrender to him that city, while the *French* general, *Maillebois*, at the head of an army in *Westphalia*, obliged *George II*. to accept of a neutrality for his electorate. The emperor had taken *Passau*, and was master of *Lintz*, the capital of the *Upper Hungary*. His advanced guards were posted within three league of *Vienna*, but instead of finishing the war, and the ruin of the house of *Austria*, by taking that capital, the *French*, of a sudden, marched towards *Bohemia*, in *November* 1741, where, being joined by 40,000 *Saxons*, they surprized the



the city of *Prague*, and made its garrison, consisting of 3000 men, prisoners of war. The emperor was, in that capital, crowned king of *Bohemia*. He had at *Lintz* taken upon himself the title of archduke of *Austria*, and his *Prussian* majesty had almost completed the conquest of *Silesia*. Her *Hungarian* majesty, however, had still vast resources, and the power of the *Austrian* house can hardly be said to be fully known, till that period. The *Hungarians*, the *Moldavians*, the *Transylvanians*, and the inhabitants of many other countries in that neighbourhood, who had been scarcely ever mentioned in history before, poured forth excellent troops in her service, and they were well commanded. Her enemies, when they were about to divide her spoils, were found to agree in nothing but her destruction. Marshal *Belleisle*, the soul of the confederacy against her, was sick at *Frankfort*; and the *French*, upon the whole, were found to be most miserably deficient in the contingencies which they had engaged to send to the field.

*Upper Austria* had been, by the *Bavarian* emperor, left un- Progress provided with troops sufficient to defend so large an extent of of the territory, and the husband of the empress queen, who was now *Austrians*, the great duke of *Tuscany*, made there his principal effort. *Kevenhuller*, one of the ablest generals of the age, commanded under him, and the *Imperial* troops did not exceed 15,000 *Bavarians* and 8000 *French*. The great duke retook *Lintz*, *Passau*, and *Scharding*; and the *Austrian* free-booter, *Mentzel*, took *Munich*, the capital town of *Bavaria*, on the very day that was appointed for crowning the elector, emperor, at *Frankfort*. The king of *Prussia* saw through the designs of the *French*, upbraided them with their conduct, and having accomplished the conquest of *Silesia*, detached himself from all his engagements with them; but did it in such a manner as left them no room to complain of his good faith. Old marshal *Broglie* had taken the command of the *French* army, during the illness of *Belleisle*, but found himself unable to oppose *Lobkowitz*; the *Austrian* general, and prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, brother to the grand duke of *Tuscany*, obliged his *Prussian* majesty to abandon *Olmütz*, and for his own interest to march to the relief of *Broglie*, who was now severely pressed by *Lobkowitz*. All the electorate of *Bavaria*, at this time, lay at the mercy of the *Austrians*, while its master retained the empty title of emperor. They were in possession of the greatest part of *Bohemia*, excepting *Prague*, and his *Prussian* majesty, on the 6th of *May*, 1742, beat prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, at *Czaslaw*. The king of *Prussia* attributed his victory entirely to his own conduct, and the courage of his troops, and perceiving that Peace between the he had more to apprehend from the *French*, had he been defeated, than from the *Austrians* themselves, he accepted of the king of mediation of his *Britannic* majesty, and about three weeks *Prussia* after his gaining the battle of *Czaslaw*, he concluded with the and the queen of *Hungary* a peace which left him in possession of all queen of *Silesia*; *Hungary*.

*Silesia*; without any regard being had to the interests either of *France*, or the empire.

This peace gave free scope to the *Austrian* arms, especially after the *Saxons* had been persuaded to separate their troops from the *Imperialists* and the *French*. The emperor found no safety in his electoral dominions, and shut himself up in *Frankfort*, where his misfortunes affected their *Britannic* and *Prussian* majesties so much, that he remained in safety; but the *Austrians* besieged *Prague*, where *Belleisle* and *Broglio* commanded the *French*; while the duke of *Harcourt* obliged *Kevenhuller*, whose troops were guilty of shocking barbarities, to evacuate *Munich*.

The  
*French* be-  
sieged in  
*Prague*,

The fortune of the *French* in *Germany*, and of their *Bava-*  
*rian* emperor, was now in a manner shut up within the walls  
of *Prague*, where the *French* were in a most miserable condi-  
tion. The queen of *Hungary*, after signing the treaty with  
the king of *Prussia*, ordered her general, *Festitz*, who com-  
manded in *Silesia*, to march with 18,000 men to the assistance  
of prince *Charles*, who was besieging *Prague*. The emperor  
and *French* were sensible of the turn the war had taken in  
favour of her *Hungarian* majesty. They offered to evacuate  
*Prague*, *Egra*, and all their posts in *Bohemia*, provided the  
*Austrians* would do the same by *Bavaria*, and suffer the gar-  
rison of *Prague*, consisting of 28,000 men, to march out with  
the honours of war. Those magnificent offers struck the  
queen of *Hungary* with ideas, that the *French* would be com-  
pelled to surrender themselves prisoners of war. She sent her  
husband to command her army before *Prague*, that he might  
engross the glory of that event, which must have happened,  
had it not been for want of skilful engineers on the part of  
the *Austrians*. The garrison of *Prague* was, by this time, re-  
duced to the most wretched extremities, and even to feed upon  
horse flesh. *Maillebois*, the *French* general, was ordered at  
all hazards to relieve *Prague*, and being joined by the *French*  
and *Imperialists* in *Bavaria*, he advanced for that purpose.  
Prince *Charles*, leaving what he thought a sufficient body to  
carry on the siege, marched with the main force of the *Aus-*  
*trian* army, and obliged *Maillebois* to fall back upon the *Pala-*  
*tinate*. The *French* took advantage of his absence to attack  
the *Austrian* posts, under *Festitz*, and to enlarge their own  
quarters; but upon the approach of *Lobkowitz* with a fresh  
army, they again shut themselves up in *Prague*, where they  
endured more miseries than ever. *Belleisle* laid a scheme for  
escaping, though he was himself greatly indisposed, his troops  
in a sickly condition, and the season more than commonly se-  
vere. The success which attended his dispositions is next to  
incredible. He threw *Lobkowitz* off his guard, by amusing  
him with terms of surrender. He deceived the inhabitants of  
*Prague*, and leaving no more than 900 men in the garrison, he  
marched out with his troops in the night-time, and though  
immediately followed by *Lobkowitz*, he reached *Egra*, and  
from

out of  
which  
they e-  
scape.

from thence escaped into *Alsace*, without any material loss, while the little garrison which he had left behind him, resigned, upon honourable terms, the capital of *Bohemia*, to the *Austrians*.

The emperor still remained shut up in *Frankfort*, and his *Britannic* majesty very properly distinguishing between his character as king and elector, on the 9th of *June*, 1743, arrived at his army, which was assembled under the earl of *Stair*, upon the *Upper Maine*. The duke de *Noailles* commanded the *French* army that was to oppose him, but he was beat by king *George* at *Dettingen*; though the victory was far from being decisive, on account of the tenderness he and his ministers had, as was thought, for his *German* dominions. This action was followed by the treaty of *Worms*, between his *Britannic* majesty, the queen of *Hungary*, and the king of *Sardinia*, through which the latter was entirely gained over by the allies. The unfortunate emperor endeavoured to procure terms for himself, and made the most humiliating offers to her *Hungarian* majesty, but they were rejected. He applied to the king of *Prussia* with better success. That monarch saw the *Austrians* under prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, carry their arms into *France* across the *Rhine*, and he thought himself safe in meditating a blow of importance, which might at once humble the house of *Austria*, and advance that of *Brandenburg*. This was no less than the conquest of the kingdom of *Bohemia* for the emperor. His armies being put in motion, the earl of *Hyndford*, the *British* minister, demanded from him the succours stipulated for the protection of *Hanover*, and his *Prussian* majesty's answer in the negative, soon convinced the public of his real designs. He took occasion, from the continuance of the troubles of *Germany*, to accuse the court of *Vienna* with cruelty, and want of respect, to the emperor; of having introduced foreign troops into the empire, and of having endeavoured to subvert the most essential rights of the *Germanic* body, by disputing the validity of the emperor's election. He observed, that his *Imperial* majesty had offered to renounce all pretensions to the *Austrian* succession, provided his hereditary dominions were restored to him; but that the courts of *Vienna* and *London* appeared to be so intractable, that there was an end of all negotiation. All those and many other reasons for his taking arms, were digested in form of a manifesto, and sent to *London*, with a memorial, which was likewise published, intimating that the quarrel was entirely foreign to the *British* nation, and that, therefore, they ought not to interfere in it.

Though the *French*, who had threatened to give laws to the queen of *Hungary*, on the bastions of *Vienna*, were now trembling behind their lines in their own country, his *Prussian* majesty's declaration revived them. It was in vain for the queen of *Hungary* to publish, as she did, an answer to the *Prussian* manifesto, in which she charged that prince with breaking

1743.  
King  
*George*  
gains the  
battle of  
*Dettingen*.

Pretensions of his  
*Prussian*  
majesty,

who again  
invades  
*Bohemia*.



1744.

His suc-  
cesses  
there;

breaking the treaty of *Breslau*, and cleared her own conduct. The truth is, nothing new or extraordinary had happened since the peace of *Breslau*, to justify his *Prussian* majesty's renewal of the war, and though in all his declarations he professed the greatest disinterestedness, yet it was no secret, that he was to have been indemnified by the emperor with certain great fiefs in *Bohemia*, which lay extremely convenient for his other dominions. Prince *Charles* was to repass the *Rhine*, before he could march to the relief of *Bohemia*, and the *French* had undertaken to interrupt his passage. In *August*, 1744, the king of *Prussia* entered *Bohemia* at the head of 124,000 men. He at the same time published a proclamation, promising, "That his army should observe the strictest discipline, and that those who made no resistance, should be suffered to remain at quiet in their habitations. He required that all arms, in the custody of whomsoever they might be placed, should be given up, and put into the hands of public officers. He still declared himself to act only as an auxiliary to the emperor, and with no other design, than to establish peace and tranquillity throughout *Germany*, his dear country." The same proclamation threatened immediate death to every peasant who should not deliver up his arms, and that if any landlord should connive at any of his vassals retaining them, his village should be burnt to the ground. Menaces which were thought equally cruel and unjust!

His *Prussian* majesty met with no opposition in his irruption into *Bohemia*. It was now no longer a secret, that a treaty had been concluded at *Frankfort*, between himself, the emperor, and the *French*, for the destruction of the house of *Austria*, and that the elector *Palatine*, and the landgrave of *Hesse*, were to share in the spoils. In *September*, his *Prussian* majesty besieged *Prague*, but while he was making himself master of its out posts, the convoy attending his artillery was attacked by the *Austrians*, who were carrying off his cannon. He instantly marched with the third part of his army, rescued his artillery, beat *Bathiani*, the *Austrian* general, and returning to the siege, destroyed great part of the city, which in fourteen days was obliged to capitulate, on the 16th of *September*. He then reduced *Tabor*, *Budaveis*, *Teyn*, and in short, the greatest part of that kingdom, and still trusting to the promises of the *French*, that they would oppose prince *Charles* in repassing the *Rhine*, he made dispositions for penetrating to *Vienna* itself. The *French*, as usual, deceived him. *Noailles*, who commanded their army, suffered prince *Charles* to retreat, with little or no loss, either of men or time. The prince after laying the *Upper Palatinate* under contribution, entered *Bohemia*, and joined *Bathiani* at *Merolitz*. The king of *Poland*, elector of *Saxony*, encouraged by this junction, declared for her *Hungarian* majesty, and sent 20,000 of the troops, under the prince of *Saxe-Weissenfels*, to join the prince, whose army thereby became superior to that of his *Prussian* majesty, and

and he resolved to hazard an engagement. The king was but is astonished at the facility with which the prince returned to *Bombia*, and quitting post after post without the smallest resistance, he at last gave orders for *Prague* itself to be evacuated, and he returned with vast loss of men, carriages, and artillery, to *Silesia*, where he put his troops into winter-quarters; but he was so mortified with the ill success of the campaign, that upon his return to *Berlin*, he ordered that it should not be talked of in public.

The queen of *Hungary* was unreasonably and impolitically elevated at this event, and rejected all offers of accommodation, with more obstinacy than ever. The king of *England* counselled her to improve the juncture, by concluding a reasonable and advantageous peace, but she would hear of nothing but the recovery of *Silesia*, and dividing the dominions of the house of *Brandenburg*, with the elector of *Saxony*. That she might the more easily gratify her revenge, she made peace with the emperor, as elector of *Bavaria*, and that prince died in the beginning of the year 1745. In the *August* preceeding, the *French* army besieged *Friburg*, and *Lewis* arrived at his camp, the 11th of *October* following. *Damnitz*, the *Imperial* governor, defended the place with a garrison of 9000 men, till it was almost laid in ruins, and then he surrendered it; but the siege was said to have cost the *French* 15,000 of their best troops. In the *Low Countries*, count *Saxe*, who commanded the *French*, was greatly inferior to the confederates, through the large detachments that he had sent off, when prince *Charles* passed the *Rhine*. The duke of *Aremberg* was the *Austrian* general there, and *Wade* was the *British*. Both of them were destitute of all military abilities, and both of them were so shamefully baffled by *Saxe*, that their conduct became the ridicule of all *Europe*, when they retired, with recriminations on each other, into winter-quarters. The battle of *Fontenoy*, which the *French* gained over the confederates next campaign, retarded the queen of *Hungary's* operations against his *Prussian* majesty. Her spouse, the grand duke, declared himself a candidate for the *Imperial* crown. He was opposed by *France* and her allies, but her *Hungarian* majesty obliged the young elector of *Bavaria* to agree to a peace, by which he was reinstated in all his electoral dominions, but he engaged to give his vote for the great duke being emperor. The votes of *Brandenburg* and the *Palatinate* had not been promised him, and the *French* assembled an army in the neighbourhood of *Frankfort* to overawe the election, which, however, went in the great duke's favour, by a clear majority of voices.

The king of *Prussia* was all this while making a progress in *Silesia*, where he and his generals had obtained many advantages over the *Austrians* and *Hungarians*. In *May*, prince *Charles* of *Lorraine* being joined by the *Saxons*, penetrated into *Silesia* by the defiles of *Landshut*, and on the 4th of *June* was

Impolitic  
resent-  
ment of  
the queen  
of *Hun-  
gary*.

1745.  
Cam-  
paigns of  
1744, and  
1745, in  
the *Low  
Countries*.

The king  
of *Prussia*  
beats the  
*Austrians*  
in *Silesia*.

was attacked by his *Prussian* majesty near *Neidburg*. The prince was defeated with the loss of 12,000 men killed or taken prisoners, and the greatest part of his artillery. The conqueror transferred the seat of war to *Bohemia*, and prince *Charles* receiving new reinforcements on the 30th of *September*, attacked him in his camp of *Sobz*; but though at first he had some advantage, he was defeated through the avarice of his irregulars, which gave the king of *Prussia* time to rally his troops, and to force them to fly to *Jaromire*, with the loss of 5000 killed, 2000 taken prisoners, and 100 pieces of cannon. His *Prussian* majesty upon his return to *Berlin*, after this battle, agreed to a convention with the king of *Great Britain*, who guaranteed to him the possession of *Silesia*, as ceded by the treaty of *Bresslau*. Soon after he pretended, that the king of *Poland*, and the empress queen, were about to invade his dominions at three different quarters, and that they were to be assisted by the czarina. He called upon the maritime powers for the execution of their guarantee-ships, and all at once he broke into *Lusatia*, entered *Leipsic*, and laid *Saxony* under contribution, while prince *Charles* was obliged to retire before him into *Bohemia*. The king of *Poland* fled to *Prague*. His troops, and those of the *Austrians*, were defeated at *Pirna*, on the 15th of *December*, and the king of *Prussia* entered the capital of *Saxony* as a conqueror, and obliged its sovereign to accept of whatever terms he pleased to prescribe. A treaty, under the mediation of his *Britannic* majesty, was concluded at *Dresden*; the *Prussian* troops evacuated *Saxony*; their master acknowledged the great duke for their emperor, and peace seemed once more to be restored to *Germany*.

He con-  
quers  
Saxony.

Vast pro-  
gress of  
the French  
in the  
Low Coun-  
tries.

This short duration of tranquillity did not extend to the *Austrian Netherlands*, which were now almost entirely reduced by the *French*. The *States General* owed this in a great measure to their own pusillanimity, and were threatened with an invasion of *Zealand* in the spring. *Brussels* had been taken by the *French* during the winter; a rebellion was raging within the bowels of *Great Britain*, and *Bathiani*, the *Austrian* general, being in no condition to face marshal *Saxe*, who was at the head of 120,000 men, was obliged to retire and to take post in the neighbourhood of *Breda*. The prodigious trains of artillery, brought into the field by the *French*, soon reduced *Antwerp*, *Mons*, *St. Guislain*, and *Charleroy*, so that before the end of *July*, the *French* were masters of *Brabant*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*. Prince *Charles* had now taken upon himself the command of the confederate army, which with the reinforcements he received, amounted to 87,000 men. The prince at first endeavoured to cover *Namur*, but the *French* general, *Lowendahl*, took possession of a large *French* magazine belonging to the confederates, and cut off their communication with *Maestricht*, while *Saxe*, on the other side, straitened them for provisions. The confederates retired across the *Maese*, and the *French* besieged and took *Namur*, one of the strongest fortresses



fortresses in the world. On the 13th of *September*, the prince of *Lorrain*, finding the communication again open with *Maestricht*, repassed the *Maese*, and advanced to give battle to *Saxe*; but perceiving him to be too well posted at *Tongres* to be attacked, he fell back upon *Maestricht*. The battle of *Roucoux* succeeded, in which the confederates were beaten, with the loss of 5000 men, though that of the *French* was much greater. Soon after this battle, which was of small utility to the *French*, both armies went into winter quarters, which the *French* took up in their conquests, and the confederates in the dutchies of *Limburg* and *Luxembourg*.

The court of *Vienna*, at this time, entertained great hopes of an expedition that was undertaken by general *Brown*, an enterprising *Austrian* general, who, favoured by the operations of the *British* fleets, passed the *Var*, and even laid siege to *Antibes*. The duke of *Belleisle* was sent to oppose him, and took his measures so well, as to oblige *Brown* to repass the *Var* with some loss, and to retire towards *Final* and *Savona*. In the winter of the year 1746, a congress was opened for peace at *Breda*, at the earnest request of the *Dutch*, and the plenipotentiaries of *Great Britain*, *France*, the emperor, and *Holland* attended; but the demands of *France* were found to be inadmissible, and the allies determined to make extraordinary efforts, during the campaign of 1747. For this purpose, the duke of *Cumberland*, having during the winter concerted with the *Dutch* and the *Imperialists* the plan of operations, in *February* took the command of the confederate army, which consisted of three divisions. The *English*, *Hanoverians*, and *Hessians*, were posted at the village of *Tilberg*. The *Dutch*, under the prince of *Waldeck*, lay at *Breda*, and the *Imperialists*, under *Bathiani*, in the neighbourhood of *Venlo*. *Saxe*, who was now marshal-general of *France*, affected great contempt at those dispositions, and made no motion for taking the field, and in fact, the troops of the allies suffered greatly through the severity of the season, and the scarcity of provisions. The parliament of *Great Britain* had advanced incredible sums to the queen of *Hungary*, and for the expences of the war, but they were far from answering expectation. The confederate army amounted to 120,000 men, but *Saxe*, in *April*, brought into the field 140,000. Count *Lowendahl* was detached at the head of 20,000, on the 16th of the same month, against *Dutch Brabant*, where he made a most alarming progress, through the cowardice and treachery of the *Dutch*, and he prepared flat-bottomed boats for making a descent upon *Zealand*. The sequel does not belong to this part of our history; it is sufficient to say, that *Zealand* was saved by a *British* squadron, and that the *Dutch*, at last shook off their shameful neutrality, and chose the prince of *Orange* for their Stadtholder.

Towards the end of *May*, the *French* king having arrived at *Brussels*, the confederates posted themselves between the army of *Saxe* and *Maestricht*, to cover the latter as well as *Bergen-op-Zoom*.

*op-zoom*. Saxe had formed a plan of engaging the allies, and besieging *Maestricht* at the same time. The village of *Laffeldt*, where the *British* infantry was posted, lay in the front of the confederates, and the *French* possessed the heights of *Herdeeren* above it. They descended to the attack, which was received and renewed with amazing intrepidity. The *British* infantry did wonders, and again and again repulsed the *French*, who still returned with fresh numbers, while the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* remained almost inactive. *Bathiani* at last made a motion towards *Herdeeren*, but the *Dutch* cavalry giving way, overthrew five battalions of the allied infantry, and the *French* pursued with such impetuosity, that the line of the allies was broken about the center, and the duke of *Cumberland* was in danger of being surrounded, when he was disengaged by a noble effort made by the *British* general, Sir *John Ligonier*, who charged the whole line of *French* horse, at the head of three *British* regiments of dragoons, but was himself taken prisoner. The duke of *Cumberland* was thereby enabled to make an orderly retreat towards *Maestricht*, and the *French* remained in the neighbourhood of *Tongres*. It was computed that the action of *Laffeldt* cost the allies above 5000 men, but the loss of the *French* was much greater.

*Bergen-op-zoom* besieged and taken.

Saxe now meditated a master-stroke, the execution of which he committed to *Lowendahl*, who appeared to have a genius for engineering, and that was to besiege *Bergen-op-zoom* in *Dutch Brabant*, a place which had been rendered so strong by the famous *Coehorn*, that it was deemed by all *Europe* to be impregnable. Thirty-six thousand men were employed in this undertaking, which was the most bloody that happened during the course of the war. Old baron *Cromstrom* commanded the garrison, and prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghausen* lay within the lines, with 20 battalions and 14 squadrons of the allied army. The *French* lost so many men, and made so small progress in the siege, that *Cromstrom* was thrown off his guard. *Lowendahl* resolved to storm a few inconsiderable breaches, which the other thought to be impracticable, and the *French* forcing open a sally port on the 16th of *September*, became masters of all the ramparts, almost without opposition. Two *Scotch* regiments, in the pay of the *Dutch*, drew up in the market-place, and fought very bravely for some time, but were obliged to retreat, with *Cromstrom*, whom they saved from being made prisoner, and thus *Bergen-op-zoom* fell into the hands of the *French*. The manner in which it was taken, gives but too much ground to suppose that the *French* had a correspondence with some of the besieged, especially, as it was well known, that preparations were then making for a negotiation of peace. Soon after the taking of *Bergen-op-zoom*, both armies retired into winter-quarters.

1748.

The conferences were opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*; and before the end of *April*, 1748, the preliminaries for a general pacification were signed by the *British*, *French*, and *Dutch* ministers,

a general restitution of the conquests made by the *French*, being the basis of the accommodation. During the dependency of this negotiation, the *Austrian* general *Bathiani*, made strong remonstrances against the *French* being allowed to attack *Maestricht*, but they were disregarded, and the siege of that place was formed by count *Saxe*. The duke of *Cumberland* returned from *England* towards the latter end of *February*: the garrison of *Maestricht*, which was defended by the *Dutch* and *Imperialists*, made a most glorious resistance, but intelligence arriving of the preliminaries having been signed, hostilities were discontinued, and it was agreed that *Maestricht* should be delivered up to the *French*, who were, however, to restore it, with all its magazines and artillery.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was variously censured, and if the fidelity of the *Imperialists* and *Dutch* could have been depended on, it would have been indefensible. The king of *Great Britain* had concluded a treaty with the empress of *Russia*, by which, for a very moderate subsidy, she had engaged to hold 30,000 men and 40 galleys in readiness for his service, and that of his allies; and she fulfilled the terms so punctually, that they arrived under prince *Repnin* in *Moravia*, where they were reviewed by their *Imperial* majesties, but had orders to halt on the frontiers of *Franconia*, till the result of the negotiations for peace at *Aix-la-Chapelle* should be known. It was the 7th of *October* before all the articles relating to the definitive treaty were settled in the congress. All the contracting powers guaranteed to the queen of *Hungary*, the possession of her remaining hereditary dominions, according to the pragmatic sanction, and to the king of *Prussia* that of the duchy of *Silesia*, and the county of *Glatz*. Its stipulations.

The peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* was of no long continuance. His *Prussian* majesty knew too much of the court of *Vienna* to trust to its professions. He suspected that the empress-queen had not in earnest laid aside the project of dismembering his dominions, and therefore, he ordered his ministers to have a watchful eye over every thing that passed at the courts either of *Vienna*, *Petersburg*, or *Dresden*. *Silesia*, which her *Hungarian* majesty had just ceded to the king of *Prussia*, is one of the finest, best peopled, and best cultivated duchies in *Germany*, and was said to produce a revenue of 800,000 l. a year. With indefatigable pains that prince had discovered, that in the treaty concluded at *Petersburgh* between the two empresses, six secret articles were inserted, that were carefully concealed from his knowledge and that of the public. By one of those articles it was provided, that if the empress-queen, or the empress of *Russia*, or the republic of *Holland*, should be attacked by his *Prussian* majesty, the treaty of *Dresden* was to be of no effect; that the possession of *Silesia* should revert to the empress-queen; and that the other contracting powers should furnish 60,000 men to assist her in recovering it. The king of *Poland* was invited to accede to this treaty, and he

Conclusion of the treaty of *Petersburgh*,  
entirely



entirely agreed with the principles of it, and expressed himself ready to concur in all measures towards its execution, by which he was to have been a considerable gainer, though his situation did not suffer him actually to sign the treaty. The two empresses were satisfied with his reasons, and he was no farther pressed, though he was considered as a party. The court of *Vienna* knew of what importance it was to keep the empress of *Russia* firm to her engagements, and they found means to impress her with such notions of his personal character, that she remained ever afterwards his irreconcilable and most dangerous enemy.

which is  
resented  
by his  
*Prussian*  
majesty.

All this while, immense preparations for war were making in *Bohemia* and *Moravia*, and his *Prussian* majesty had undoubted intelligence, that the court of *Petersburgh* was determined upon a breach with him, in order to give a colour for vacating the stipulations of the treaty of *Dresden*. He ordered his minister, *Klingraffe*, to present memorial upon memorial at the court of *Vienna*, for a categorical answer upon the subject of its preparations; and he discovered, that the *Saxon* ministers had found means to render him suspected by the empress of *Russia*, of endeavouring to foment a rebellion against her in the *Ukraine*. *Klingraffe* obtained no satisfactory answer. The empress-queen, count *Kaunitz*, and her other ministers, behaved with a gloomy reserved haughtiness, and the preparations still went on, till his *Prussian* majesty could no longer doubt of their object. The differences which happened at this time between *Great Britain* and *France*, though foreign to this part of our history, operated powerfully upon the *Germanic* system. The empress-queen's ministers had more than once thrown out hints concerning her intention of resuming *Silesia*, which had been always discouraged by *George II.* in such a manner as left her no room to hope, that she would find him a friend to her ambition, and she pursued a measure equally unnatural as ungrateful. She knew that the court of *France* would embrace any opportunity to distress his *Britannic* majesty, and she applied to the *French* ministry, who gladly accepted of her proposals, and they concluded a treaty with her, on the 1st of *May* 1756. The king of *Poland* had drawn together 16,000 men, who were assembled at *Pirna* in a strong camp, and gave a fresh alarm to the king of *Prussia*, who easily perceived that no time was now to be lost.

1756.

He concludes a  
treaty with  
*Great Britain*.

It is certain that at this time the court of *England* was entirely ignorant of the engagements between the two empresses to the prejudice of his *Prussian* majesty; and king *George II.* had actually concluded another treaty of subsidy with the empress of *Russia* for a body of men that were to protect his *Hanoverian* dominions. The king of *Prussia* easily saw the necessity he was under of balancing the loss of the *French* friendship by acquiring that of *Great Britain*. He declared against the admission of *Russian* troops into the empire, as his *Britannic* majesty did against that of the *French*. A treaty of neutrality

neutrality was concluded, by which the empress queen declared that she would have no concern in the differences between *France* and *England* in *America*; and his Most Christian majesty that he would observe a strict neutrality in the *Low Countries*. No sooner was it known that their *Prussian* and *Britannic* majesties were upon the point of signing a treaty, than vast industry was employed to represent their coalition as a fixed design to exalt the protestant religion in *Germany* and all over *Europe*, in prejudice of the *Roman* catholic powers; and in this report they were but too successful. The first treaty between *Great Britain* and *Prussia* contained but five simple articles, viz. 1. The treaty of *Westminster*, whereby the house of *Brandenburgh* guaranteed the succession to the throne of *Great Britain* in the house of *Hanover*, is renewed and confirmed by this treaty, as are likewise the treaties subsequently concluded. 2. The king of *Great Britain* renounces all rights and pretensions to *East Friesland*, in favour of the king of *Prussia*. 3. His *Prussian* majesty engages to pay the residue of the *Silesia* loan, provided the demands concerning the seizing of the ships or cargoes of his subjects during the late war be adjusted. 4. He engages to come into the king of *Great Britain's* views for maintaining peace in the empire, and for opposing the introduction of foreign troops into *Germany*. 5. His *Prussian* majesty charges himself with the guarantee of the electoral dominions of the house of *Austria*; and on the other part his *Britannic* majesty renews, in the best form, his particular guarantee of the dominions which his *Prussian* majesty acquired by the cession of *Silesia*. Its contents,

Upon the conclusion of this treaty, the king of *Great Britain* ordered his minister *M. Gemmingen*, at the diet of *Ratisbon*, to present a very strong memorial, in which the injustice and ingratitude of the empress queen is very fully exposed, and his own conduct vindicated. His *Prussian* majesty, fully sensible of his own strength, had taxed the elector of *Saxony* with having entered into the treaty of partition of his dominions, and the charge being denied, his *Prussian* majesty demanded, as a pledge of his neutrality, that his army at *Pirna* should immediately withdraw from that strong post, and disperse itself; but this likewise was refused. The empress queen, by this time, had given orders for two armies to assemble in *Bohemia*; the one under *Picolomini*, and the other under count *Brown*. One division of the *Prussian* troops under marshal *Schwerin* had entered *Bohemia* on the side of *Glatz*, and another, under field marshal *Keith*, had entered it from *Misnia*, while his *Prussian* majesty, with a third division, kept the *Saxon* army blocked up at *Pirna*. On the 1st of *December*, 1756, his *Prussian* majesty broke up the blockade of the *Saxons*, and marched to join general *Keith*, in order to fight count *Brown*, who had orders to relieve the *Saxons*, tho' they were most impregnably situated, and could be reduced only by famine. His *Prussian* majesty resolved to fight him on his march, Vindication of his Britannic majesty.

1756.

The  
battle of  
*Lowositz*.

Surrender  
of the  
*Saxon*  
troops.

The king  
of *Prussia*  
put to the  
ban of the  
empire.

march, which he did at *Lowositz*. The battle was very bloody, the palm of victory was disputed by both parties, but the consequences plainly adjudged it to the *Prussians*, as marshal *Brown* could not relieve the *Saxons*. It is but doing him justice to own that the motions he made for that purpose were masterly, and must have, perhaps, been successful, had he commanded against any other general than his *Prussian* majesty, who was entirely acquainted with every foot of the country. It was now evident that the *Saxons* at *Pirna* must surrender, because they could not escape, the nature of the post they held being such as to render it as difficult to quit it as to take it. Thus this great body fell into the hands of the *Prussians*, by the consent of their sovereign, who could make no effort for their relief. Most of the *Saxons* enlisted, or were forced to enlist, in the *Prussian* service, and their officers were dismissed on their parole. The king of *Poland* was obliged, in the most mortifying manner, to leave *Saxony*, and to retire to his regal dominions.

His *Prussian* majesty, by the battle of *Lowositz*, became the absolute master of *Saxony* and of *Dresden*, where the queen of *Poland* still remained, and acted with a spirit becoming her high birth. His *Prussian* majesty had before this time often mentioned to the public the confederacy that had been formed against him, but had intelligence that the original papers lay in the archives of *Dresden*, and he gave orders for seizing them, which was done, not without some imputation upon his politeness, as the queen of *Poland* opposed in person the officer who executed the order. His *Prussian* majesty made no delay in publishing those originals, as they served to justify his irruption, the prodigious contributions which he laid upon *Saxony*, and his invasion of *Bohemia*. As he did not, at this time, appear to be connected with any prince in *Germany* excepting the elector of *Hanover*, a process was entered against him in the *Aulic* council, and before the diet of *Ratisbon*, where he was put to the ban of the empire, and the circles were summoned to advance their contingents for executing the sentence. This was a proceeding his majesty had foreseen, and therefore it did not alarm him. In the mean while, *France* sent two armies into the empire, one of 80,000 men, commanded by *M. D'Etrees*, and consisting of the finest troops of *France*, passed through the *Rhine*, and advanced through *Westphalia*, with a declared intention of attacking the *Prussian* dominions, as allies to the empress queen; but with a more important view of forcing his *Britannic* majesty to grant concessions to the *French* in *America*, and thereby redeem his electoral dominions from conquest. The other *French* army was commanded by the prince of *Soubise*, and consisted of 25,000 men, who were destined to operate with the army of the empire, which was but weak, in executing the *Imperial* ban. Before *Soubise* passed the *Rhine*, he seized upon *Cleves*, *Meures*, and *Guedres*, as a detachment from *D'Etrees'* army

did



did upon *Emdden* in *West Friesland*, which belonged to the king of *Prussia*, whose ruin was now thought to be inevitable.

The empress of *Russia*, punctual to her inveterate resentment against him, ordered above 70,000 of her best troops, headed by general *Apraxin*, to penetrate by the way of *Poland* into the *Ducal Prussia*. The *Austrians* had formed an army of 100,000 men in *Bohemia*, commanded by prince *Charles*, and under him by *M. Brown*; and the *Swedes* thro' *French* influence declared against him likewise, as did the duke of *Mecklenburg*, who promised to assist the *Swedes* with 6,000 men. To all this formidable confederacy, the king of *Prussia* could only oppose the excellent discipline he had introduced among his troops, and his own incomparable abilities, assisted by *British* influence and money. A body of 40,000 *Hanoverians* and *Hessians* was indeed posted on the *Weser*, under his royal highness the duke of *Cumberland*; but they were to act only as an army of observation, and to be a check upon the *French* army under *D'Etrees*. As his royal highness could not pretend to fight the *French*, all he could do was to embarrass them as much as he could on their march. He made excellent dispositions for that purpose, and the *French* were so much straitened for provisions and forage, that their march was very slow between the *Rhine* and the *Weser*; and the *French* generals and princes of the blood were obliged to send back great part of their cavalry for want of subsistence. Their numbers, however, bore all down before them, and though frequent skirmishes happened, the duke was obliged gradually to retire, and at last to pass the *Weser* and to take up a strong camp between *Minden* and *Oldendorp*, while the *French* took possession of that which he had quitted at *Bielsfield*, and they passed the *Weser* with little or no opposition. The consequence was, that they took *Minden*, with several other places, laid the electorate of *Hanover* under contribution, and obliged the duke to continue his retreat. At last, he made a stand at *Hastenbeck*; many marches and countermarches succeeded, in which his royal highness shewed great generalship; but the *French* being greatly superior in numbers, and in possession of the eminences near the field of battle, he was obliged to retreat towards *Hamelen*, and from thence towards *Bremen* and *Verden*, that he might preserve the communication with *Stade*, to which the archives and the most valuable effects of *Hanover* had been removed. The loss of the allies during the battle of *Hastenbeck* and the numerous skirmishes preceding it, did not, in the whole, amount to 1,000 men, but that of the *French* was greater. The *French* took *Hamelen*, but the duke *de Richlieu*, through the influence of the *French* king's mistress, superseded *D'Etrees* in his command; and at last, his royal highness was obliged to sign the convention of *Clostersewen*, under the mediation of the count *de Lynar*, his

The  
*Russians*  
march into  
*Germany*.

The  
*French*  
masters of  
*Hanover*  
after the  
battle of  
*Hasten-*  
*beck*.

*Danish* majesty's minister, by which 38,000 *Hanoverians*, and their allies, were obliged to lay down their arms.

The king  
of *Prussia*  
invades  
*Bohemia*.

His *Prussian* majesty was, in the mean while, preparing every thing for his irruption into *Bohemia*, which he determined his troops should enter by three different quarters at the same time; one under marshal *Schwerin*, consisting of 50,000 men, was to march from *Silesia*; another, under the prince of *Bevern*, from *Lusatia*; while a third, commanded by himself, directed its motions towards *Egra*. Those dispositions induced the *Austrians* to believe that their objects were different. The prince of *Bevern*, on the 21st of *April*, defeated a body of 28,000 *Austrians*, who opposed his entrance into *Bohemia*. *Schwerin* had orders to keep the royal division in his eye, and 20,000 *Austrians* having been detached from the main body to observe his *Prussian* majesty, that prince, by a sudden motion to the left, cut off their communication with their main army. But that we may proceed to give an uninterrupted detail of the campaign in *Bohemia*, it is proper to mention what passed with regard to the *Russians*, of whom, though the most formidable of all his enemies, his *Prussian* majesty appeared to be the least apprehensive.

Affairs of  
*Russia*.

As we have already observed, king *George II.* was at first ignorant of the secret treaty that had been concluded between the two empresses, and after he was fully convinced of it, he endeavoured to defeat its effects. As the empress of *Russia* had always professed the highest regard for his person, he ordered his ministers at *Petersbourg* to endeavour all they could to engage her in a joint mediation for restoring tranquillity to the empire, and received always such answers as encouraged him to proceed. Sir *Charles Hanbury Williams* was then his ambassador at the court of *Berlin*, and was ordered to repair to that of *Petersbourg* with the most effectual instructions for the same end. Count *Bestuchef* was prime minister to the empress, and Sir *Charles* found him by no means indisposed to serve his master. An unhappy disorder which Sir *Charles* laboured under when he arrived at *Petersbourg*, prevented the full effect of his negociation; but it is certain, that the *Russians*, while in full march towards *Lithuania*, stopped all of a sudden. The public reason given out was, their want of provisions, but the disgrace of *Bestuchef* soon after, through the indiscretion, as is said, of the *British* ambassador, made the public attribute their sudden stop to other causes.

The siege  
of *Prague*.

His *Prussian* majesty acted in every respect as if he had nothing to fear from the *Russians*. He advanced by rapid marches towards *Prague*, where he joined the other two divisions of his army under the prince of *Bevern* and *M. Schwerin*. The *Austrians*, whose army amounted still to near 100,000 men, lay in a camp which was thought almost impregnable, upon the banks of the *Moldau*. His *Prussian* majesty resolved upon an attack, which was executed with a spirit and ardour that enthusiasm only could inspire. The *Austrians* were entirely defeated,

feated, and with the field of battle they lost their military chest, their camp with all its contents, and 60 pieces of cannon. This victory cost two of the greatest generals in *Europe* their lives, *M. Schwerin* on the side of the *Prussians*, and *M. Brown* on that of the *Austrians*. The whole loss of the *Prussians* in killed and wounded amounted to above 4,000, that of the *Austrians* was much greater. About 40,000 of the *Austrian* infantry threw themselves into *Prague*, but the rest of their army was dispersed several ways. His *Prussian* majesty, after having secured many important posts in the neighbourhood of *Prague*, immediately invested that capital on both sides of the river, himself commanding on one side, and marshal *Keith* on the other. The vast numbers within the town, instead of discouraging the king, gave him hopes of success, because he expected they would be soon reduced through famine. The *Austrians* made a brave sally, but their intention being betrayed to the *Prussians*, they were repulsed. This action was succeeded by a most tremendous bombardment, and every operation that could strike the besieged with consternation, horror, and confusion. For twenty-four hours the besiegers plied the *Austrians* with continued unintermitting showers of red hot bullets, bombs, and every missive instrument of death, till every quarter of the city was in flames. The king, whose heart was bent upon the conquest of *Prague*, was inexorable to all the miseries of the inhabitants, 12,000 of whom he forced back into the city. The *Austrian* generals were equally deaf to their cries, and those of the magistrates, burghers, and clergy. The batteries continued their infernal discharges, and the besieged were repulsed in every sally.

The empress queen knew that the loss of *Vienna* must succeed that of *Prague*, and happily *Leopold*, count *Daun*, who had never distinguished himself in any independent command, was at hand to assist her. He had not been present at the late battle, but arriving near *Prague* the day after it was fought, he assembled all the flying parties of the *Austrians*, and by fresh reinforcements he received, he collected an army of about 60,000 men, and took up a strong advantageous camp at a place called *Collin*, that he might act as occasion should require. It does not, however, appear, from the best accounts, that the *Prussian* army, numerous as it was, had been able, compleatly, to invest the city. His *Prussian* majesty considered *Prague* as next to being taken, and thought that nothing but the army of the defeated dispirited fugitives under *Daun* stood in his way to *Vienna*. He drew out about 32,000 of his troops, most of whom were from the detachment under the prince of *Bevern*, and presumptuously marched with this handful to attack the *Austrians* in their strong situation. The efforts his troops made to dislodge their enemies were beyond credibility, but they were not supported by a sufficient proportion either of artillery or infantry. The attack was made on the 13th of *June*, and the *Prussians*, to their

Raised by  
count  
*Daun*, who  
defeats the  
king of  
*Prussia*.



their amazement, found the *Austrian* camp provided with a vast train of artillery, and with unsurmountable entrenchments. The king and his two brothers again and again led up their troops to the charge, but they were at last defeated, and *Frederic* found there was a general equal to himself in forming an army to discipline. This ill judged attack cost him above 8,000 men in killed or wounded, not to mention the vast number of desertions, which always happen in a defeated army.

### Retreat

*Frederic* leaving the remains of his army to the care of his brothers, posted on with a slight escort to his camp before *Prague*, and gave orders for immediately raising the siege, which was done, chiefly through the good dispositions made by marshal *Keith*, without any material interruption from the *Austrians*; and the *Prussians* marched towards *Letomeritz*. This mortifying reverse of fortune made no discernable impression upon *Frederic*, who owned his rashness, and hoped to do better another time. While he was retreating, count *Daun* entered *Prague*, where he was received as the deliverer of *Austria*, and his *Prussian* majesty's misfortunes multiplied so fast, that he was obliged entirely to evacuate *Bohemia*, and to take refuge on the frontiers of *Saxony*. Being followed by count *Daun*, who cautiously declined a battle, he and marshal *Keith* arrived on the 14th of *September* at *Erfurth*, and obliged the army of the empire, under the prince of *Saxe-Hildbourghausen*, to fall back upon *Eisenach*. His situation, at that time, is well described in a paper printed under his own authority as follows: "Many persons who saw the king of *Prussia* when he passed lately through *Leipsic*, cannot express how much he is altered. They say he is so much worn away that they scarce knew him. This, indeed, is not to be wondered at, he hath not a body of iron like *Charles XII.* and he endures as much fatigues as he did. He is as much on horseback as *Charles* was, and often lies upon the ground. His inward sufferings cannot be less than his outward: Let us cast our eyes on a map of the *Prussian* dominions, and measure what he hath left of the many fair possessions he had in the month of *April 1761*, of which a space of seven months have stripped him; where can he have men? he is shut out from the empire; and from whence can he draw money? the dutchy of *Cleves*, the principality of *Muers*, the county of *Lingen*, the county of *Lipstadt*, the principality of *Minden*, *East Friesland*, *Emfsden*, and its infant company, part of the rich bishopric of *Magdeburg*, some other parts of the *Marche*, *Ducal Pomerania*, a great part of *Silesia*, a great part of the kingdom of *Prussia*, *Berlin* itself, and almost all his dominions are taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies, who collect the public revenues, fatten on the contributions, and with the money which they draw from the electorate of *Hanover*, and other conquests, defray

and description of his *Prussian* majesty.

" the

"the expences of the war. This picture certainly differs greatly from that which the king of *Prussia* might have sketched out the day he took arms to enter *Saxony*. Add to this the duke of C——'s convention, which deprived him of all his allies, and left him without any assistance whatever, excepting 4 or 500,000 l. sterling, which the *British* parliament may give him. And likewise some domestic "uneasinesses."

While he was in this condition, he formed a scheme of operations worthy his great genius. He himself retired to *Naumburg*, and he sent marshal *Keith* with seven battalions to *Leipsic*. His enemies imagined that they had now a fair opportunity to reduce *Leipsic*, and they actually summoned *Keith* to surrender it; but he declared he was determined to defend it to the last extremity, upon which the *French* and *Imperialists* were preparing to besiege it, when they understood that *Frederic* was marching at the head of an army to relieve it. Though their force was vastly superior to his, yet they durst not venture to stand an engagement, and they retired with precipitation across the *Sala*, on the 27th of *October*, but were followed by his *Prussian* majesty, who by this time had (as he thought) fully provided for the security of *Saxony* and *Silesia*. He followed the *Imperialists* and *French* so close, that upon the 5th of *November* he came up with them, at a village called *Rosbach*, where, after animating his soldiers by a pathetic speech, he attacked and defeated them, their infantry making a most despicable resistance, though their cavalry behaved well. They lost 3000 men on the field of battle, with 63 pieces of cannon; 8 *French* generals, with 250 officers, and 6000 common men were taken prisoners. Some say the *Prussians* in this battle did not amount to above 20,000 men, and their enemies to above 65,000.

He gains the battle of *Rosbach*,

This glorious victory was far from being decisive, in favour of his *Prussian* majesty, though it ruined *Soubise's* army and that of the empire. But by this time, the *Austrians* under count *Nadaſti*, had besieged and taken *Schweidnitz*, where the *Prussian* garrison of 4000 men, under general *Fouquet*, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. *Nadaſti*, after this, joined the *Austrian* army under prince *Charles* of *Lorraine*, and count *Daun*, who besieged *Breslau*. That important city was covered by the prince of *Bevern's* army, who lay under the cannon of the city on the right of the *Oder*. The *Austrians* hearing that his *Prussian* majesty, with his victorious army, was advancing to the relief of the place, attacked the prince with great fury, but after a gallant resistance, he threw some of his troops into *Breslau*, and with the rest he retired to an eminence on the banks of the *Oder*, where he was made prisoner by a body of *Austrian* croats, as he was riding out, attended by only a single groom, to reconnoitre; a circumstance that has not yet been cleared up to the public, especially, as the prince had the advantage in the preceding engagement.

but loses *Schweidnitz*

and *Breslau*,

*Breslau*,

*Breslau*, upon this, fell into the hands of the *Austrians*; *Daun* took possession of the prince of *Bevern's* strong camp, and his army amounted to 70,000 excellent troops. His *Prussian* majesty was then in *Lusatia*, from whence he detached marshal *Keith*, who raised contributions in *Bohemia*, almost as far as the gates of *Prague*, while he himself, at the head of not above 15,000 men, made a prodigious march of 200 miles, and entered *Silesia* on the 2d of *December*. He was there joined by the prince of *Bevern's* army, and the garrison of *Schweidnitz*, who upon hearing of his victory at *Rosbach*, mastered their convoy, which was conducting them to their quarters of captivity.

Being thus, beyond his expectation, reinforced, he resolved to give battle to the *Austrians* under count *Daun*, who, far from declining the engagement, quitted their strong camp on the 5th of *December*, and both armies met near the village of *Leuthen*, where the *Austrians* took up another very advantageous ground, and *Daun* posted them with great judgment, for he rendered the approaches to his army inaccessible to the dreadful *Prussian* cavalry, by the trees he cut down. Those excellent precautions did not prevail against the resolution of his *Prussian* majesty. By a skillful disposition of his army, but especially of his artillery, which was excellently well served, he beat the *Austrians* from their intrenchments (though they fought with prodigious intrepidity) with the loss of 6000 of their best troops; 15,000 were made prisoners, and 200 pieces of their cannon were taken. It has been justly observed, that this victory was gained chiefly through his majesty's sagacity, which, from the position of the *Austrians* enabled him to judge of their plan of operations.

This battle, which is sometimes called that of *Breslau*, and sometimes that of *Lissa*, was one of the most wonderful that *Frederic* ever had obtained, as appeared by its consequences. On the 7th of *December*, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, he besieged *Breslau*, which was surrendered to him on the 20th of *January* following, and the *Austrian* garrison, consisting of 10,000 fighting men, besides 4000 sick and wounded, were made prisoners of war, while marshal *Keith* rejoined his army laden with the spoils of *Bohemia*. Even those advantages were insufficient to satisfy the active spirit of *Frederic*; for in the middle of *January* he blockaded *Schweidnitz*, and reduced great part of the *Austrian Silesia*. We must not, however, omit that after the advantages gained in *Westphalia*, by *D'Etreces* and *Richelieu*, the terror of the king of *Prussia's* friends was encreased by the *Austrian* general *Haddick*, laying *Berlin*, which was but poorly fortified, under contribution. But we are now to attend the warlike operations in other parts of the empire.

Upon the retreat of the *Russians* from the *Prussian* territories, his *Prussian* majesty ordered his general, *Lehwald*, to march with an army into *Pomerania* against the *Swedes*, who behaved

near  
which he  
defeats  
the *Au-  
strians*,

and re-  
takes that  
capital.  
1758.

The  
*Swedes*  
defeated.



behaved with as much pusillanimity as their ancestors had done with courage, when they made the house of *Austria* tremble. *Lehwald* drove them out of *Prussian Pomerania*, and they were obliged to take refuge under the cannon of *Stralsund*; when the dutchy of *Mecklenburg-Schwerin* was almost desolated, by orders of his *Prussian* majesty, for the unseasonable attachment which its duke, who was obliged to retire to *Lubeck*, had shewn to the enemies of *Prussia*. On the 30th of *August* 1757, *Lehwald* had engaged 50,000 *Russians*, by whom his handful of men was defeated, though with great credit to himself, and his master's arms. But the chief event of that time, was that of the *Hanoverians* resuming their arms, after the convention of *Closterseven*. This act was not more binding upon them than upon the *French*, and yet the latter violated every article of the capitulation. *Richelieu's* distressed circumstances obliged him to subsist upon rapine, and his example was faithfully followed by his soldiery, to the intolerable oppression of the inhabitants. His *Britannic* majesty complained of those hardships. The king of *Prussia* upbraided his *Britannic* majesty with having led him into a war and then deserting him. The *British* commander was reported to be dissatisfied with the regency of *Hanover*, who had laid him under a necessity of signing the convention. It was disliked at *London*, and the court of *Versailles* refused to ratify it. The *French*, in their master's name, actually took possession of the electorate, in which they altered even the civil government. The truth is, the regency of *Hanover* were fond of a capitulation at any rate, and the *French* thought that, in the distressed condition the *Hanoverians* were, none ought to have been granted, unless they had surrendered themselves prisoners of war. For that reason, they multiplied grievances and oppressions upon the unhappy natives beyond measure, perhaps, in hopes of extinguishing their patience. Their army, on the other hand, regardless of all military discipline, lived riotously on the spoils of *Hanover*, and fell into diseases that soon thinned their numbers. *Richelieu* demanded that the *Hanoverians* should deliver up their arms; a condition that had not been stipulated by the convention of *Closterseven*, and he shut them up in such narrow cantonments that they could not subsist. At last it was pretended that *Hanover* was a conquered country, and one *Faidy* was sent from *Paris*, with unlimited powers to collect its revenues and commit what excesses he pleased. In short, never was there a more justifiable occasion for a people's resuming their arms, than what now presented itself to the *Hanoverians*.

His *Britannic* majesty published a manifesto in their justification, in which he severely upbraided the *French* for their digious breach of the *Closterseven* articles, and he named prince *Ferdinand*, brother to the reigning duke of *Brunswic*, to command his electoral army, and its allies. No sooner was the word for the resumption gone forth, than the *Hanoverians* were

The  
French ex-  
pelled  
from Ha-  
nover.

were in arms, and the *French* were alarmed in every corner of the electorate, and retreated without making any resistance, but in defending the castle of *Harburg*. The face of the war in *Westphalia* was then changed. Prince *Ferdinand* marched to *Ultzen*, half way between *Zell* and *Lunenburg*, expecting to be attacked by a large body of *French* horse, which had passed the *Aller* under *Broglio*, and which was intended only as an escort for some waggons, that had carried off the spoils of *Hanover*, and then prince *Ferdinand* put his troops into winter-quarters. During the course of this campaign, the *French*, in *Germany*, were masters of all the country between the *Weser* and the *Elbe*; but were dispossessed of it with more rapidity than they had conquered it. Near 500,000 men were in arms in the empire; two armies of *French* and one of *Swedes* were utterly ruined; six battles were fought, and the *Russian* progress was stopt by their defeating *Lehwald*. The king of *Prussia* was enabled to spare his hereditary dominions, by the contributions he raised in *Saxony*, and he even sent a small body of horse to prince *Ferdinand*, after he had resumed his arms.

In *February* 1758, the *Hanoverian* army under prince *Ferdinand* was again in motion. Their main body marched on the right to the country of *Bremen*, and another division under general *Zastrow* to the left towards *Gifforn*. Count *Clermont* had succeeded *Richelieu* in the command of the *French*, who every where retreated from post to post. *Ottersburg*, *Bremen* and *Verden*, with various other places were soon retaken, and the brave young hereditary prince of *Brunswic* dislodged a considerable detachment of *French* who were posted at *Hoya*, under the count *de Chabot*, with a conduct and intrepidity that would have done honour to the most experienced commander. The despondency of the *French* now became general; destitute of arms, cloathing and subsistence, they were every where beaten, and every where retreated. They were so dispirited, that even the *Hanoverian* peasants knocked them on the head with their clubs; and at last the duke of *Randan*, the governor of *Hanover*, whose humanity and virtues cannot be sufficiently extolled, evacuated that capital. Every corner of the electorate was filled with skirmishes; but all to the disadvantage of the *French*. They threw a garrison of 4000 men into *Minden*, but it was reduced on the 14th of *March*, after a siege of nine days. The *Hanoverian* hussars, or hunters, cut them off like so many beasts of prey, and out of 130,000 who had entered the electorate, not above 40,000 again reached the *Rhine*; and that too with great difficulty.

Generosity of the  
*British*  
parliament.

The *British* parliament were the springs of all this sudden revolution in the affairs of the empire. It sent 100,000 l. to put the *Hanoverians* in motion, and in *April* his *Britannic* majesty concluded a convention with the king of *Prussia*, by which the latter was to receive a subsidy of 670,000 l. sterling from *Great Britain*; each party engaging, that the one should

not

not make peace without the other. So immense a subsidy astonished, but was so far from discouraging, his *Prussian* majesty's enemies, that they redoubled their efforts against him. The command of the *Russian* army was given to the generals *Brown* and *Fermor*. The *Swedes* resolved to send their troops again into the field, notwithstanding their late disgraces, and the empress-queen reinforced her armies under count *Daun*, from *Tuscany*, the *Milanese*, and her dominions. The hardships of the last campaign rendered it prudent for his *Prussian* majesty, not to take the field till the beginning of *April*, and then he laid siege to *Schweidnitz*, which was taken in thirteen days, and its garrison, which was reduced from 7 to 3000 men, surrendered themselves prisoners of war. Having thus cleared his dominions of all his enemies, he meditated how to secure them. He had an army under count *Dobna* in *Pomerania*, which overawed the *Swedes* and *Mecklenburghers*. Another strong body of his troops was posted between *Wablaw* and *Glogau* to cover *Silesia*, and his brother, prince *Henry*, was at the head of 30 battalions, and 45 squadrons in *Saxony*, to face the army of the empire. After he had reduced *Schweidnitz*, he made dispositions as if he intended again to penetrate into *Bohemia*; but all of a sudden, on the 27th of *May*, he opened trenches against the city of *Olmütz*, the barrier of *Moravia*, which he intended should be the scene of action during the ensuing campaign. Marshal *Daun* took his rout thro' *Bohemia* to relieve *Olmütz*, but finding himself unable to fight the *Prussians*, he chose such a situation in the mountainous country, that he could at once harrafs their army and cut off their supplies from *Silesia*, while he himself preserved a communication with the fertile country of *Bohemia*. The king had not sufficiently considered the difficulties of his undertaking, and the strength of his own army, which was not numerous enough completely to invest that great and strong city, which was the key of *Vienna* itself. *Daun* threw supplies into it with ease, and was so situated, that he could not be forced to a battle. The garrison harrafsed his majesty by perpetual sallies, and his supplies from *Silesia* were intercepted, while the country round *Olmütz* afforded little or no subsistence for his army. *Daun* hearing of a *Prussian* convoy that was arrived at *Troppau*, by a masterly manœuvre cut it off. It was now the end of *July*, the *Russians* were ravaging *Silesia*, *Berlin* was threatened, and *Frederic* obliged to lye inactive before a place which defied his arms.

The king  
of *Prussia*  
besieges  
*Olmütz*.

All those motives prevailed with him to raise this ruinous siege, but instead of retreating, which might have proved fatal to him, by an uncommon effort of genius, he gained twenty-four hours march of the *Austrians*, penetrated into *Bohemia*, took a great magazine at *Leutemissel*, defeated 7000 *Austrians* that were entrenched before *Königsgratz*, and seized that important pass with very little loss to himself. Nothing could have hindered him from marching to *Prague*, but the

Battle of  
*Zerndorff*



the danger of his hereditary dominions from the *Russians*, who were now besieging the important fortress of *Custrin*, the only barrier which opposed their progress to the defenceless gates of *Berlin*. The *Swedes* had gained ground upon his generals in *Pomerania*, and the army of the empire began to pinch the quarters of his brother, prince *Henry*, at *Diepoldswald*, where he lay with about 20,000 men. Count *Daun*, after many excellent movements, was frustrated in a design he had formed, to have put prince *Henry's* army between two fires, that of his own army, and that of the army of the empire; but his capital intention was to retake *Dresden*, well knowing that he could receive no interruption from his *Prussian* majesty, who on the 20th of *August* joined count *Dohna* at *Frankfort* on the *Oder*. On the 23d he crossed that river, and the *Russians*, who had reduced *Custrin* to the most deplorable extremities, took post between the villages of *Zwickau* and *Zornsdorff*. There they were attacked by a dreadful cannonading of the *Prussians*, who were amazed at the intrepidity of the *Russians*. The latter suffered themselves to be cut in pieces, but they would not fly, and at last changing their passive into active valour, they broke with their bayonets at the ends of their muskets into the hitherto impenetrable line of *Prussian* infantry. *Frederic* at once saw the oversight of his enemy's generals, in not supporting their foot with a body of horse, and brought up his own cavalry so seasonably, that the naked battalions of the *Russians* were cut down almost without resistance, while they were endeavouring to get drunk by the plunder of their own waggons. While they were thus exposed to universal slaughter, their generals in their turn attacked the *Prussians* with their unbroken cavalry; and the *Russians* at last retired to a rising ground, being chiefly favoured by the fatigues of the *Prussians*. In this battle, which is called that of *Zornsdorff*, 10,000 *Russians* were killed on the spot, 6000 were mortally wounded, 939 officers were taken prisoners, and their loss upon the whole amounted to above 21,000 men, besides their military chest, and a fine train of artillery, while the loss of the *Prussians* was not above 2000 men.

gained by  
his *Prus-*  
*sian* ma-  
jesty,

who is  
surprized  
at *Hoch-*  
*kirchen*.

After this battle the *Russians* drew off towards *Landsberg* on the frontiers of *Poland*. Their retreat gave but little respite to *Frederic*. *Daun* was encamped at *Stolpen* in *Saxony*, and so situated as to cover the operations of the other *Imperial* generals, *Harrach*, *de Ville*, and *Laudohn*, but remained inactive, though in the neighbourhood of prince *Henry's* army, to which he was greatly superior. This was attributed to the backwardness of the court of *Vienna*, which would much more willingly have recovered *Silesia* than delivered *Saxony*. The *Austrian* general, *Macquire*, however, on the 5th of *September*, reduced the strong fortress of *Sonnestein*, after a faint resistance. *Daun*, receiving more active orders from his court, thought now of passing the *Elbe* and resuming his former design, of putting prince *Henry's* army between his own  
fire

fire and that of the army of the empire. But on the 11th of September he had intelligence of his *Prussian* majesty being on the borders of *Saxony*. This march disconcerted the *Austrian* operations; *Laudohn* abandoned the *Lower Lusatia*, where he had obtained many advantages, *Daun* retreated to *Zittau*, and the army of the empire remained in the strong post of *Pirna*, while the *Swedes*, discouraged by the event of the battle of *Zorndorff*, were retreating towards their own country. His *Prussian* majesty seized the important post of *Bautzen*, and extended his right wing to *Hochkirchen*, one of the most desirable situations he could wish for. *Daun's* intention was to cut him off from *Silesia*, and *Frederic's* to cut *Daun* off from *Bohemia*. *Daun* had suffered greatly in his reputation for his long inactivity, even with his own court, and he resolved upon a bold stroke, which was that of surprizing the *Prussians* in their camp, which he well knew to be accessible, the chief failing of his *Prussian* majesty being that of having too great a contempt for the understanding of his enemies. It is said, that marshal *Keith* endeavoured to make him sensible that his camp might be attacked, but the precaution was neglected. In the dead of a dark night *Daun* marched his army in three columns, October the 14th, and each division united at the point of time, near the *Prussian* camp. The attack began about five in the morning; *Keith*, who had foreseen it, was on horseback, and shot dead, but he saved the *Prussian* army by the stand he made. Prince *Francis* of *Brunswic's* head was shot off, as he was mounting his horse. The king being awakened, soon perceived that all depended upon himself. The main attack was upon the right of his army; he reinforced it from the left; the *Austrians* pouring in fresh numbers, he was beaten out of the village of *Hochkirchen*, but made so wonderful a retreat, in falling back upon *Weissenburg*, that he seemed only to have altered the position of his army. This bloody attack cost him 7000 men, and the *Austrians* 5000; but the loss of *Keith* was irreparable to his *Prussian* majesty. He was brother to the *Scotch* earl *Marshall*, but being concerned in the rebellion of the year 1715, he was obliged to serve in foreign armies, and having acquired great reputation in *Russia*, he was invited by his *Prussian* majesty to a rank in his army that was worthy his noble blood and great abilities. Prince *Francis* of *Brunswic* had early distinguished himself as a general, and was a most promising genius in war.

Field marshal *Keith* and the prince of *Brunswic* killed.

It was universally agreed, that his *Prussian* majesty never appeared so great as he did after he was surprized at *Hochkirchen*, and no general in *Europe*, perhaps, but himself, could have made so masterly a retreat, after losing the two generals on whom he principally depended. In the mean while, the *Russians* seemed resolved, by their barbarity, to make amends for their former inactivity. Their ravages and massacres were inhuman almost beyond example. They remained in their camp, near *Landsparg*, till the 21st of September, and, on the

*Coburg* besieged,

26th they entered *Pomerania*, and soon after they besieged the little town of *Colberg*, which was defended by major *Heyden*, a *Prussian* officer. *Colberg* is a port in the *Baltic*, and consequently extremely convenient for the *Russians* landing troops in *Germany*, by which they saved prodigious land marches. *Colberg* was weak, but it was bravely defended, and the besiegers were unskilful in their approaches; so that on the 27th of *October* they raised the siege, and retired out of *Pomerania*. Their disgraceful and barbarous conduct was, perhaps, of great prejudice to his *Prussian* majesty, as it served to confirm him in the mean opinion he had conceived of them. The *Austrians* were then in the middle of *Silesia*, and carrying on the siege of *Neiss*. The king was, at first, in some doubt whether he should march to the relief of this place, or remain in *Saxony*. He chose to do the former, and drew large reinforcements from his brother prince *Henry's* army. On the 24th of *November* he silently, by night, quitted his camp at *Dobreschutz*, and without any material interruption he beat a party of the *Austrians* in the plain of *Gorlitz*. *Daun*, who had not dreamed of this march, sent *Laudohn*, with 24,000 men, in pursuit of his *Prussian* majesty; but in the mean time he formed the siege of *Dresden*, into which the remains of the *Prussian* army, lately under prince *Henry*, had thrown themselves. *Leipsic*, at the same time, was besieged by the army of the empire, and *Torgau* by detachments from both.

as is Dresden.

Its suburbs burnt.

His *Prussian* majesty by his march sacrificed *Saxony* for the safety of *Silesia*. He raised the siege of *Neiss*, and the blockade of *Cosel*, and forced the *Austrians* to fall back upon *Bohemia* and the *Austrian Silesia*, while his general, *Wedel*, drove the *Austrians* from *Torgau*, as far as *Eulenburg*. *Daun*, however, proceeded in the siege of *Dresden*, which was defended by count *Schmettau* with a garrison of 12,000 *Prussians*. *Schmettau* was under the disagreeable necessity of destroying the suburbs of *Dresden*, (which of themselves formed a most magnificent city) if the siege went on. He put it in *Daun's* option to desist from his enterprize, or to see the suburbs in flames. *Daun* threatened him with reprisals in the latter case. *Schmettau* justified himself by the necessity he was under, and about 250 houses of the suburbs were reduced to ashes on the 10th of *November*, a military execution that was thought to be but mild, and so represented by his *Prussian* majesty; and to say the truth, it was executed with all the humanity that the necessity of the juncture could admit of. The king of *Prussia* had now leisure to return from *Silesia*, where he had soiled the two *Austrian* generals *Harsch* and *de Ville*. By this time, *Daun* had besieged *Dresden* with 60,000 men. The king crossed *Lusatia*, passed the *Elbe*, joined his troops under his generals *Dohna* and *Wedel*, and made a triumphant entry into *Dresden* on the 20th of *November*, while the armies of *Daun* and the empire retreated into *Bohemia*. Few periods of history afford such room for reflection as this campaign did;

Summary of the campaign.



did; six sieges were raised almost at the same time, that of *Colberg* by the *Russians*, that of *Leipsic* by the duke of *Deux Ponts*, who commanded the army of the empire, that of *Dresden* by *Daun*, those of *Neiss*, *Cosel* and *Torgau* by the *Austrians*.

While the king of *Prussia*, in different parts of *Germany*, was carrying on a war extremely interesting to himself, *Great Britain* in another quarter was fighting in a quarrel in which she had little or no concern. His *Britannic* majesty, upon the retreat of the duke of *Cumberland* from his military commands, had appointed prince *Ferdinand* his commander in chief in *Germany*. *Great Britain* perhaps was unfortunate in this appointment; prince *Ferdinand* was a soldier of fortune, he had seen some service in the *Prussian* armies, but he had no manner of concern in the event of the cause for which he fought, being himself neither a *Briton* nor a *Hanoverian*, and his eldest brother, the duke of *Brunswic*, a declared partizan of *France*. After the prince had pursued the *French* to the *Rhine*, he thought of interrupting the operations of the prince of *Soubise*, who was preparing to besiege *Cassel*. The *French* made a stand at the village of *Crevelt*; a battle was fought, in which the hereditary prince of *Brunswic* gave the most signal proofs of his courage and conduct, and great generalship was exerted on both sides; but though the *Hanoverians* were said to have had the advantage in losing only 3,000 men, while the loss of the *French* amounted to 7,000, yet we cannot consider this battle in any other light than that of a wanton spilling of blood, as it had no consequences. The *French* were upon their own borders, and could easily not only recruit their army, but send reinforcements to the prince of *Soubise*, which they actually did, and thereby *Broglie* was enabled to defeat the *Hessian* army under the prince of *Ysenburg* on the 23d of *July*, by which they got possession of the *Weser*, and all that part of *Westphalia*. This disconcerted prince *Ferdinand*; who took *Dusseldorp* that he might multiply his passes on the *Rhine*, which, after various motions, he was obliged to repass with great difficulty. *Imhoff*, the *Hanoverian* general, had beat *Chevert*, an active *French* commander, and a body of 10,000 *British* troops under the duke of *Marlborough* had landed at *Emden*, and was on their march to join prince *Ferdinand* at the time the prince of *Ysenburg* was defeated. There were some reasons to apprehend that the *French* might make an effort to intercept this body, but *Imhoff* being joined by some detachments under prince *Ferdinand*, met the duke of *Marlborough*; and all of them arrived safe in the *Hanoverian* camp.

The court of *Vienna*, at this time, lost all the regard they had hitherto pretended towards the king of *Great Britain* and his allies, whom it accused of being the aiders and abettors of the king of *Prussia's* rebellion. On the 21st of *August* a conclusion of the *Aulic* council was issued, by which his *Britannic*

The  
French re-  
cruit th  
army.

*tannic* majesty, as elector of *Hanover*, the landgrave of *Hesse Cassel*, prince *Ferdinand* of *Brunswic*, the count *de Lippe Bukebourg*, and others, were threatened with penalties in their persons, dignities, and estates, and revocatory letters were published, requiring them within a limited time to dismiss their armies, to renounce their connections with the king of *Prussia*, to pay their *Roman* months, and to send their contingencies of troops to the field, upon pain of being put under the ban of the empire. Inferior persons were proceeded against with equal vigour; but this ingratitude and severity served only to unite those allies the more closely, and to inspire the public with high indignation against the empress queen, who had been so lately saved by the generous efforts of that very power she was now endeavouring to ruin. His *Prussian* majesty, on his part, proceeded with an equal shew of resolution. He declared that he would now no longer consider *Saxony* as a deposit, but as a conquered country. He laid its subjects under heavy taxes, and employed very disagreeable means to oblige the magistrates of *Dantzic*, *Leipsic*, and other cities to supply him with money, by drawing upon their foreign correspondents, a conduct which his *Polish* majesty complained of as being highly unjust.

Situation  
of the  
contend-  
ing armies  
and pow-  
ers at war.

The line which the *Austrians* and their allies took up in their winter quarters, extended from the frontiers of *Moravia* through *Bohemia*, and as far as the borders of *Saxony*, where it joined the *Imperial* army, and the chain was extended through *Thuringia* and *Franconia*, till it joined the *French* army under *Soubise*, whose cantonments extended along the *Maine* and the *Lahn* till it joined with those of *Contades*, and continued the chain to the *Maese*; so that they were in fact masters of both sides the *Rhine*. This amazing line far exceeded any thing of the like kind that prince *Ferdinand* could establish. His army was obliged to take up its winter quarters in the bishoprics of *Munster*, *Paderborn*, *Hildesheim*, and the landgraviate of *Hesse*, but his troops were contiguous, and could easily unite; and the king of *Prussia* opened a communication with them through *Thuringia*. Some unsuccessful overtures of peace were made during the winter of the year 1758, but each of the powers at war imagined it saw circumstances that must be decisive in its own favour. The *Russians* had possession of all the kingdom of *Prussia*, and the *French* of the rich dutchies of *Juliers* and *Cleves*, so that his *Prussian* majesty was cut off from the greatest part of his dominions and revenues. His armies were no longer invincible, the excellent generals with whom he had originally taken the field were dead or cut off, and his discipline could not supply troops so fast as to answer his demand. Even the rich province of *Saxony* was exhaustible, and began to be drained; so that the only sure resource he now had, was the subsidy he received from *Great Britain*, a supply which must soon be dried up, upon the first change of the *British* ministry. The *British*

*British* government, however, thought that the state of their affairs in *America* required the war to be continued in *Germany*, where both the *French* and *Austrians* had suffered many heavy blows.

The resources of the court of *Vienna*, on the other hand, were still amazing, and the empress queen continued to bring vast armies into the field. The *Russians* had extended themselves into the *New Marche* of *Brandenburgh*, and *Dawn* had husbanded his force with great care, so as to be able to take the field early. The *Svedes* had obtained some advantages in *Pomerania*, it being impossible for his *Prussian* majesty to supply every scene of war with troops; but he had endeavoured to indemnify himself by laying the dutchy of *Mecklenburg* under severe contributions. Upon the whole, the jealousy and dilatoriness of the court of *Vienna*, and its tying up its generals to cabinet instructions, was of infinite service to *Frederic*; nor could the princes of the empire behold with indifference their country desolated by their *French* allies. Their Treachery of the *French*,  
 flagrant infraction of good faith and the rights of the empire in seizing *Frankfort* last year, by which they secured to themselves the course of the *Maine* and the *Rhine*, and preserved their communication with the *Imperial* and *Austrian* armies, was the only solid advantage they were now possessed of, and prince *Ferdinand* thought it of the utmost consequence to dislodge them. A strong body of *Imperialists* and *Austrians* had dislodged, in their turn, the *Hanoverians* and *Prussians* who had taken post in the landgraviate of *Hesse*; but they were attacked with a prodigious vivacity by a detachment of the allied army under the hereditary prince of *Brunswic*. This young hero, with an activity and resolution scarcely ever paralleled, led his troops by defiles with which few of the natives themselves were acquainted; he attacked his enemies so unexpectedly and so rapidly, that they lost post after post, and whole battalions were cut off or made prisoners with their officers. This vivacity astonished the *French* under the duke of *Broglie*, and he took post at *Bergen*, a village between *Frankfort* and *Hanau*, so situated that he could be attacked in his front only. Prince *Ferdinand* determined, if possible, to who dislodge him, as he could not otherwise carry on his grand feat the operation. He made the attempt, but was repulsed, and all allies at he could do, was to put on so good a face that he escaped *Bergen*. without being cut in pieces, nor did the great encomiums bestowed upon his resolution and generalship make amends for so ill judged an attempt, by which he lost all expectation of dislodging the *French* from *Frankfort*, and likewise cut the prince off from all hopes of acting in concert with his *Prussian* majesty. In the mean while, so early as the 23d of *February*, the *Prussian* general *Wobersnow* made an irruption into *Poland*, with an intention to destroy the *Russian* magazines on the frontiers of that kingdom, in which he partly succeeded, and on the 18th of *April* he returned without any considerable



loss to *Glogau* in *Silesia*. Prince *Henry*, about the same time, perceiving that the *Austrians* in *Bohemia* were desfilng towards the frontiers of *Silesia*, made a sudden irruption into *Bohemia*. His army was divided into two columns, one took the rout of *Peteršwade*, and penetrated as far as *Loboschutz* and *Leitmeritz*, every where repelling the enemy and destroying their magazines.

Warlike  
operations  
in *Silesia*  
and *Sax-*  
*ony*.

The other division was commanded by general *Hulsen*, who took the important town of *Pasberg*, and above 2000 of the *Austrians* prisoners, with the loss of no more than 70 men. He then returned, carrying off with him hostages for the payment of the contributions. Prince *Henry* giving his army a short respite, then marched through *Voigtland* in search of the army of the empire, which retreated before him. At *Hoff* in *Franconia*, he attacked and defeated the *Austrian* general, *Macquire*, who retreated in the night-time. The prince continued advancing, and, on the 16th of *May*, the rich town *Bamberg* surrendered to him upon terms. When the *Prussians* were in possession of one of its gates, they were alarmed by a body of *Austrian* irregulars, and this being by the *Prussians* construed into an infraction of the capitulation, the city was for two days most infamously abandoned to pillage. The *Austrian* army continued to retire as far as *Nuremberg*, while the prince laid the bishoprics of *Bamberg* and *Wurtzburg* under contribution. All those partial successes made a noise in gazettes, but did not much contribute to the great operations of the campaign, as prince *Ferdinand* had failed in his attack upon the *French*. The latter continued to support the army of the empire; and the *Austrians*, during the prince's absence, had penetrated again into *Saxony*. The prince was obliged to evacuate *Franconia*, and to return to his old situation in *Saxony* on the frontiers of *Silesia*. Upon the whole, the allied army was, at this time, in a most undesirable condition. The consequences of prince *Ferdinand's* defeat at *Bergen* became every day more and more visible; a scarcity next to a famine prevailed in the allied army, while the *French* lived in the bosom of plenty. Their troops, both on the *Upper* and *Lower Rhine*, were now put in motion under their new general, the marshal *Contades*, and on the 3d of *June* they joined at *Marpourg*; from thence he sent a detachment to take possession of *Cassel*, the capital of *Hesse*, which was evacuated by general *Imhoff*. From thence the duke of *Broglio* advanced into the territories of *Hanover*, and without opposition became master of *Göttingen*. Prince *Ferdinand* was in no condition to face him, and forced to retire from post to post. All he could do, was to reinforce the garrisons of *Lipstadt*, *Ritberg*, *Münster* and *Minden*; but his precautions availed but little. The duke of *Broglio* took *Ritberg* and *Minden*, and made general *Zastrow*, with a garrison of 1,500 men, prisoners of war, besides taking immense magazines of provisions.

Advantages  
gained by  
the *French*.

On

On the 25th of *July*, the garrison of *Munster*, consisting of 4000 men, surrendered themselves and the place to *D'Armentiers*; in short, the *French* now thought the conquest of *Hanover* certain. By the motions of the allied army, the great aim of their commander in chief seemed to be to cover his native country of *Brunswic*; and nothing but the most palpable misconduct on the part of the *French* could have prevented his communication from being cut off with the *Elbe* and the *Wefer*. It was now thought that the *Hanoverians* must be again disarmed, and all the care of the *French* was to secure their conquests by the most inhuman methods, which were dictated by the duke de *Belleisle*, the *French* minister of war, to *Contades*. The *French* were at this time encamped to great advantage near *Minden*, and all of a sudden the army of the allies advanced and took up quarters at *Petersheim*, from whence prince *Ferdinand*, on the 29th of *July*, marched towards *Hillen*, but left a body under *Wangenheim* on the *Wefer*, and he detached 6,000 men under the hereditary prince to have an eye upon the enemy's left flank, and to cut off their convoys from *Paderborn*. The *French* calling a council of war, resolved to leave their strong camp and to advance into the plain, with an intention to attack *Wangenheim*, and upon his defeat, which they looked upon as certain, to cut off the prince's communication with the *Wefer*, and thus to finish the entire ruin of the allied army. On the 1st of *August*, the duke of *Broglio* led on the attack, but having mounted an eminence, he found that instead of encountering the detached body under *Wangenheim*, he was to fight the whole allied army, which was drawn up in excellent order and well fortified by artillery. It was then too late for him to retreat; they found the prince had marched back in the night time, and *Broglio* resolved to attack *Wangenheim's* corps. His center consisted of horse, and he was opposed by six *English* regiments, supported by two battalions of *Hanoverian* guards. The whole brunt of the battle fell upon this handful. The *English* regiments of *Waldegrave* and *Kingsey*, led on by their colonels, performed wonders; they sustained the repeated shocks of the *French* cavalry, which was deemed to be irresistible. In short, they gained a compleat victory, to the surprize of their commander in chief himself, if not in violation of his orders. When the *French* began to give way, the prince sent orders for lord *George Sackville*, who commanded the *British* cavalry, to advance; but the order not being sufficiently clear, the enemy retreated, with such precipitation, that the division under his lordship had little or no share in the honour of the day.

In the mean while, the hereditary prince engaged and defeated a body of *French* under the duke de *Brisac*, and forced them into *Minden*, a circumstance which compleated the glories of the day. The *French* were now cut off from all the passes by which they could draw their provisions, and were no

They take  
*Munster*.

The  
*French*  
defeated  
at the  
battle of  
*Minden*.

Conse-  
quences of  
the battle,

not right-  
ly im-  
proved.

Progress  
of the  
Russians.

longer in possession of the advantageous post they occupied before the battle; they could not keep their footing in *Minden*; they were obliged to fly with precipitation to the eastward of the *Weser*, destitute of all the means of subsistence; their loss amounted to about 7,000 men, that of the *English* to about 1,200, and that of all the rest of the allied army did not exceed 800 more. The consequences of this battle (one of the most glorious that ever was gained, because obtained by a prodigious inferiority of strength, over a numerous, regular, well disciplined army, and without any concurrent circumstance but that of downright valour) were far from being answerable to the glorious efforts which gained it. The *British* commander was disgraced for tardiness. The equipages of the marshal *de Contades*, the prince of *Conde*, and the duke *de Brisac*, their military chest and papers, were taken. *Bel-leisle's* letters to *Contades* were published by authority, and from them it appeared, that the *French* were resolved to carry on the war like barbarians and ruffians. The subsequent operations of the campaign were disgraceful to the allies; the hereditary prince of *Brunswic*, as usual, served with great activity and spirit, but nothing decisive was undertaken by the commander in chief. It is true, he followed the *French* and obliged them to retire towards *Cassel*, which they likewise evacuated; but it was the 7th of *September* before the inconsiderable castle of *Marpurg* was reduced by the allies, and here the glories of the campaign were at an end. *Munster* was behind them, well garrisoned and in the hands of the *French*. Prince *Ferdinand* had detached general *Imhoff* to besiege it, but *D'Armentieres* obliged him to raise the siege; and, upon the whole, before the end of the campaign, though the *French* had been obliged to retreat through a vast extent of country, yet they were almost in as good a condition as at its beginning, and the allies under prince *Ferdinand* re-passed the *Rhine* and the *Lippe* in a most unaccountable manner.

The king of *Prussia* was still fighting against the *Austrians*, *Russians*, *Imperialists*, and *Swedes*. Of those, the *Russians* appeared now to be the most formidable, for their army in *Germany*, which was commanded by count *Soltikoff*, amounted to 100,000 men, and were in full march towards *Silesia*. His *Prussian* majesty ordered count *Dohna* to oppose them; but that general found them better posted and disciplined than his master had imagined. *Frederic* upbraided him with backwardness, and appointed *Wedel* to succeed him, with strict commands to fight his enemies at all events. Nothing but the danger his hereditary dominions were in, from the junction of the *Austrians* with the *Russians*, could have justified this order. The *Russians*, by the 23d of *June*, were advanced to *Zulichau*, to get between the *Prussians* and the *Oder*. *Wedel*, though inferior to them, not only by 30,000 men, but in all other respects, attacked them in their march, but



was defeated, lost 4,700 in killed and prisoners, besides 3,000 that were wounded. General *Manteuffel* was among the latter, but the brave general *Wobersnow* was killed, and the *Russians* seized upon *Crossen* and *Franckfort* upon the *Oder*. *Daun* knew that they laboured under a want of cavalry, and he supplied them with 12,000, besides 3,000 foot under *Laudohn*. The king of *Prussia* was again in a situation of doubt and distress. He left the command of part of his army to his brother prince *Henry*, and flew to join the remains of *Wedel's* army, which he did on the 4th of *August* with 10,000 of his best troops. He ordered general *Finck* to join him with a body of 9,000 from *Saxony*; but the whole of his army did not amount to 50,000, while that of his enemies exceeded 90,000, and those extremely well posted. He had been obliged to abandon *Saxony* to make up this body, and *Daun* was pushing his detachments to the very gates of *Berlin*.

In this situation, despair itself became prudence in *Frederic*. The king attacked his enemies in their strong intrenchments, of *Prussia* all which he carried, and took 72 pieces of cannon. For six hours his arms remained victorious in every quarter of danger, and *Frederic* sent off a billet to his queen with the following words; "Madam, we have beat the *Russians* from fort. "their intrenchments, in two hours expect to hear of a glorious victory." Though the king of *Prussia's* principal effort had been directed against the left wing of the *Russians*, yet *Soltikoff* reinforced it from his right wing and the center, and being still in possession of a most formidable artillery, he retired to an impregnable post called the *Jews Burying Ground*, where he was supported by the *Austrian* cavalry, which was still entire. The ablest of *Frederic's* officers advised him to desist from any farther attack, which they represented as being worse than madness, after the prodigious fatigues his troops had undergone, but he persisted with a most blameable obstinacy. He led his men three times to the attack, his cloaths were shot through, two horses were killed under him, and he had scarcely a general who was not wounded, and some of them mortally; but above all, his bravest troops were exhausted and fainting under their fatigues. The *Russians* perceived their superiority, and in their turn attacked the *Prussians*, who unable any longer to resist, were every where slaughtered. Those who had any remains of strength, retreated to certain eminencies, which by the prudent dispositions of their officers they made good, and thereby preserved themselves from utter destruction. The *Prussian* general *Putkammer* was killed on the spot; the generals *Izenplitz*, *Hulsen*, *Finck*, *Wedel* and *Seidlitz* were wounded, as was the prince of *Wirtemberg* and five major generals. The loss of the *Prussians* amounted to about 20,000 men; that of their enemies to 10,000. Before the king left the field, he wrote another note to the queen as follows, "Remove "from *Berlin* with the royal family; let the archives be car-  
ried

His efforts  
to repair  
his losses.

"ried to *Potzdam*; the town may make conditions with the  
"enemy."

The conduct of the *Russians* and *Austrians* after this battle is entirely unaccountable, unless we suppose count *Daun* to have had private instructions not to suffer the *Russians* to get too firm a footing in the empire, or which is more probable, that he was jealous of *Laudohn*. After *Frederic's* retreat from *Cunersdorf*, where the late battle was fought, he repassed the *Oder*; but he was cut off from his brother prince *Henry*, and destitute of artillery, yet the victorious armies made no motion to distress him or his dominions. *Daun* and *Soltikoff* met for the first time to concert future operations, while *Frederic* applied himself to retrieve his misfortunes. He replaced his artillery from *Berlin*; he recalled general *Kleist* with 5,000 men from *Pomerania*, and he even detached 6,000 men under general *Wunch* to relieve *Saxony*, where the *Imperialists* carried every thing before them, and were in possession of *Leipsic*, *Torgau*, and *Dresden* itself. *Frederic*, more than suspecting that the *Russians* intended to besiege *Great Glogau*, threw himself between them and that city. *Wunch* retook *Leipsic*, and advanced along with general *Finck* towards *Dresden*; upon which, a detachment of the *Imperial* army retired. The *Austrian* general *Haddick*, at the head of the army of the empire, attacked the two *Prussian* generals, but he was obliged to retire with loss. In the mean while, prince *Henry* left his camp near *Gorlitz*, and after making an incredible march, he defeated and took the *Austrian* general *Vehla*, at *Hoyerswerda*, after killing 600 and making double that number prisoners. He then rejoined *Finck* and *Wunch*, while marshal *Daun* fell back upon *Dresden*, and the *Russians* repassed the *Oder*. A great number of smaller operations then happened, but no great blow was struck; all parties watching one another. On the 16th of *November*, the *Austrians* and *Russians* had multiplied so greatly on the banks of the *Oder* and the *Elbe*, that prince *Henry*, being afraid of having his communication cut off with *Torgau*, removed to a strong camp between that town and the *Elbe*, where he was joined by the king and 20,000 *Prussians* from *Silesia*.

Total de-  
feat of his  
general  
*Finck*.

From thence his majesty detached general *Finck* to take possession of the defiles of *Maxen* and *Ottendorf*, that he might cut off the retreat of the *Austrians* into *Bohemia*. *Finck* performed this charge, and his *Prussian* majesty now imagined that his capital enemy was between two fires. *Daun* knew the country better than *Finck* did; though he suffered him to get possession of the defiles, yet he filled all the eminences round with soldiers in such a manner, that *Finck* saw himself entirely surrounded, and after a most obstinate resistance he was under a necessity of laying down his arms, as he had entangled himself so much in the defiles that all his communication with the king's army was cut off. He sent a trumpet to *Daun*, demanding terms, on the 26th of *November*,

November, but none could be granted unless he himself and eight other *Prussian* generals, with all the troops under their command, should surrender themselves prisoners of war, which he was obliged to comply with, and thus 19 battalions, and 35 squadrons, with 65 pieces of cannon, and all the other trophies of victory fell into the hands of the *Austrians*. His *Prussian* majesty had suspected this event, and he sent general *Hulsen* with some troops to support *Finck*, but he came too late, and he was obliged to post himself at *Freyberg*. A like disaster befel *Diercke*, another *Prussian* general, on the 3d of December, on the right bank of the *Elbe*, opposite to *Meissen*, where being surrounded by the *Austrians* before he could pass the *Elbe*, which was encumbered with ice, he, and 3000 of his men, were cut in pieces, or obliged to surrender themselves prisoners of war.

So many repeated blows at the end of a campaign would have dispirited any general but his *Prussian* majesty, but the jealousy of *Daun* towards *Laudohn* was still encreasing, and *Daun*, instead of pushing *Frederic* to extremities, retired to the strong pass of *Pirna*, afterwards securing his communication with *Bohemia*. It was now the middle of a severe winter; the *Russians* had taken up winter quarters in *Poland*, and the *Swedes* had retired to *Stralsund* and the isle of *Rugen*. The allied army under prince *Ferdinand* had, after an obstinate siege, reduced *Munster*, on the 20th of November, and on the 28th of the same month, the hereditary prince undertook an enterprize against the duke of *Wirtemberg*, who was in the service of *France*, and lying with his troops at *Fulda*, in such a perfect security, that on the very day he was attacked, he ordered his troops, in their best cloaths, to play off a *feu de joye*, and that an entertainment and ball should be given to the ladies. The hereditary prince, taking with him a choice detachment of horse and foot, by one of his surprizing marches, reached *Fulda* in two days, fell upon a body of troops encamped without the place, and drove them into the city. Four battalions, in endeavouring to make some resistance, were put to the sword or obliged to lay down their arms; but in the mean time, the duke himself made his escape, leaving all his joyous entertainments unfinished. Above 1000 prisoners were made in this spirited expedition, and the chain was broken between the *French* and the army of the empire.

As the taking of *Munster* had enabled prince *Ferdinand* to who contract his quarters, he was at liberty to send off 12,000 marches men under the hereditary prince to the assistance of his *Prussian* majesty, whom they joined at *Freyberg*; but through the advanced season of the year, and the strong situation of *Daun*, of the they did him little service; though prince *Ferdinand*, notwithstanding this large detachment, made head against all the attempts of the *French* general, *Breglio*, who had procured the disgrace of his rival *Contades*. A political campaign, at the late.

same



same time, was carried on at *Ratisbon*. There, the ministers of the princes who had been put to the ban of the empire, published a rescript to shew, that the sentence against their masters was inconsistent with the emperor's capitulation; and that he had no right of himself to proscribe any prince of the empire. This act was answered by another published by the emperor, but had little or no effect on the protestant princes. Before we close the annals of the year 1759, it is proper to mention, that notwithstanding the deplorable state, as we may call it, that the allied army had been reduced to after the battle of *Minden*, without receiving a check of any consequence, the government of *Great Britain* was so intent upon continuing the war in *Germany*, that they reinforced their troops there to the number of 25,000 fighting men, at an expence, that to after ages will appear incredible. The people of *England* were not behind the government in their zeal; for by private subscriptions, they raised vast sums, which were laid out during the rigour of the season upon the widows of the officers and soldiers who had been killed in *Germany*, and in warm cloathing for the surviving men.

State of  
the war in  
the begin-  
ning of  
1760.

In the beginning of the year 1760, prince *Ferdinand* remained in possession of the desarts of *Westphalia*, but saw himself driven out of *Hesse*, and scarcely able to cover an inconsiderable part of *Hanover*. His *Prussian* majesty's courage and conduct availed him nothing, against a general of such caution and phlegm as *Daun*, and the uncommon rigours of the season; but the springs of war and peace did not then lye in *Germany*. The *English* had been victorious over the *French* in all the quarters of the globe, and king *George* was by no means averse to a peace, in negotiating which, his *British* ministers could act with so many advantages. Add to this, that he was far from being indifferent about his electoral dominions. The king of *Prussia* for a different reason, that of his distress, would gladly have embraced any peace, that would have left him possessed of part of *Silesia*, with the hereditary dominions he had in the beginning of the war; but that was not in the power even of the empress-queen to grant, considering the footing which the *Russians* had gained in *Ducal Prussia*, the possession of which was so desirable to them. Matters, however, were so managed, that an accommodation was proposed, on the part of their *Britannic* and *Prussian* majesties, who desired the opposite powers to name the place of treaty. *Leipsic* was mentioned, but it was thought unsafe. The *States General*, who were afraid of being crushed in the contest, offered one of their towns, and king *Stanislaus*, with great good nature, offered *Nancy*. It soon appeared that tho' *France* and her allies did not think it decent to reject this pacific proposition, yet they were far from being in earnest to accept of it. His *Prussian* majesty was still in possession of the greatest part of *Silesia*, which the empress-queen was determined to recover. The *French* hoped to regain in *Germany*

Peace pro-  
posed  
without  
effect.

wha

what they lost in *America* and the *East Indies*, or at least to obtain favourable terms by some advantageous event of the war, which *Great Britain* began now to feel severely. The *Swedes* were entirely directed by the *French*, and the empress of *Russia*, to the natural hatred she had for *Frederic*, was resolved to conquer *Colberg*, and to demand from the emperor the investiture of that and all her other acquisitions in *Germany*. Besides all those parties, the interests of the king of *Poland*, who was the chief sufferer in this war, were to be consulted.

Though the *French* king and his government had at this time declared themselves bankrupts, yet the spirit and loyalty of their people had enabled them to carry on the *German* war with fresh vigour. The winter had been spent in perpetual skirmishes between the *French* and the allies, in *Westphalia*, and many brave, but indecisive, and unavailing acts of valour were performed on both sides; but *Broglie* was now at the head of 100,000 men, the best troops of *France*. The count de *St. Germain*, another active *French* general, commanded another army on the *Rhine*, and the *French* pretended to form another under the prince de *Soubise*. *Broglie* could not put his troops in motion without losing the advantages he had by the possession of the *Upper Rhine*; and prince *Ferdinand's* army, for mere want of provisions, fell back upon *Paderborn*, that they might draw them from the *Elbe* and the *Weiser*. Upon the arrival of six regiments of *British* troops under major-general *Griffin*, the allied army moved from their cantonments on the 5th of *May*; but a body was left at *Dulmen* under general *Sperken*, to observe the motions of the *French* under *St. Germain*. The landgrave of *Hesse* had died during the winter, but his son and successor more than fulfilled all his father's engagements with the allies. On the other hand the duke of *Wurtemberg* left the *French* in disgust, and carried off with him 10,000 of his troops. The *Imperial* army continued to be commanded by the duke of *Deuxponts*, and after receiving a check from the *Prussians*, they encamped at *Lichtenfels* on the *Maine*. The condition of the king of *Prussia* appeared now not only undesirable but desperate: He had lost, since the first of *October* 1756, forty of his generals, besides those wounded and made prisoners. The *Swedes* had the advantage of his troops in *Pomerania*, where they had defeated and taken his general *Manteuffel*, and his dominions were ready to be invaded once more by four different armies. He resolved to act upon the defensive. He chose a strong camp between the *Elbe* and the *Moldau*, which he fortified with 250 pieces of cannon in his front, and with so much judgment, that he covered great part of *Saxony*, overawed *Daun's* army, and kept up a correspondence with his brother, prince *Henry*, whose army lay near *Frankfort* on the *Oder*, and had a communication with another *Prussian* army near *Glatz*, under general *Fouquet*. Nothing could be better conceived than those dispositions were,

The  
*French* re-  
cruit  
their ar-  
mies.

Low con-  
dition of  
the king  
of *Prussia*.

were, for covering the countries where his *Prussian* majesty had the greatest concern.

Entire de-  
feat of his  
general,  
*Fouquet*,  
by *Lau-  
dohn*,

Two *Austrian* armies were now in the field, both of them in good condition, but commanded by generals of very opposite characters, *Daun* and *Laudohn*. The former entrenched his troops to observe the motions of his *Prussian* majesty. The latter's army was unencumbered, and his motions were such as intimated, that he would either join the *Russians*, penetrate to *Berlin*, or attack some strong place in *Silesia*; and at last he made a feint as if he was determined to besiege *Schweidnitz*. *Fouquet* was imposed upon, and leaving *Glatz* uncovered, he marched towards *Schweidnitz*; upon which *Laudohn* immediately took possession of *Landshut*. His business was to make *Fouquet* believe, that he intended to keep his new conquest, and the *Prussian* general fell into the snare by returning to retake *Landshut*; but in the mean while, *Laudohn* made such dispositions, as entirely to surround him with his army, which was in every respect superior to that of the *Prussians*. *Fouquet* saw, when it was too late, his situation, and he was obliged to weaken his little army of 15,000 men, by sending off 2000 to keep up his communication with *Schweidnitz*, but he fortified himself in a regular manner with the rest. *Laudohn* took such measures, that it was impossible for his enemies to escape without fighting. On the 23d of *June*, he attacked the *Prussian* entrenchments in three different places, and carried them in all. The *Prussians* made most desperate efforts to defend themselves, but nothing could withstand the fury with which the *Austrians* fought. They drove the *Prussians* from post to post with such resolution, and such loss to themselves, as proved them to be animated with uncommon ardour. At least 4000 of the *Prussians* lay dead on the spot. Their general had received two wounds, and the remainder of his troops being no longer able, through fatigue, to keep their arms in their hands, threw them down to the number of 7000; so that none of *Fouquet's* army escaped, but the detachment which had been sent off to keep up his communication with *Schweidnitz*, and a few squadrons, the whole not 3000 men. The victory, on the part of *Laudohn*, was complete, for besides the 7000 prisoners, who fell into his hands, he took 58 pieces of artillery; but his own loss is said to have amounted to 12,000 men.

which lays  
*Silesia*  
open to  
his ene-  
mies, who  
take  
*Glatz*;

Notwithstanding all the palliations thrown upon his loss by his *Prussian* majesty, yet the effects of the late battle, which is called that of *Landshut*, shewed how fatal it was to his affairs. *Laudohn* immediately reduced *Glatz*, partly by storm and partly by capitulation, and immense magazines, with 100 pieces of brass cannon, fell into his hands. The loss of *Glatz* was one of the greatest his *Prussian* majesty could have sustained, as it gave the *Austrians* a free range in *Silesia*, and *Laudohn* immediately prepared to besiege *Breslau*. It appears by the manner in which *Glatz* was given up, that the *Silesians* were



at this time far from being reconciled to the *Prussian* government. *Breslau* made a brave defence, and prince *Henry* of *Prussia*, understanding that the *Russian* army under general *Tottleben*, was on its march to join that under *Laudohn*, resolved to fight one of them before the junction could be formed. *Laudohn* and his engineers were not very expert in the operation of a siege, and though they attacked the town with prodigious, nay inhuman, fury, yet they were always repulsed by the good dispositions made by count *Tavenzein*, the governor of the place. *Laudohn* sometimes changed his batteries into persuasions, and sometimes into menaces, but all were equally ineffectual, nor would the *Russians* under *Tottleben* appear. but are  
Fresh operations, by discharges of mortars, and showers of forced to  
red-hot bullets, began, and reduced the place to a heap of raise the  
ruins, but still it held out. On the 5th of *August*, *Laudohn* siege of  
had notice, that prince *Henry's* army was in the neighbour- *Breslau*.  
hood, upon which he broke up the siege, and made a regular,  
but hasty, retreat.

His *Prussian* majesty was all this time in *Saxony*, and at a vast The king  
distance from *Silesia*. Hearing that the siege of *Breslau* had of *Prussia*  
been formed, he made a sudden march toward *Silesia*, and deceives  
*Daun*, having left general *Lacy* to command the army of the *Daun* in a  
empire, marched towards the same country, but in a different march,  
direction, by which *Daun* got a two days march of him, and  
arrived at *Gorlitz*, from whence he pushed on towards *Lauban*.  
This was what the king of *Prussia* had foreseen and expected ;  
but instead of continuing his march he fell into *Daun's* tract,  
repassed the *Spree* at *Bautzen*, and while he was thought to be  
on the borders of *Silesia*, he appeared before the gates of *Dres-*  
*den*, and obliged the army of the empire to alter its situation.  
After this, being joined by his generals *Hulsen* and *Ziethen*, he  
formed the siege of *Dresden*, about the 19th of *July*. This  
capital had been very strongly fortified, since it had returned  
to the possession of the *Austrians*, and it was defended by  
general *Macquire*, who seemed resolved to hold it out to all  
extremities. That unhappy city now felt the horrors of war  
renewed a third time in less than four years ; and the change of  
generals brought no relief to the inhabitants. Instead of that, lays siege  
their miseries were redoubled, by the redoubled fury with to *Dresden*,  
which their city was attacked and defended. The *Prussians* but raises  
heard that *Daun* was returning with rapid marches from it.  
*Silesia*, but that news served only to encrease their efforts, that  
they might take the city before he arrived. For the space of  
eight days the attacks were carried on with unrelenting fury.  
The cathedral church, the principal streets and palaces, the  
new square, and the noble porcelain manufactory, were re-  
duced to heaps of ruins ; but *Daun* having arrived in the  
neighbourhood on the 19th, on the 21st threw 16 battalions  
into the place, upon which, next day, his *Prussian* majesty  
raised the siege, and drew off without molestation. Though  
those movements, on both sides, were considered as master-  
pieces

pieces in the art of war, yet nothing was determined, and it appeared as if her *Imperial* majesty had sacrificed her darling view, of recovering *Silesia*, to the safety of *Dresden*. But we are now to turn our eyes to *Westphalia*.

Disposi-  
tions of  
the French  
army,

There the operations were very languid in the beginning of the campaign, for want of forage. *Sporcken* remained at *Dulmen*, to observe *St. Germain*. The hereditary prince again laid *Fulda* under contribution, and defeated several bodies of the *French*. The scheme of the latter was, that *St. Germain* being in possession of *Cleves*, *Wesel* and *Dusseldorp*, should advance on the side of *Munster*, while *Broglie*, having sent off a strong detachment to the eastward of the *Weser*, advanced through *Hesse*, directly upon the main body of the allies under prince *Ferdinand*. All those were judicious motions, but *Broglie* was jealous of *St. Germain* continuing longer in a separate command, and ordered him to unite with the main army, which *St. Germain*, to his great mortification, was obliged to do. It now appeared that *Broglie's* intention was to penetrate into *Hanover* by the county of *Hesse*; but still the united army marched in two divisions, his own taking the rout of *Frankenberg*, while that of *St. Germain* marched to *Corbach*, where both armies joined, or lay in the neighbourhood of each other. In the mean time, the *French* besieged the castles of *Marperg* and *Dillenburg*, which both surrendered, the first on the 30th of *June*, the latter on the 16th of *July*, and their garrisons were made prisoners of war. It is hard to account for the dilatory motions of prince *Ferdinand*, at this period of the war. Instead of advancing, he had fallen back from *Fritzlar* towards the *Dymel*; but on the 9th of *July*, he reached the heights of *Brunau*, tho' he had pushed his advanced guards, under the hereditary prince, towards *Corbach*, where his serene highness expected to attack the division under *St. Germain*, which he knew consisted of no more than 10,000 foot, and 17 squadrons of horse. Instead of surprizing, as he thought, this body, he found it in excellent order to receive him, and near enough to the main body to be supported from thence. The prince was ignorant of all this, when he began the attack, which he soon found he was in no condition to support, prince *Ferdinand* being advanced no farther than *Saxenhausen*, and at too great a distance to succour him. Tho' the prince's attack was made with great skill and intrepidity, yet it was unsuccessful, and might probably have been fatal, when he came to the resolution of making a last effort at the head of the *British* cavalry, who checked the impetuosity of the *French* horse, while they were in full pursuit of the flying, and indeed desponding, *Germans*, and covered their retreat to *Saxenhausen*. In this action, the prince lost 900 of his troops, and all his artillery, being 15 pieces.

which de-  
feats the  
hereditary  
prince.

His brave  
action at  
*Erfort*.

The defeat of the hereditary prince, and the cowardly behaviour of the *Germans*, both horse and foot, who fought under him, created great uneasiness in *England*, where it was plain,

plain, that the *German* general was willing to spare his own countrymen, and to expose the *English* to the brunt of the war, especially as he had made no effort to support the hereditary prince. The *French* fortified themselves at *Corbach*, as the allies did at *Saxenhausen*, and their situations produced a fresh inactivity. The hereditary prince, though he had been wounded in the late action, meditated how to retrieve his miscarriage, by some bold and well timed stroke. He understood that a body of the *French*, under general *Glaubitz*, were marching to attack the important post of *Ziegenhayen*, in the landgraviate of *Hesse*, and he put himself, on the 14th of *July*, at the head of some *German* troops, and *Elliot's* light horse, who were just arrived from *England*, and had never seen any action, but appeared to be a bold and active corps. The place where *Glaubitz* was encamped, was 60 miles from *Saxenhausen*, and the prince's march to it took up no more than two days. After reconnoitring the position of the *French*, he resolved to attack their left, but he could not do it without making a detour of two leagues through woods; and at the same time, he ordered the rest of his army to climb the rocks and mountains, and attack the enemy in front. All his dispositions succeeded to a miracle. The *French* were immediately broken, but rallied and retired to a wood, from whence they endeavoured to escape, but they were attacked and cut off by *Elliot's* horse, the only cavalry who were of service in this expedition. Five hundred *French*, being detached from their main body, were obliged to throw down their arms; another body, who had retired to a wood, were forced to surrender themselves prisoners of war, and a regiment of hussars was entirely put to the sword, by this new raised cavalry, which broke three times through the enemy's lines. *Glaubitz* himself, and a prince of *Anhalt*, were taken prisoners, as were 177 officers, and 2482 private men; all the rest of the *French* being destroyed. This action cost the allies no more than 79 men, but only eight of them were *Germans*, all the rest being *Elliot's* brave light horse.

After this glorious action, the prince returned without molestation to *Saxenhausen*, from whence prince *Ferdinand* moved towards *Kalle*, that he might be the nearer to *Cassel*. The chevalier *de Muy* had succeeded the count *de St. Germain* in his command, and *Broglie* sent him with 25,000 men across the *Dymel* at *Straditbergen*, to cut off the communication of the allies with *Westphalia*. The main army advanced under himself to *Kalle*, and a third towards *Cassel*, under prince *Xavier* of *Saxony*. Those dispositions obliged prince *Ferdinand* to recross the *Dymel*, and to endeavour to fight the chevalier *de Muy*. On the 31st of *August*, he found himself on the *Battle of heights of Corbach*, and the enemy drawn up in good order, *Warburg* near *Warburg*. The hereditary prince attacked the left of the gained by enemy in front and rear, but not being supported, he could the allies, make no impression. Prince *Ferdinand* ordered the *French*



bridges upon the *Dymel*, to the right, to be attacked, while he himself made a movement towards their front; but all those operations, excepting the attack carried on by the hereditary prince, seemed so feeble as if they had not been in earnest, but only meant to protract the war. Every part of the action was unsupported by the infantry, and the *English* cavalry, as well as infantry, were five miles in the rear. The hereditary prince had, at last, made an impression on the *French* advanced guards, but their main body was at liberty to retire unhurt. The *English* hearing what passed, came up with surprising rapidity. General *Waldegrave* was at the head of the infantry, many of whom dropped down, while straining through the morasses, in endeavouring to attack the *French*. Lord *Granby* and general *Mostyn* headed the cavalry, when captain *Phillips* brought up the artillery, which did prodigious execution; but all their efforts, though the *English* generals drove the enemy before them, could not prevent the *French* from retreating across the *Dymel*. About 1500 *French* were killed on the spot, and an equal number were taken, with 10 pieces of their cannon. The *English* lost about 600 of their bravest troops, in killed, wounded, and missing; the loss of the *Germans* was carefully concealed, probably, because it was too inconsiderable to be published.

who lose  
all *Hesse*  
and part  
of *Hano-*  
*ver*.

This battle of *Warburg*, for so it was called, was by the allies proclaimed as a victory, but it proved to be worse than a defeat. The *French*, almost in an instant, reduced *Cassel*, *Eimbach*, and *Ziegenhagen*, and consequently the whole landgraviate of *Hesse*. In the electorate of *Hanover*, they took *Göttingen* and *Münden*, and might have proceeded to the capital, had they known how to procure subsistence in that exhausted country, while all that prince *Ferdinand* gained, was to maintain his posts upon the *Dymel*, and his correspondence with *Westphalia*. *Warburg* fell into the hands of the allies. *Broglie* pitched his camp at *Dierenberg*; the *Dymel* parted the two armies, which remained in this condition for a month. During this time of inactivity, the gallant hereditary prince, on the 5th of *September*, surprized the town of *Zierenberg*, at the head of a party of *English*. It was possessed by 2000 *French*, whom, by a train of excellent dispositions, he completely defeated, killing great numbers, and taking 500, besides officers, prisoners, with a loss to himself of not above 10 men. The place lying in the neighbourhood of the *French* army, he was obliged that same day to retreat; and this may be reckoned another of those splendid, but useless, exertions of courage, which were so common in this war, and did great honour to the commanding officers, without contributing to the advancement of the common cause.

Prodigious march of the king of *Prussia*, at this time, owed his safety to the slowness of the *Russian* approaches to his dominions. After the king he had been obliged to raise the siege of *Dresden*, *Laudohn* formed the blockade of *Neiss* and *Schweidnitz*, and was at last joined

joined by one body of the *Russians*, while another advanced into *Pomerania*, to form the siege of *Colberg*; the *Swedes* proceeding with equal vigour in that province. In this dreadful situation, on the 30th of *July*, his *Prussian* majesty set out with his army, encumbered with all his artillery and waggons, of which he had no fewer than 2000, and in five days time he marched 200 miles, having, during that time, passed five considerable rivers, the *Elbe*, the *Spree*, the *Neiss*, the *Quies*, and the *Bober*; a march, perhaps, not to be paralleled in history, as he had on one side of him, an *Austrian* army, under *Reidt*; another behind him, under *Lacy*; and one in his front, under general *Beck*. What is still more extraordinary, he obtained many advantages over the *Austrians*, during his march. *Daun* was, at this time, at *Bautzen*, and moved towards *Silesia*, to join *Laudohn* and the *Russians*, to take from his *Prussian* majesty all chance of escaping ruin. This he could avoid no otherwise, than by engaging *Laudohn*, before that junction could be formed. *Daun*, by this time, was arrived in *Silesia*; *Frederic* lay at *Leignitz*, with *Laudohn's* army in his front, and that of *Daun* in his rear; and those two *Austrian* armies, by extending their posts, occupied a strong, well connected tract of ground, of about 30 *English* miles in front. The king strove in vain to disunite them, but *Daun* resolved to make the same attempt he had done at *Hochkirchen*, by surprising his majesty in the night time. Either *Frederic's* own sagacity, or private intelligence, or both, made him more than suspect *Daun's* intentions. The *Austrian* army struck their tents when it grew dark, but kept in their fires, and their tattoo was beat as usual. They set out by different routs, but were to unite in one spot to form a general attack. While *Daun* was on his march, his scouts returned and informed him, that the *Prussians* had abandoned their camp. *Daun* suspected the truth, and towards morning, a thick smoke which he saw at a distance, informed him that *Frederic's* army and that of *Laudohn* were engaged in battle. He attempted to advance by *Leignitz*, but the provident *Prussian* monarch had made such dispositions of his troops and artillery, upon the heights of *Psaffendorff*, that he found it impracticable to advance. *Laudohn* had been deceived as well as *Daun*. He was advancing to attack the *Prussians* in concert with *Daun*; but when he came to the village of *Psaffendorff*, he found the whole *Prussian* army drawn up in excellent order to receive him. A battle thus became inevitable, and his *Prussian* majesty, after performing prodigious acts of personal valour, as well as generalship, obtained the victory, but did not suffer his troops to continue the pursuit beyond the *Hatzbach*, lest *Daun* should force his posts at *Psaffendorff*. In this battle, which was fought on the 15th of *August*, the *Austrians* lost about 8000 men, and 82 pieces of cannon, and the *Prussians* had 5000 killed, and 120 wounded.

*Laudohn*  
beaten by  
the king  
of *Prussia*.

Progress  
of the  
*Russian*.

The late battle, had his *Prussian* majesty lost it, must have ruined him; but the *Austrians* did little more than feel their defeat, as they expected every moment to be joined by the *Russians*, under their new general, prince *Czernichew*. *Daun* sent a strong detachment, under prince *Lowenstein* and general *Beck*, to assist them in their march, but the event of the battle of *Pfaffendorff* struck prince *Czernichew* so much, that he immediately repassed the *Oder*, by which the junction of the *Austrians* and *Russians* was prevented. *Daun*'s force was still far superior to that of *Frederic*, and he not only kept his footing in *Silesia*, but formed the blockade of *Schweidnitz*. His *Prussian* majesty, in the mean while, joined his brother prince *Henry*, at *Newmarche*, and after sending off general *Goltz* with a detachment to observe the motions of the *Russians*, he attacked and defeated the corps of *Austrians* under general *Beck*, and obliged *Daun* himself to raise the blockade of *Schweidnitz*, and retire to the heights of *Landsbut*.

Campaign  
in *Saxony*.

The *Prussian* general, *Hulsen*, at this time, commanded for his master in *Saxony*, and was marching from *Meissen* to *Torgau*, when a body of the army of the empire, by a very skillful disposition, endeavoured to cut off his communication with that place. This brought on a battle on the 20th of *August*, in which *Hulsen*, who fought under great disadvantage, behaved so well, that he carried off 1200 *Imperialists* prisoners, and opened his way to *Torgau*. This advantage, however, did him little service. The main body of the *Imperialists* were advancing to cut off his communication with the *Elbe*. By his retreat, he lost his communication with the king. The *Lower Silesia* was laid open to the ravages of the *Russians*, while *Lusatia* and *Saxony* were on the point of submitting to the power of the *Austrians*. The king of *Prussia*, at this time, can be said only to have preserved himself from absolute ruin, by the prodigies of valour and generalship he had exerted. He found his dangers and difficulties daily increasing, and all correspondence cut off between him and his hereditary dominions.

The *Impe-*  
*rialists*  
and *Rus-*  
*sians* take  
*Berlin*.

A new project was on foot to distress him farther. Count *Czernichew* was sent off with a strong detachment of *Russians* to *Brandenburgh*, and the generals *Lacy* and *Brentano* were to join him with 15,000 *Austrians* at the gates of *Berlin*; while the king was engaged in the southern parts of *Silesia*, at a vast distance from his capital. The united army amounted to 40,000 men. *Hulsen*, being unable to keep his footing in *Saxony*, fell back upon *Berlin*, and was joined by general *Werner* from *Pomerania*. Their joint force did not exceed 15,000 men, and the fortifications of *Berlin* were weak. *Tottleben*, the *Russian* general, was now advanced to the gates of that city; the *Prussian* army was obliged to retreat before him, after a faint resistance, but threw three incomplete battalions into the town, which was one of the finest in *Europe*, the seat of riches, arts, learning, and manufactures, and had been long



long the school of arms. The inhabitants knew the barbarous vindictive dispositions of their enemies, and were under inexpressible consternation. The garrison, upon the approach of the main body of the combined army, surrendered prisoners of war, after suffering a short bombardment. A scene of universal blood and plunder all over the city was now expected, when the foreign ministers, residing at *Berlin*, humanely interposed, and obtained far better terms than could have been hoped for from such enemies, especially when victorious and unresisted. It was agreed, that the inhabitants should have the free exercise of their religion; that their persons and effects should be safe, and that none of the *Russian* irregulars should enter the city. Notwithstanding this favourable capitulation, the regulars who entered *Berlin*, committed excesses which amounted almost to military execution. This perhaps was, in a great measure, owing to the unexpected splendor of the city, which struck the barbarians so much, that they were not to be restrained by their officers. Eight hundred thousand guilders were immediately exacted, and paid down, and a farther payment of 1,900,000 *German* crowns was demanded. The royal palaces were plundered (all but that of *Sans Souci*, which was generously preserved by the *Austrian* prince *Esterhazy*.) Their rich furniture, and richer paintings and curiosities, were defaced or carried off, and the noble *Brandenburgh* collection of antiques, met with the treatment that might have been expected from the descendents of the *Goths* and *Vandals*.

On the 13th of *October*, *Berlin* was delivered from its tyrants. It is surprizing, that the rich manufacturers and inhabitants did not suffer more than they did; but this may in part be accounted for, by *Berlin* being the residence of artists and manufacturers from all parts of *Germany*, and consequently may be supposed to have had many relations and friends among the *Austrian* officers. We are likewise told, that they had some apprehensions of being attacked by his *Prussian* majesty, who was advancing to the relief of his capital. Be that as it will, *Frederic* ordered manifestos to be published, which, in the most bitter manner, aggravated the barbarities of his enemies, while they held his capital, but perhaps their ravages there were less barbarous and deplorable than those committed on his open country, which they rendered a perfect desert. The consequences of this blow upon the king of *Prussia*, were very dreadful. The *Russians* marched from *Berlin* to *Poland*, and the *Austrians* resumed the route of *Saxony*, where *Wirtemberg*, *Torgau*, and *Leipsic*, were reduced by the army of the empire, under the duke of *Deux Ponts*. In short, the king of *Prussia* was stript, without obtaining the least equivalent, of all the places he held in *Saxony*, and lost the immense magazines he had laid up in that country. Neither was his condition in his other dominions in a much better situation. *Wangenheim* having been obliged to repass the *Weser*, *Stainville*,

ville, the *French* general, laid the city and bishopric of *Halberstadt* under contribution. In *Eastern Pomerania*, the *Russians* renewed the siege of *Colberg*, with a seemingly determined resolution to take it. The *Swedes* carried every thing before them in *Western Pomerania*; and in *Silesia*, *Laudohn* had besieged *Cosel*.

The battle of *Torgau*, As his majesty's enemies had evacuated *Brandenburgh*, on the 25th of *October*, he passed the *Elbe*, as *Daun* did the same day, and took up a very strong camp, which covered *Leipfic* and *Torgau*, and was secured on the one side by the *Elbe*, and on all other parts by impassable morasses, hills and woods; so that his front only could be attacked, and it was guarded by 200 pieces of cannon, his army consisting of 80,000 fighting men. By this time his *Prussian* majesty had been joined by general *Hulsen*, and prince *Eugene* of *Wirtemberg*, with the troops under their command; and despair dictated to his *Prussian* majesty, the necessity he was under of giving battle to his enemies. He generously and publicly acquainted his soldiers of his distresses, and that he was resolved to conquer or to die. They more generously answered, That they would conquer or die with him. On the 3d of *November*, he began his march, and made his dispositions. General *Hulsen* had the command of his right wing, with orders that he should make no attack till the battle began. *Ziethen* commanded his left wing, which was to attack the right of the enemy, while he himself, in the center, was to make the grand attack. *Daun*, having secured his passage over the *Elbe*, made dispositions corresponding to those of his *Prussian* majesty.

gained by  
his *Prus-*  
*sian* ma-  
jesty,

About two in the afternoon, the king attacked in front, but was three times driven back by the superior fire of the enemy. He ordered a fresh body of horse to advance, and they made some impression upon the *Austrians*; but the latter being every minute reinforced; the battle seemed again to incline to the *Austrians*, when *Ziethen*, who had fallen upon their rear, which he routed, took possession of some eminences, which overlooked the *Austrian* army, and galloped up with a strong body of cavalry to support the *Prussian* infantry. This manoeuvre changed the face of the battle, and victory, after a most bloody dispute, which lasted till nine at night, declared entirely for the *Prussians*; but, even after it was dark, an indiscriminate carnage continued, by each side keeping up an incessant fire. Some hours before this, count *Daun* had been dangerously wounded in the thigh, and was carried out of the field of battle, and his disaster greatly dispirited the *Austrians*. His command fell upon general *O'Donnel*, who finding it impossible to dislodge the *Prussians* from the eminences they possessed, ordered the *Austrians* to retreat over the *Elbe*, which they did without loss, and in good order. This battle, every thing considered, was the best fought, and most wonderful of any that his *Prussian* majesty had gained, but 10,000 of his best troops had been killed or wounded, and 3000 taken prisoners.

soners. The number of the *Austrians* killed, did not exceed with great that of the *Prussians*; but 8000 of them, among whom were four generals and 216 officers, were taken prisoners. During the whole action, the king fought as if he had known himself to be invulnerable, and he received a contusion in the breast by a musket ball. The darkness of the night, when the fate of the day was decided, hindered the *Prussians* from pursuing, and was equally favourable to the exhausted state of both armies.

Though the *Austrians* claimed the honour of this battle, which is called that of *Torgau*, yet two considerations indisputably ascertain it to the *Prussians*; the one is, they kept the field, though their enemies outnumbered them by 30,000 men; the other is, that the consequences of the battle put his *Prussian* majesty again in possession of all *Saxony*, excepting *Dresden*. General *Werner*, in *Pomerania*, obliged the *Russians* to raise the siege of *Colberg*, and to retire into *Poland*, and in the western parts of the same province, he drove the *Swedes* back upon *Stralsund*. *Laudohn* abandoned *Landshut* and the siege of *Cosel*, and retired into the *Austrian Silesia*; the army of the empire was preparing to take winter-quarters in *Franconia*, and his *Prussian* majesty's dominions were entirely evacuated by the remaining bodies of the *Russians*. It was easy for his *Prussian* majesty to perceive the warm side which the *Saxons* still retained towards their native sovereign, and he punished their loyal virtue with the utmost rigour, by not only laying them under the most oppressive contributions, but by obliging them to furnish 20,000 men for recruiting his armies. He was equally severe upon the *Mecklenburghers*, whose sufferings were, if possible, still more deplorable than those of the *Saxons*.

The war in *Westphalia* seemed still to languish after the battle of *Warburg*; but the superiority of the *French* upon the *Maine* was evident; for the skirmish of *Zierenberg* was attended with few or no consequences. They were still in possession of *Gottingen* and *Cassel*, and prince *Ferdinand* could not expect to dislodge them from thence, but by cutting off their supplies from the *Rhine* and the *Maine*. For this purpose, a detachment was pushed on towards *Marpurg*, under general *Bulow*, which took that town, and incommoded the communication of the *French* with *Frankfort*; but on the 13th of *September*, *Bulow's* rear was defeated by general *Stainville* in passing the river *Ork*, and the whole of the detachment must have been cut off, had not the hereditary prince, after a forced march of five *German* miles, arrived to their relief, and obliged *Stainville* to retreat to a strong camp. Another detachment of the allied army, under *Wangenheim*, was sent to dislodge the *French* from *Gottingen*; but after passing the *Wefer* and making some feeble efforts, tho' with sanguine expectations, he was forced, as we have already hinted, to repass it with considerable loss. The *French*, however, to keep their forces as compact as possible, entrenched themselves

Operations of the allies and French in Westphalia.



themselves at *Cassel*, without being disturbed by the *German* general of the allies, who kept advancing towards them, that he might observe their operations, and cover a very unexpected expedition, the operations of which we shall briefly relate, only as they are connected with the affairs of *Germany*, without launching into the many idle speculations to which it gave rise.

Unsuccessful expedition of the hereditary prince to the *Rhine*.

The dominions of his *Prussian* majesty upon the *Rhine*, remained still in possession of his enemies, and the *French* pretended to hold them for the empress-queen. No attempt had been made to relieve him; their revenues were very considerable, and the possession of them was extremely commodious to the *French*. Many reasons, foreign to this history, concurred for putting them again in possession of their lawful master, who was more affected by the loss of them, than by any other distress he suffered. The expedition for recovering them, was committed to the hereditary prince, who was now thought equal to any command, especially one, which like this, required rapidity of execution. While he was thought to be in the most distant parts of *Hesse*, he, all of a sudden, appeared on the banks of the *Rhine*, at the head of 20 battalions and 10 squadrons, divided into two detachments. One passed the *Rhine* above *Roeroot*, on the side of *Dusseldorp*; the other, which had marched by the way of *Munster*, passed the same river, a great way below at *Rees*, almost half way between *Cleves* and *Wesel*; and the *States General*, who had no reason to expect any favour from the allies, began to be in pain about the safety of their own dominions. Both detachments moved to meet each other, and in their march seized upon all the *French* posts on the *Rhine*, and every where dislodged them from their redoubts. Having got together a sufficient number of boats to transport the rest of their troops, and their artillery, they again divided into two parties; one of which, on the 3d of *October*, took possession of *Cleves*, and in three days after of its castle, the garrison of 500 men surrendering prisoners of war, while the other division laid a vigorous siege to *Wesel*, and great expectations were formed by the allies of its surrender, but the rains that fell prevented reinforcements being sent to the besiegers, and rendered the prince's communication with them very difficult.

He is defeated at *Campen*.

This interruption, which might have reasonably been expected at so advanced a season of the year, gave time for the marquis de *Castries*, a *French* general, to assemble an army of 30 battalions from *Hesse* and the *Low Countries*, with whom he drove the allies from their posts near *Rhinberg*, which lay in the heart of the prince's late acquisitions, and then turning to the left he took up a very advantageous camp, with the abbey of *Campen* in his front. The approaches to *Wesel* were made on the right of the *Rhine*, and the prince remained on the left to cover the siege, but the operations of *Castries* entirely disconcerted him. All he could do, was to attack *Cas-*

*tries*

tries before he could be reinforced; but in his march he encountered *Fischer's* famous corps of *French* irregulars, and their firing put *Castries* on his guard. He drew up his troops in a situation of defence, but they were so vigorously attacked by the *British* troops under the prince, that they were obliged at first to give way; but the *French* soon recovered themselves and retrieved all they had lost. The fire of musketry continued without ceasing from five in the morning till nine at night. The lord *Down*, with a number of brave *British* officers and soldiers were killed; the prince's horse was shot; he himself was wounded; there was no probability of success, and he gave orders for a retreat, which was made with some confusion and great loss of men. That of the *English* amounted to about 1500, killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, which renewed the clamours of *England* against a *German* war, in which so much *English* blood was spilled in a foreign quarrel.

If the hereditary prince had not some further views in this expedition, his conduct was not a little unaccountable. He seems not to have been sufficiently apprized of the strength of *Wesel*, the reduction of which he might reasonably have despaired of, after the swelling of the waters and the appearance of a *French* army in the field; and yet he ventured a bloody engagement before he had secured his repassage over the *Rhine*, which, however, he effected without any impediment from the victorious *French* army which lay in sight, and which was daunted by the remembrance of the *English* valour. His expedition was fatal, not only by the loss of the men who were killed, but of those who died of diseases contracted in that damp country and severe season. Upon the return of the hereditary prince to *Westphalia*, an attempt was made upon *Gottingen*, which had been blockaded by the allies, from the 22d of *November* to the 12th of the following month. The *French* repulsed them, and the blockade was raised, and never did an army go into more uncomfortable winter quarters than the *English* did this year into theirs at *Paderborn*, one of the most exhausted districts in *Germany*. This scarcity rendered the soldiers miserable, and their officers a prey to *Jewish* and other contractors, who raised immense fortunes from their distresses. Prince *Ferdinand's* quarters were far less uncomfortable, as he lay in a more plentiful country, and was befriended by the natives; while those of the *French* were more plentifully supplied than any they could have enjoyed in their own country, even in time of peace.

In the mean while, on the 25th of *October*, 1760, *George* II. the great support of the liberties of *Germany* and the foreign system in *England*, died, just at the time when the body of his people began to be excessively uneasy at the ineffectual progress of the continental war in which they were engaged. Their discontents reached the throne of his grandson and successor,

Dismal  
state of  
the allied  
army.

Death of  
*George* II.

successor, who was resolved upon a safe and honourable peace; but he declared that he would continue the war till that could be obtained, and he expressed himself in those terms to his parliament. Prince *Ferdinand* was sensible of his own situation, and the necessity of acting with vigour, so as to give him an *eclat* in *England*. He was in a condition as comfortable as that of the king of *Prussia* had been during the preceding campaign, and he affected to follow his example by striking a bold and unexpected blow to relieve himself. The *French* continued to be in possession of all *Hesse*, where they had amassed great magazines, and erected several additional fortified posts. On the *Lower Rhine* they maintained a considerable force; they had the town of *Gottingen* strongly garrisoned on their right, and free access to the electorate of *Hanover*. In this situation, (should they preserve it) it was probable that next campaign they might inclose the whole of the allied army.

Prince  
*Ferdinand*  
takes the  
field in  
*February*.

Prince *Ferdinand* saw his *British* troops silently suffering as much by the famine and diseases they were forced to encounter in uncomfortable quarters, as they could do by a bold stroke, however unfortunate. All of a sudden, he ordered his troops to rendezvous on the *Dymel*, the *Rhume*, and in *Saverland*. The whole of his army was drawn up in three divisions; one was commanded by the hereditary prince and the marquis of *Granby*, and formed the right; the left, under general *Sporcken*, advanced towards *Thuringia*; and the commander in chief headed the center, which penetrated into *Hesse*, and advanced towards *Cassel*. This disposition, if it had any meaning but that of giving food to the troops, was to break off the communication of the *French* with the army of the empire and their garrison at *Gottingen*, and to open a communication between the allied army and his *Prussian* majesty. But the whole of those specious operations were rather alarming than solid. The *French* redoubled their garrisons in *Cassel* and *Gottingen*, which they knew the allies, whatever progress they should make, must be obliged to leave behind them. They likewise strengthened those of *Fritzlar*, *Ziegenhagen*, and *Marpurg*, which was again in their possession. The hereditary prince was repulsed with considerable loss before *Fritzlar*. *Breidenbach*, a *Hanoverian* general, had the same fate before *Marpurg*, but lost his life in the attempt. On the 15th of *February*, more artillery being brought against *Fritzlar*, it surrendered; and the marquis of *Granby*, with great courage and conduct, after reducing all the troublesome forts and posts in the neighbourhood, pushed on at the head of the *British* cavalry with so much rapidity, that the *French* had not even time to burn their magazines, and retired, or rather fled, almost to the *Maine*. By their flight the allies seized five capital magazines, one of which contained 80,000 sacks of meal, 50,000 of oats, and a million of rations of hay.

Losses of  
the *French*.

This



This success, which the *German* commander in chief of the allies had no right to expect, kept their men as well as horses alive. In the mean while, general *Sporcken* on the left division of the allies, was equally successful on the side of *Saxony*, where, being joined by a body of *Prussians*, he dislodged the *French* from the *Werra* and the *Umsturt*, and drove them to *Bamberg*. The count of *Vaux*, governor of *Göttingen*, cut off his retreat with a strong detachment of that garrison, and obliged him to rejoin the main army under prince *Ferdinand*, who by this time had formed the siege of *Cassel*, which was left to the direction of the count of *Lippe Schaumberg*, who had distinguished himself by his management of the allied artillery at the battle of *Minden*. The blockades of *Marpurg* and *Ziegenhagen* were formed, as was a chain of cantonments from the *Lahn* to the *Ohm*, and from the *Ohm* to the *Fulda*, while he himself watched the motions of *Broglie's* army, which had retired towards *Franckfort*. All those dispositions plainly discovered that it was not yet time to put an end to the *German* war. The two fortresses were behind the allies, *Broglie's* army was in their front, and *Cassel* on their flank. Instead of cantoning out his army into broken detachments, had the *German* general collected it and defeated *Broglie*, *Cassel* and the two forts must have surrendered of course; but his numbers were insufficient, had they been greater than they were, for such a variety of operations, and his army, by being divided, became weak. The conduct of *Broglie* was very different; he called in all his troops from the most distant posts, and suffered the allies to dissipate their force in specious but useless operations. Perceiving that, according to the manner of *Ferdinand's* carrying on war, the hereditary prince was lying near *Grunberg*, at the village of *Strangerode*, with nine regiments of *Hanoverians*, *Hessians*, and *Brunswickers*, baron *Closen*, a *French* general, attacked and totally routed them at the very first onset, and took 2,000 prisoners, 8 pieces of cannon, and 18 pair of colours; a convincing proof how despicable *German* courage was, when unsupported by the *English*. This single blow overthrew all the promising schemes of the allies. They withdrew the blockade of *Ziegenhagen*; they raised the siege of *Cassel*, and at last they evacuated all *Hesse* by retiring once more behind the *Dymel*. It fortunately happened for the army of the allies that *Soubise*, who had an army on the *Lower Rhine*, envied and hated *Broglie*, and refused to join him in any measure that might decide the fate of the war, even in favour of the *French*; and in this he was privately supported by his master's ministers. This conduct corresponded exactly with the views of the allied army's general, who having now procured some victuals for his army, remained upon the defensive at a time when he ought to have been most active, while the *French* were busied in recruiting their magazines.

The

The state  
of the war  
altered.

The negociations for peace were now opened at *London*, and the complexion of the *German* war was entirely altered. His *Britannic* majesty seemed, to the great disappointment and confusion of the *French*, to have no predilection for *Hanover*, and to make the interests of *Great Britain* his capital object. The *French* saw, that should they get possession of that whole electorate, it would, in a negociation, procure them no abatement of the terms demanded and expected by the people of *England*. A more vigorous exertion of their arms might, however, have that effect. The safety or destruction of a *British* army were interesting considerations, and the total defeat of the allies would enable the *French* to assist the empress queen in giving the finishing blow to the king of *Prussia's* ruin. *Soubise* therefore had orders to put his army in motion, and this occasioned various skirmishes between his detached parties and those under the hereditary prince. *Broglio*, at the same time, put his troops in motion, and advancing towards the *Dymel* he beat general *Sporcken*, who was posted with a strong detachment in the front of the allied army to dispute his passage over that river. On this occasion, a considerable number of the allies were killed, 800 were made prisoners, 19 pieces of cannon, 400 horses, and above 170 waggons were taken by the *French*, who immediately passed the *Dymel* and seized *Warburg*, *Dringleburg*, and *Paderborn*; so that on the 2d of *July* prince *Ferdinand* was obliged to fall back upon the *Lippe*, and take post between *Hamme* and *Lipstadt*. This situation was very convenient for cutting off *Soubise's* communication with the *Rhine*, and the detachments of the allies obtained many, and some not inconsiderable advantages over those of the *French*.

Advantages  
gained by  
the *French*.

Battle of  
*Kirch-*  
*Denkern*,

It was in *Broglio's* power, at this period of the war, to have over-run the electorate of *Hanover*, but that was no longer the object of the *French* court, and *Soubise* was ordered by all means to join him, and both of them to hazard a general battle. This resolution was forwarded by the daily advantages which the allied troops under the hereditary prince and general *Luckner* continued to gain, even in the neighbourhood of *Cassel*. The junction between *Soubise* and *Broglio* was effected at a place called *Soest*, in the neighbourhood of the allied army, and prince *Ferdinand* altered his dispositions accordingly. He secured his communication between *Lipstadt* and *Hamme*, and his left wing was posted between the *Lippe* and the *Aaß*. The body of the army occupied the height of *Wambeln*, and the prince of *Anhalt* the ground between *Illengen* and *Hohenover*. Lord *Granby* kept his position upon the heights of *Kirch-Denkern*, and lieutenant-general *Wutgenau*, who was encamped upon the heath of *Untrup*, marched by his right to approach the village of *Kirch-Denkern*, while piquets guarded all the avenues and posts on the rivers *Aaß* and *Sultzbach*. On the 15th of *July*, the *French* made a strong attack upon the marquis of *Granby's*

out-

out-posts, and drove them back upon his camp, where a most obstinate dispute was maintained with great gallantry by the *British* troops. The *German* general ordered the marquis to maintain his post to the last, till he could be supported by general *Wutgenau* from the left. An incessant firing was kept up on both sides till it was dark, and then the *French* retired precipitately into the woods. won by the allies,

Next morning the battle recommenced, and the chief attack of the *French*, which was commanded by *Broglio*, was made against *Wutgenau's* corps, and an incessant firing lasted for five hours, without either side gaining the least advantage. About nine, the allied general was informed that the *French* were making dispositions for erecting batteries upon an eminence that commanded the marquis of *Granby's* camp; upon which he ordered the troops under *Sporcken* to advance and join another body which was nearest at hand. This division attacked the *French*, who immediately fell into disorder, and retreated with the utmost precipitation, leaving their dead and wounded, and several pieces of cannon, some of them sixteen pounders. *Maxwell's* single battalion made prisoners of the whole regiment of *Rouge*, and the enemy was pursued as far as *Haltrup*, where the nature of the ground disabled the allied cavalry from acting. This battle is called by the *French* that of *Felinghausen*, and by the allies that of *Kirch-Denkern*. In its consequences. it the *French* lost about 5000 men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners. The loss of the allies amounted only to 300 killed, 1,000 wounded, and 200 taken prisoners.

Though in this action the allies were indisputably victors, yet *Broglio's* defeat did not take from him the glory of being the best general in the *French* service. He was hated by the mistress, because his merit had given him his advancement, and he was both disliked and envied by *Soubise*, who knew he would be supported at his court. *Broglio* complained that *Soubise* was too tardy, and *Soubise* that *Broglio* was too hasty in marching up to the attack. After the battle their armies parted, that of *Broglio* moved towards *Cassel*, that of *Soubise* towards the *Roer*, whilst each filled the court of *Versailles* with manifestos and recriminations, in justification of his own conduct.

The allies, as usual, found themselves in a worse situation after their victory than before. The *French* soon repaired their loss, and *Soubise* receiving a great recruit of forage and provisions, repassed the *Roer* and the *Lippe*, and pointed his march towards *Munster*, while *Broglio's* army, all of a sudden, passed the *Wefer*, with a seeming intention to seize upon *Hanover*, which, however, was far from his thoughts. *Soubise* was more in earnest about besieging *Munster*, and prince *Ferdinand* sent one division of his army to cover *Munster*, and with the other he himself observed the motions of *Broglio*; though by uniting his whole army and attacking either of them, both must have been destroyed. *Soubise*, as well as *Broglio*,



Skirmishes, in which prince Henry of Brunswic is killed.

Progress of the French arms

in Westphalia,

where they take

Osnaburg,

*Broglie*, was apprehensive of this, and cautiously avoided a battle; upon which the partizan war recommenced, in which the allies had generally the advantage, but they lost in one of those ineffectual skirmishes, young prince *Henry of Brunswic*, whose early courage and virtues rendered him worthy of having the hereditary prince for his elder brother. Upon *Broglie's* passing the *Weser*, prince *Ferdinand* made a motion towards *Cassel*, and the hereditary prince, on the 30th of *August*, obliged the garrison of *Dorsten* to surrender themselves prisoners of war; upon which *Soubise* laid aside all farther thoughts of besieging *Munster*. Upon *Ferdinand's* march into *Hesse*, *Broglie* again passed the *Weser*, and encamping near *Eimbeck*, laid all the neighbouring country under contribution. The numerous indecisive operations that filled up the rest of the campaign we shall omit, and confine ourselves to the capital.

*Broglie* penetrated into the *Hartz*, where he took and demolished the strong castle of *Scharfels*, and laid a vast tract of the neighbouring country under contribution. Prince *Xavier of Saxony* appeared with a detachment before *Wolfenbittel*, which is strongly situated; but its houses being mostly built of wood, a shower of hot bullets soon compelled the inhabitants to surrender it. Prince *Xavier* then continued his march to *Brunswic*, the capital of that dukedom, and the reigning duke, who was now considered as a party in the war, fled to *Hamburg*, where he met the landgrave of *Hesse*, and several other princes who were in the like undesirable circumstances. The danger of *Brunswic*, and the progress of the *French* to the east of the *Aller*, alarmed prince *Ferdinand* to the last degree, and he was obliged to send the hereditary prince to its relief with all the troops he could muster. His activity was such, that he forced the *French* to raise the siege, and likewise to evacuate *Wolfenbittel*, with no inconsiderable loss both of men and artillery.

Without detracting from the merit of the allied general, we cannot help thinking that he was destitute of one great qualification of a commander, and which *Broglie* seems eminently to have possessed, that of being able to form an original plan of operations that was not to be disconcerted by any little accident. His whole care in the campaigns he made consisted in inventing expedients rather for retrieving, than preventing, his losses. The moment the hereditary prince evacuated *Hesse*, *Soubise* ravaged *Westphalia* in a manner that seemed to proceed rather from his orders than his inclination. His troops took *Osnaburg*, and because the exorbitant ransom they required was not immediately paid, they plundered that wealthy city. The marquis de *Conflans*, a *French* officer, appeared with a party before the important town of *Emden* in *East Friesland*, which was garrisoned by no more than 200 *British* invalids, who would have defended it, but it was given up at the request of its pusillanimous inhabitants,

tants, upon an honourable capitulation, which was infamously broken, and both the town and its territory were laid under severe contributions. A third detachment from *Soubise's* army made an attempt to seize upon *Bremen*, after having reduced *Meppen* upon the *Ems*, and making the garrison of 500 men prisoners of war on the 3d of *October*.

The taking of *Bremen* must absolutely have ruined the army but fail in of the allies, at least the *British* part of it, who depended for their de- the whole of their subsistence from the *Weser*. The conduct sign upon of *Soubise* in not more vigorously supporting this attempt, can *Bremen*. only be accounted for by his hopes that the place would be surprized, without his being obliged to run any considerable hazard in besieging it. His troops had almost succeeded, but the inhabitants joined the garrison, which was but weak, and repelled the *French*, whom they detested. After this repulse, *Bremen* was strongly reinforced, and guarded against any succeeding dangers of that kind. *Broglie* remained all this while inactive at *Eimbeck*, but in the beginning of *November* prince *Ferdinand* laid a plan for attacking him, in the execution of which the marquis of *Granby* was to have a great share. That gallant general, accordingly, forced the enemy's posts at *Cappeln*, in order to intercept a large detachment of *French* under *Chabot*, but through the failure of the *German* general *Hardenberg*, the design miscarried. Soon after this, both armies went into winter quarters, that of the *French* in *Cassel*, *Dusseldorf*, and along the *Lower Rhine*. The quarters of the *British* cavalry were in *East Friesland*; those of the infantry in the bishopric of *Osnaburg*; and those of the other allies at *Hildesheim*, *Munster*, *Hamelen*, and *Eimbeck*. We are now to turn our attention towards *Saxony* and *Silesia*.

The war in those parts this year was as languid as in the Inactive preceding it had been furious. Perhaps, the pacific senti- campaign ments of the *British* ministry contributed to this inactivity. in *Silesia* Prince *Henry's* army was intrenched under *Leipsic*, that of and *Sax-* *Daun* near *Dresden*, while his *Prussian* majesty held a strong ony- camp near *Schweidnitz* in the *Upper Silesia*. In this situation, neither party either gained or lost any advantage, but his *Prussian* majesty had not troops to supply every department of the war he was engaged in. The *Russian* army had been reinforced; one division of it, under *Tottleben*, entered *Pomerania*, and another under *Butterlin* advanced towards *Breslau*, expecting to be joined by *Laudohn*. *Upper Silesia* was laid under severe contributions by the *Russians*, who cannonaded *Breslau*, while the active *Laudohn* endeavoured, but in vain, to draw the king from his advantageous position. That monarch was the most secure on the quarter where the storm of war fell the most heavy upon him. He thought himself safe with regard to *Tottleben's* operations, but *Tottleben*, upon a suspicion of his court that he was in a secret correspondence with his majesty, was removed from his command, which was filled by general *Romanzow*. Some pecuniary considerations of the same

*Colberg*  
again be-  
sieged.

same kind were offered to *Laudohn*, but he rejected them. A *Russian* fleet now blockaded *Colberg* by sea, and *Romanzow* besieged it by land. The prince of *Wirtemberg* lay with a body of 7,000 men under its fortifications, which had been greatly encreased. His *Prussian* majesty having now lost all dependence upon his pecuniary influence, employed general *Platen* to destroy all the *Russian* magazines that supplied their army in *Silesia*, which he accordingly did with remarkable success, and he pursued his march into *Pomerania*. Upon this, on the 25th of *August*, the *Russians* relinquished their designs upon *Breslau*, and retired into *Poland*, that they might, if possible, secure the means of their future subsistence. *Butterlin* knowing that this could be best done by their taking *Colberg*, struck into *Pomerania*, destroyed the *Marche* of *Brandenburg* and took possession of *Landsberg*, while his *Prussian* majesty, to avert this fresh blow, sent general *Knoblock* to support *Platen*.

*Schweid-*  
*nitz* taken  
by the  
*Austrians*,

In the mean while, his *Prussian* majesty perceiving that provisions must soon fail him in his strong camp near *Schweidnitz*, removed towards the *Oder*, and ordered 4,000 of the garrison of *Schweidnitz* to replace the detachments he had sent off. *Laudohn* rapidly seized the opportunity, and by a masterly *coup de main*, made himself master of *Schweidnitz*, where he made general *Zastrow* and 3,000 of his garrison prisoners, with the loss only of 600 men, most of whom had been buried in a powder magazine blown up within the place during the heat of the attack. This severe blow was the more deeply felt by *Frederic* as he did not expect it, and despised all the means of preventing it. He bore it, however, with an astonishing composure, and his letter to *Zastrow* on the occasion is worthy of being transmitted to posterity; it was as follows: "We may now say what *Francis I.* of *France* wrote to his mother after the battle of *Pavia*, *We have lost all except our honour*. As I cannot comprehend what hath happened to you, I shall suspend my judgment. The thing is very extraordinary."

and *Col-*  
*berg* by the  
*Russians*.

*Colberg* continued to make a most obstinate defence under the brave *Heydon*, but at last was reduced to such extremity that *Platen* quitted the prince of *Wirtemberg* to join *Knoblock*, but was defeated by *Romanzow* in the attempt, and obliged to fly to *Stetin*; while *Knoblock*, who remained in the defenceless town of *Treplow*, was obliged to surrender himself and his detachment of 2,000 men prisoners of war. *Colberg*, through those defeats, was rendered incapable of receiving any further supplies, and its case became so desperate, that the prince of *Wirtemberg* cut his way through the *Russian* army, and left *Heydon* to obtain the best capitulation he could for his garrison and the inhabitants. On the 16th of *December*, *Colberg*, after a siege of six months, being now hopeless of all relief and destitute of provision, submitted to necessity, and *Heydon* and his garrison were made prisoners



of war. The *Russians*, by taking this place, became masters of the *Baltic*, and a port that freed them from their dependence upon precarious supplies from *Poland*. *Stetin* alone stood in their way for becoming masters of all *Brandenburgh*, and for the first time they took up their winter quarters in *Pomerania*.

Hitherto his *Prussian* majesty had been delivered, under providence, by the amazing efforts of his own genius and sagacity; but now that he was abandoned by all human means of retrieving his affairs, the immediate hand of heaven interposed for his deliverance, by the death of his most inveterate enemy the empress of *Russia*. Before we close this part of his history, we are to observe that while the *Austrians* were encamped in the neighbourhood of *Schweidnitz*, a scheme had been formed by the baron *de Warkotch*, a *Silesian* nobleman, and one *Schmidt*, a priest, for seizing his person and delivering him up to the *Austrians*. The plot is said to have been discovered by one of the baron's domestics, who suspecting the contents of a letter he was charged with from his master to the priest, carried it to his *Prussian* majesty. All we can say with regard to the reality of this conspiracy, is, that *Frederic* affected to treat it as a reality. Both the baron and the priest escaped, but the king never could be prevailed on to pardon the former. As the public never has been acquainted with any particulars of this pretended plot, they are at liberty to treat it as one of those little stratagems invented by one court to blacken another.

His *Prussian* majesty did not at first feel the effects of the empress of *Russia's* death, which happened on *January* the 2d, 1762; and the court of *Vienna* was extremely assiduous in giving out that her successor, *Peter III.* would unvariably adhere to her plan and engagements. All *Europe* was for some time in suspense about the part he would act. By the possession of *Colberg*, and the other advantages, which his subjects had gained in the late war, it was plain that in a few years he would have had it in his power to have given laws in *Germany*, in case of any differences between the house of *Austria* and that complicated body. But on the other hand, this might have involved him in perpetual quarrels with the other powers of *Europe*, so that it would have been impossible for him to have accomplished any farther regulations in the internal state of the empire, which, it is said, he most ardently wished for. Perhaps, the treatment he had received during the reign of his predecessor, and the very high opinion he entertained of his *Prussian* majesty, contributed to determine him as to his future conduct. The flattering scenes, however, of ambition that lay before him, afforded no very comfortable prospect, even for his *Prussian* majesty, as appears by an extract of a letter which he sent to a *British* minister. But the reader, to understand it, must observe that his *Russian* majesty had the order of the Black Eagle, of which the king of *Prussia* is

Death of  
the em-  
press of  
*Russia*.

Conspira-  
cy against  
his *Prus-  
sian* ma-  
jesty.

Good cor-  
respond-  
ence be-  
tween the  
king of  
*Prussia*  
and the  
emperor  
of *Russia*.

grand master. "Is not this (said *Frederic*, with his usual pleasantry) a very extraordinary knight to feed 80,000 men at my expence? He is the only one of my knights that takes that liberty. If every knight of the Garter did the same, your *England* (*England* though it is) would be devoured by them. I beg you would endeavour to make my knight more tractable, and tell him it is against the institutes of the order, for a knight to eat up his grand master."

*Pacific disposition of the latter,* *Frederic* was deceived in his apprehensions, if ever he entertained any. On the 23d of *February*, the emperor of *Russia* declared, in a memorial delivered to the foreign ministers at his court, "That in order to the establishment of peace, he was ready to sacrifice all the conquests made by the arms of *Russia* in this war, in hopes that the allied courts will on their parts equally prefer the restoration of peace and tranquillity, to the advantages which they might expect from the continuance of the war; but which they cannot obtain but by a continuance of the effusion of human blood."

*who joins with the king of Prussia.* Though this declaration sufficiently intimated his intentions to desist at any rate from being farther his *Prussian* majesty's enemy, yet it was such as his allies could find no fault with, as he was the only belligerent potentate who sacrificed his own interests to peace. All he did, in the mean while, was to send an order to his generals to undertake no new enterprize against his *Prussian* majesty without farther orders. At the same time, he communicated to *Frederic* the news of the death of the late empress, and his own accession; with certain private intelligence, that immediately induced *Frederic* not only to send him compliments of congratulation, but to set at liberty all his *Russian* prisoners without ransom. *Czernichew* was then ordered to evacuate *Silesia* with his army, and this was followed by an armistice, settled between the *Russian* and *Prussian* troops in *Pomerania*. The treaty of peace between *France* and *Great Britain* was at this time so far advanced, that the *Swedes*, fearing to be abandoned at once by *France* and *Russia*, concluded an armistice likewise; but his *Prussian* majesty did not lose a moment in improving this respite from the dismal calamities that but a few days before had threatened him. His generals, *Platen* and *Wunch*, who lay at *Leipsic*, put their troops in motion, and not only obliged the *Saxons* to abandon *Eisenach*, but the army of the empire to quit their quarters at *Naumbourg*, *Zeitz*, *Altemberg*, and *Gera*. To balance those advantages, it was given out that the *Austrian* general *Reidt*, had obtained some advantages over the *Prussians* in the other parts of *Saxony*. His *Prussian* majesty affected great moderation in all those favourable events, and accepted the offer of mediation made by the emperor *Peter III.* by offering terms to the court of *Vienna*.

The empress-queen, whose spirit was always at variance with her fortune, not only rejected those terms with the utmost contempt, but as if she had been indifferent about the defection

defection of *Russia*, she issued orders for adding 30,000 men Impru- to her armies. *Daun* was so much disgusted with her obsti- dence of nacy, and at the perpetual reproaches she had thrown out the em- against him for his slowness, that he begged leave to resign his pres- command, which even *Laudohn* now refused to accept of. queen. The empress-queen in conjunction with the *French*, made fresh efforts at the court of *Peterburg* to recover that emperor to her alliance. This application was so far from having any effect, that he required her not only to give over all thoughts of recovering *Silesia*, but to yield up *Schweidnitz* and the county of *Glatz*, and that the *French* and *Swedes* should likewise resign all their *Prussian* acquisitions. To give the greater weight to this requisition, orders were sent to the *Russian* generals to co-operate with those of *Prussia*, if necessary to recover *Silesia*. His *Prussian* majesty, without this active operation, must still have been inferior to the *Austrians* who were then threatening *Glogau* and *Breslau*. On the other hand, Prince as the weight of the *Russian* arms were now added to those of *Prussia*, prince Henry, about the 12th of *May*, 1762, obliged beats the the *Imperialists*, with some loss, to evacuate *Diepoldswald*, and *Austrians*, and made about 4000 prisoners, besides taking 365 waggons. The *Austrians* now experienced the disadvantages they were under by the defection of the *Russians*. All that his *Prussian* majesty held in *Saxony*, was secured to his possession, and after he was joined by his *Russian* allies, marshal *Daun* thought proper to fall back upon the extremities of *Silesia*, while the *Prussians* and *Russians* laid even a great part of *Bohemia* under contribution.

It does not fall within this head of our history to recount the particulars of the great revolution, which cost the czar Revoluti- on in *Peter III.* his empire and his life, and raised his wife to that *Russia*. throne. Whatever irregularities of conduct he may be taxed with in domestic affairs, it seems to be pretty certain, that his system with regard to *Germany* was wise and solid, and every branch of it was adopted by his empress-successor. Though his partiality for his *Prussian* majesty was one of the most unpopular steps of his reign, yet she ordered pacific declarations towards *Prussia* to be made by her ministers; nor did she recall her troops till his *Prussian* majesty was out of all danger of being overwhelmed by his enemies. It was on the 21st of *July*, that the orders for the separation were emitted, but before it happened, his *Prussian* majesty drove *Daun* from the heights of *Buckerfeldorff* with very considerable loss, and thereby cut him off from all communication with *Schweidnitz*, which *Frederic* immediately besieged. *Laudohn* attempted to relieve the place, but was beat by the prince of *Bevern*; nor shall we break the narrative of his *Prussian* majesty's affairs till he enters upon a definitive treaty with the empress-queen.

*Frederic* in person carried on the siege of *Schweidnitz*, while his brother prince *Henry* acted upon the defensive in *Saxony*.



Irruption  
of the  
*Prussians*  
into the  
empire.

The place was defended with great skill and courage, but though garrisoned by 8000, they were obliged to surrender prisoners of war, and almost all of them were drowned in the mouth of the *Oder*, in repairing to their quarters of confinement. His *Prussian* majesty was now at liberty to succour his brother prince *Henry*, who was so hard pressed by the *Austrians* in *Saxony*, that he was driven back to *Freyberg*. On the 29th of *October*, he attacked the *Austrians*, over whom he obtained decisive advantages, for besides a great number that were slain, he took about 6000 prisoners, of whom 240 were officers. After this a cessation of arms was concluded between the *Austrians* and the *Prussians*, for *Silesia* and *Saxony*, which gave the *Prussians* an opportunity of ravaging *Bohemia* to the very gates of *Prague*, laying *Egra* in ashes, and penetrating through *Franconia* into *Suabia*. This is one of the most remarkable periods in the war, and indeed it can scarcely be accounted for, how the court of *Vienna* could be prevailed upon, by a partial armistice, to expose its own dominions and that of its allies to destruction. The truth is, the princes of the empire were now tired of the war. The negotiations of peace that were going forward at *London*, and the pacific complexion of his *Britannic* majesty, left them nothing to apprehend on the part of the house of *Hanover*, of which they had been always secretly jealous, for one plain reason, because they saw that elector supported by the arms and riches of *Great Britain*. This apprehension being removed, they were as unwilling to aggrandize the house of *Austria* as that of *Brandenburgh*, and each prince gave intimation to the court of *Vienna*, that it was now high time to close the scene of war. The diet at *Ratisbon*, upon the irruption of the *Prussians*, was preparing to break up, and the thriving city of *Nuremberg*, which had been long enfolded in peace, was laid under a contribution which fell nothing short of 200,000 l. sterling, and which it was obliged to pay. In short it was thought, that by this irruption, his *Prussian* majesty indemnified himself for the loss of the vast subsidy he had received from *Great Britain*.

The  
treaty of  
*Huberts-*  
*burg*.

After what has been said, the reader may easily comprehend the reasons that determined the court of *Vienna* to listen to terms of accommodation, to which his *Prussian* majesty was by no means averse, provided he was secured in his favourite view, the possession of *Silesia*. Both courts were soured at the conduct of their allies. His *Prussian* majesty beheld with indignation, the wise but pacific dispositions of his *Britannic* majesty. The *Imperial* ministry were dissatisfied with *France* having made a separate peace with *Great Britain*, and continuing their resentment, the event of certain conferences that had been opened at *Hubertsburg* was a peace.

Its terms.

By this peace, each party was put in the same situation it held at the beginning of the war. His *Prussian* majesty remained the possessor of *Silesia*, in the most ample extent, and applied himself

to

to cultivate the arts of peace, with equal abilities, but with more true glory, than he had done those of war. He distributed lands to his disbanded soldiers; he gave them his artillery horses for their cultivation; he instituted courts of martial enquiries, for the punishment of his officers who had been deficient in their duty, and he rewarded those who behaved well. The court of *Vienna* observed the same conduct; and it is probable, that as long as the court of *Hanover* shall remain a distinct body from that of *London*, the tranquillity of *Germany* will be lasting.

All this while the peace between *Great Britain* and *France* was rather expected than concluded, and their armies in *Germany*, for that very reason, seemed to redouble their animosities with each other. *Broglie*, though an excellent general, continued still to be disagreeable to the *French* king's mistress, and being removed from his command, he was succeeded by the prince *de Soubise*, and the marshal *D'Etrees*, while the prince of *Conde* commanded a separate army on the *Lower Rhine*. An impartial reader cannot but suspect that a spirit of discontent, rather than any regard for their king's service, now possessed the *French* generals, *Broglie* in particular, who made no advantage of his superiority of numbers. The hereditary prince lay in the bishopric of *Munster* with one part of the allied army, another lay behind the *Dymel* under prince *Ferdinand*. The *French* camp under *Soubise*, lay near a place called *Graebenstein*, and was extremely well posted, while *de Castries* commanded a separate detachment. On the 24th of *June*, prince *Ferdinand* made four different attacks upon them in their camp; one was made under general *Luckner*, another under general *Sporcken*; prince *Ferdinand* himself commanded the third, and the fourth was led up by the marquis of *Granby*. Those attacks were made with such success, that the whole of the *French* army must have been destroyed, had it not been for *Monf. Stainville*, one of their generals, who, at the head of a body of infantry, which all, but two battalions, was cut in pieces, made a stand in a wood and favoured the retreat of the cavalry, and the rest of their army, under the cannon of *Cassel* on the other side of the *Fulda*. The body under *Castries* escaped with little loss. In this battle, lord *Granby* acquired great honour. Two thousand five hundred and seventy of the *French*, besides 162 officers, were taken prisoners; the number of killed is not known. It is certain that the army of the allies did not lose above 300, but those were *Britons*. The *German* general and his countrymen were by no means satisfied with the advances that had been made towards a peace; and some of the *British* officers were at this time treated with a degree of severity, that, had the war been expected to last, must have been considered as impolitic.

Though the *French* endeavoured to palliate their disgrace at *Graebenstein*, yet they felt it severely. A detachment of the

The  
French de-  
feated at  
*Graeben-  
stein*.

Bloody  
dispute at  
*Amöne-  
berg*.

*English*, under the marquis of *Granby* and lord *Frederic Caven-  
dish*, pushed forward, till, on the 6th of *July*, they found  
themselves 30 miles behind their enemies, whose communica-  
tion with *Frankfort* they cut off, and defeated a large body of  
them, under *M. de Rochambeau*, at *Hamburg*. In short, the  
allies took possession of the most considerable parts of *South  
Hesse*, and drove their enemies from *Fritzlar*, *Feltzberg*, and  
*Lohr*. Towards the north of *Hesse*, they cut off the commu-  
nication of prince *Xavier*, who was obliged to join the main  
army from *Gottingen*, which was evacuated on the 16th of  
*August*. The allies, however, passed the *Fulda* and defeated  
them, but their retreat was favoured by *Stainville*. Upon this  
occasion 1100 of the *French* were taken prisoners. They were  
every where overpowered, and the prince of *Conde* was obliged  
to make forced marches from the *Lower Rhine* to their assis-  
tance. The construction which the public put upon this re-  
newed vigour of the allied general, was, that he wanted to  
shew how soon he could finish the war if he was in earnest.  
*Cassel* was uncovered, and the hereditary prince, with the de-  
tachment under his command, hung upon the prince of *Conde's*  
rear. On the 30th of *August*, he charged them at *Johannis-  
berg*. At first, he drove them from the heights into the plain,  
but being reinforced from their main army, the prince was  
dangerously wounded in the hip-bone, and defeated with the  
loss of 3000 men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners. Prince  
*Ferdinand* did all he could to retrieve this loss, and prepared to  
besiege *Cassel*. While he was making dispositions for covering  
the siege, the *French* advanced towards *Marpurg*, but on the  
26th of *September*, they were so critically attacked by the allies,  
that they were forced to repass the *Lahn*, with loss and preci-  
pitation. The preparations for the siege of *Cassel* then went  
on, and were productive of many skirmishes, particularly  
one at *Amöneberg*, in the night between the 20th and 21st of  
*October*. This was a post of some importance, as it com-  
manded a bridge over the *Ohme*, one end of which terminated  
in a redoubt, which was possessed by the allies, and the  
other in a mill, held by the *French*. The peace at this time  
was known to be as good as concluded, and the dispute that  
happened at this bridge seemed to be a trial of skill, whether  
*Britons* or *Frenchmen* could endure being butchered with the  
greater steadiness. The *French*, at first, endeavoured to dis-  
lodge the *English* from the redoubt. The number of each in  
the beginning of the action was inconsiderable. The marquis  
of *Granby* could not avoid reinforcing the *English* post, in  
proportion as the *French* did that of the mill. At last 25  
heavy cannon were brought up on each side, and fired at the  
distance of 300 paces, as their musketry did at that of 30.  
This desperate firing lasted for 15 hours without intermission;  
but the *French* carried the post of *Amöneberg*, though with  
vast loss, that of the allies amounting to near 1000 men.

This



This was the last, and the most bloody action in the Conclusive war; *Cassel* surrendered on the 1st of *November*, and on the 15th the preliminaries of peace were signed. Among the campaign other advantages attained by the empress-queen by the treaty and the of *Hubertsburg*, was a secret article, by which his *Prussian* war. majesty consented to the election of her eldest son, the arch-duke *Joseph*, to be king of the *Romans*, which election accordingly took place, and upon the death of his wife, a princess of *Parma*, he has been since married to a princess of *Bavaria*.



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T H E  
H I S T O R Y  
O F T H E  
UNITED PROVINCES.

**T**HE situation, manners, and character of the people who inhabit this hard earned spot of independency, are much better known to the public than their government, and therefore we shall beg leave to prefix some account of it.

Antient  
constitution  
of  
the *United  
Provinces*,

The phlegm of the people is tempered only by their love of independency, which is indeed the chief character of their existence as rational beings. That love of independency, however, has produced the noblest effects of freedom, and, perhaps, is the great animating principle of that industry which distinguishes the *Dutch*. The inhabitants of their provinces, before they became independent, were the least distinguished of any of the *Teutonic* race, either for arms or for industry. Their common-wealth consists of the following seven sovereign independent provinces, *Guelderland, Holland, Zealand, Utrecht, Overysfel, Groningen, and Friesland*, which are united in a political confederacy. Each province contains cities that are independent and separately privileged. The senate of a city is its sovereign, and the members fill up the vacancies that happen; so that their government is, in the strictest sense, aristocratical. This aristocracy is not without checks from the annual election of burgo-masters, but more from the little temptation the members are under either to abuse or aspire to power. Those burgo-masters are indeed elected out of the senate; but their offices and authority, though great, is detached from their senatorial power. They support the dignity of their government and the honour of their city or town upon an income of less than 60 *l.* a year; so that the reader may easily suppose nothing can be spared for pomp, state, or parade.

Deputies

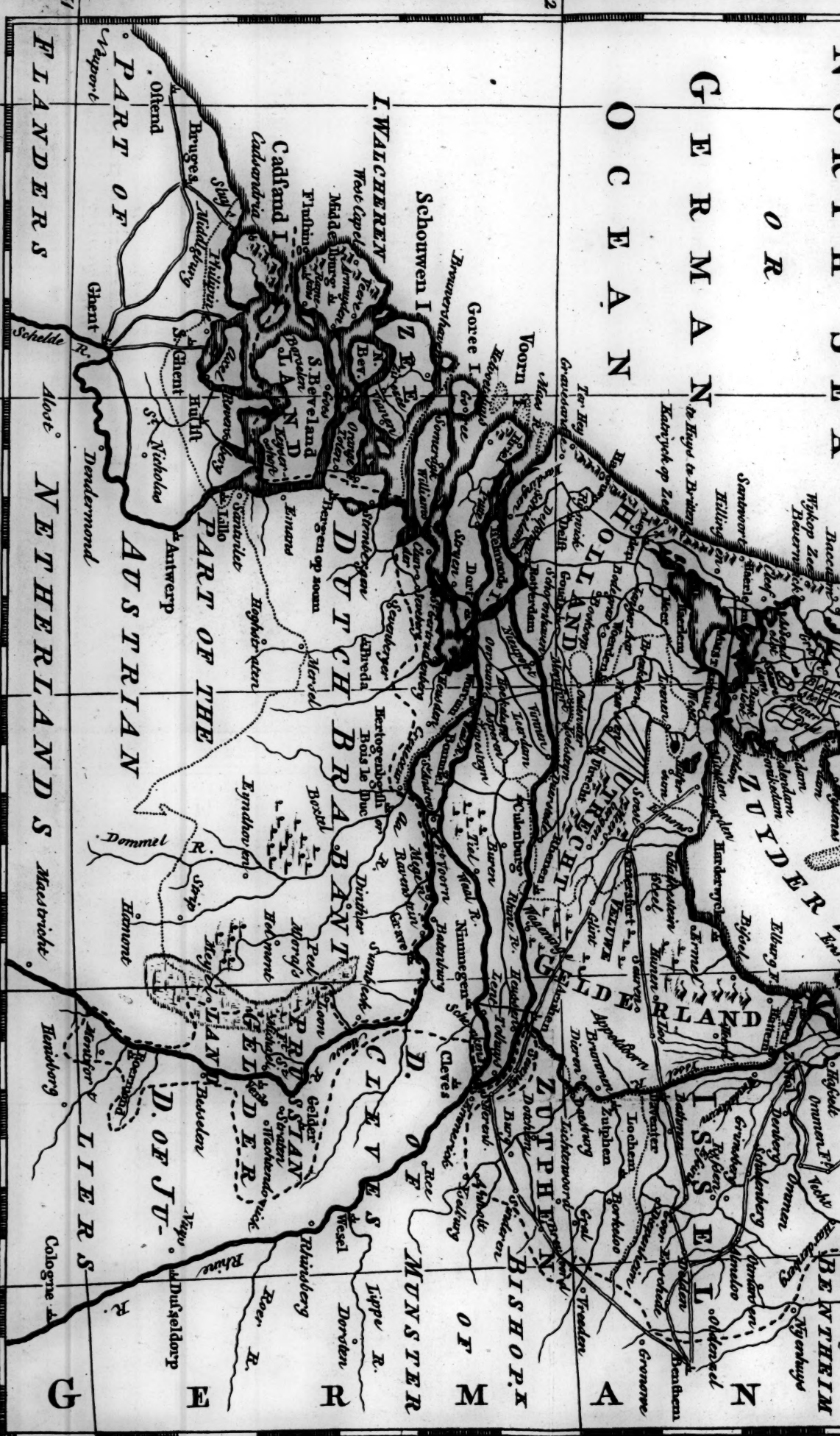
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G E R M A N  
O C C E A N



East Longitude 4 from London

FLANDERS

NETHERLANDS

MAESTRICHT

G

Wapport

Offend

Bruges

Ghent

Dendermond

Antwerp

St. Nicholas

St. Peter

St. Paul

St. John

St. James

St. George

St. Andrew

St. Mary

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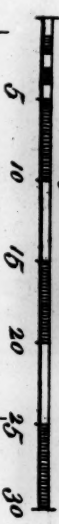
St. Andrew

St. Mary

*An ACCURATE MAP of the  
VII UNITED PROVINCES  
Drawn from the best  
Authorities,  
and adjusted by  
Astronomical Observations.  
By B. Bowen  
Geographer to His late Majesty.*

53

English Miles



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deputie



Deputies are chosen by each senate from the provincial state. Those deputies are chosen from the nobility, which are here very ancient and claim vast pre-eminence, the senators, and the magistrates. *Holland* has nineteen deputies, of whom the nobles have but one voice, and the cities eighteen; but the great city of *Amsterdam* has but one voice, and the meanest in the province has the same. Notwithstanding this, the nobility has vast influence, as they have the right of sending deputies to the *States General*, of naming a counsellor in the two highest courts of judicature, besides influencing the disposal of the chief places in the province, civil, military, and ecclesiastical. The pensionary of *Holland* collects the votes of the nobility, and is by far the most important civil officer in the province, for he holds his place for life; and in some cases of very high concernment, he can exercise a sort of tribunitial power, and controul even the majority of voices. In that body which is termed the *States General*, resides the majesty and sovereignty of the *United Provinces*. It is composed of provincial deputies, who are removable; but no deputy can regularly agree to any general resolution without the authority of his constituents, who must be unanimous through all the various departments of their institution. It is true, the provinces are not limited to the number of deputies, but twenty deputies can have but one vote. Every province presides in its turn for a week, and there is no determinate time for the power of deputation, some lasting for a year, others longer, and some for life. This constitution, however well calculated to preserve the independency of each province, is liable to vast inconveniences upon the whole, when an immediate resolution upon any important point is to be taken, because the deputies must consult the sense of their constituents before they can give their opinions.

exemplified in that of *Holland*.

Out of the deputies sent from each province, three colleges are constituted; the *States General*, the council of state, and the chamber of accounts. The constitution of the *States General* has been already described. The council of state consists of twelve deputies, whose voices are personal, and not provincial. Of those deputies *Holland* sends three, as being what we may call the prerogative province, *Guelderland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, two each, *Friesland*, *Overijssel*, and *Groningen*, one each. In this body, the executive part of government, properly speaking, is vested, as it has a discretionary power over the army and the revenue, though in all ordinary cases subject to the controul of the *States General*; and the whole, upon the main, exercises pretty much the same power as a first lord commissioner and chancellor of the exchequer in *England*, by preparing estimates, and declaring to the *States General* the supplies necessary to be raised for the service of the next year. It must be acknowledged, that this

## A GENERAL HISTORY

this council is an admirable constitution for accelerating the dispatch of public business in that lingering government.

The chamber of accounts have under its cognizance the state of the revenue, and its department consists of fourteen deputies, two from each province. Its denomination sufficiently points out its business, and is well calculated for relieving the members of the *States General* from a most laborious part of government.

The above are the constant and resident courts in which the government of the *States General* is vested. We are now to give an account of those which may be termed accidental or occasional. Of these the council of admiralty is the chief. It superintends all naval affairs, is full of various departments, and contains many checks, the knowledge of which would be superfluous to an *English* reader. In our opinion, were the *Dutch* to recover their former importance, and to enter into a war, either by land or sea, they must, in many respects, new model their constitution, as the commencement of it is too late to have a durable consistency. This appears from the repeated necessities the *Dutch* have been under of creating a stadtholder, whose power is partly dictatorial, and in a great measure supercedes the ordinary functions of the other governmental departments. It is difficult to define the powers of this extra-constitutional office otherwise than by the exercise of it. When the princes of *Orange* held it, they commanded the forces of the republic by sea and land, and had the disposal of all military commissions; but they were attended by field deputies from the *States General*, and the council of state, whom they were to consult in all military operations. The *States General*, notwithstanding this, still exercised an independent power, and though they admitted the stadtholder to be present at their deliberations, they refused him a vote in their resolutions. Thus much we have thought proper to premise with regard to the civil government of the *United Provinces*.

Com-  
merce.

The *Dutch* owe their wealth to the poverty of their country, and to the disadvantages of its situation. The taxes they are obliged to pay, as we have already hinted, for the support of their sovereignty and independency, force them upon habits of industry. They supply the barrenness and discouragements of their country's soil by incessant commerce, which affords a never failing nursery of seamen. When *Philip II.* prohibited his *Portuguese* subjects to trade with them, they opened their *East Indian* commerce, which, with their fisheries on the *British* coasts, gave them more wealth than nature ever bestowed on any people. Their settlement in *Batavia* is the noblest that any republic ever could boast of, as their governor general there is in fact a powerful monarch, but dependent upon the *States General*. Their *West Indian* trade was formerly more considerable than it is at present, though it is now far from being despicable.

The established religion of *Holland* is of the protestant cast, but by the *Utrecht* confederacy, each province was left at liberty to settle religious points as its government pleased; so that no country in the world can boast of a more free exercise of religion of all kinds than can be found in the *United Provinces*. If any particular sect of protestants are established by law, it is that of *Calvinism*. The *Dutch*, perhaps, are not the only people in the world whose enthusiasm for particular and useless modes of faith has settled into a calm acquiescence with every religion.

After the death of the emperor *Charles the Great*, commonly called *Charlemagne*, *Thierri*, general of *Charles the Bald*, was the first count of *Holland*. Under weak monarchs and in divided states it was easy then for any man at the head of an army to establish sovereignty, and that of *Thierri* commenced about the year 868, but upon the most bloody foundation, as we are told that every man who had any authority in the country was put to death to make room for *Thierri*. His descendants, if he had any, were involved in wars with the neighbouring counts and bishops, and we know very little of them till the year 1062, when *Holland* was invaded by those neighbours. Histories mention one *Gertrude*, widow of *Florence*, count of *Holland*, who governed that country, and was the mother of a second *Thierri*, who established a turbulent bishop of *Utrecht*. No regular history of *Holland* can be obtained later, till it fell under the dominion of the house of *Burgundy*. All we know is, that the dignity of count was hereditary, but they were obliged to swear to the preservation of the privileges of the barons and the people, whose immunities were great, and their taxes easy.

By the order of succession, which took place in the female as well as the male line, the whole of the provinces united in the house of *Burgundy*; the dukes of that family appointed stadtholders through the different districts and cities of *Holland*, and they acted under the power of the dukes. The people, on the other hand, asserted their ancient privileges, one of which was that of convoking their own states, independent of the stadtholders, and consequently of the house of *Burgundy*. This dispute afterwards operated greatly in the revolution which gave *Holland* its liberty.

*Guelderland*, like *Holland*, had its counts, and *Otho* the Crook-ed, who was of the house of *Nassau*, was the most distinguished among them. His reign added the dutchy of *Limburg* to *Guelderland*, which was afterwards erected into a dutchy by the emperor *Lewis* of *Bavaria*. During his attendance on this prince, *Guelderland* was invaded by the *Ligeois* and the *Brabanters*, but he defeated them. His heirs male failing, the government devolved upon the females, and at last centered in the house of *Egmond*, who likewise claimed the dutchy of *Fuliers*. One of the dukes, *Arnaud*, after governing 48 years, was confined by his son *Adolphus*, who, by means

Antient  
history of  
*Holland*,

868.

1062.

*Guelder-*  
*land*,



means of his brother-in-law, the duke of *Burgundy*, was first disinherited of his dutchy, but afterwards recovered it, and united, in his own person, *Burgundy*, *Guelderland*, and *Zutphen*. He married *Mary*, the heiress of *Charles* duke of *Burgundy*, and upon his being killed in defending *Tournay*, he was succeeded by his son *Charles*, who had been detained fourteen years in prison by his enemies; but the emperor *Charles V.* employed his great power in annexing the dominions of *Guelderland* to the house of *Austria*. *Zealand*, according to ancient histories, though a distinct province before the union of *Utrecht*, depended on the counts of *Holland*.

*Utrecht*, The near connection that formerly subsisted between the ecclesiastical and civil power, and the preference which the former obtained in the eyes of the people after several revolutions established the sovereignty of *Utrecht* in bishops. *Wil-librod*, a *Briton*, was its first bishop, but the *Normans*, those ravagers of *Europe*, demolished *Utrecht*, and reduced its cathedral to ashes. It was rebuilt by bishop *Baldric*, a favourite of the emperor *Otho*; and, in process of time, he was succeeded by one *Adelbold*. At this time, the see of *Utrecht* had three capital enemies to contend with; the emperor, who was often provoked by the pride and insolence of the bishops, the counts of *Holland*, and the earls of *Guelderland*; but they seem to have succeeded in establishing their own temporal as well as spiritual independency upon the credulity of the people, and their reverence for the episcopal function.

1288. In 1288, one *William de Nassau* was bishop of *Utrecht*, but so excessively ignorant, that even in that ignorant age the pope refused him a bull of confirmation into his see, and his people rebelling, he was forced to divest himself of his dignity. The government of *Utrecht*, for some years after, seems to have been in lay hands, but still the bishops kept up their claim to the sovereignty. About the year 1480, a prince of *Baden* was bishop, but found himself so embarrassed in the exercise of his government that he retired to *Mentz*. He was succeeded by a bastard of one of the dukes of *Burgundy*, who was, it seems, an able man and an excellent soldier. All this while a dormant title to the sovereignty of *Utrecht* resided in the dukes of *Burgundy* as counts of *Holland*, a title which was claimed by the emperor *Charles V.* A son of the count of *Bavaria* being elected bishop of *Utrecht*, embroiled himself with the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, who carried their complaints before the emperor. *Charles* suffered the magistrates and the bishop to go to war together, and the people, rather than submit to the bishop, after long and bloody disputes, surrendered their liberties to the house of *Austria*; and, in the year 1534, *Charles V.* united the bishopric of *Utrecht* to the provinces of *Holland* and *Zealand*.

1534.

This union was of a very peculiar kind, for though all the four provinces were to be governed by one stadtholder, and were to be united in government, customs, and laws, yet each

each province reserved to itself municipal privileges, which soon created great intricacies; but in 1584, the union was renewed, and notwithstanding all the disadvantages under which it laboured, it became the basis of that of the *United Provinces*.

The inhabitants of *Friesland* are, in ancient history, famous for their love of liberty. They were conquered by *Charles the Great*, who, as usual, governed them by a count, who was in the *Italian* manner denominated a *podesta*. It may be necessary here to observe, that those counts or *podestas* were the ancestors of many *European* sovereigns. One *Forteman* performed so many material services to *Charles*, that he in a manner emancipated the *Frielanders* from their subjection, but they still chose to be governed by *Forteman*. Towards the year 838, they were harrassed by the *Danes* and *Normans*, but made a brave stand for their liberties against the count of *Holland*, who was likewise king of the *Romans*, whom they killed in battle about the year 935. One of their most illustrious *podestas* was *Martena*, who likewise defeated the *Hollanders*, and asserted the independency of his country. Upon his death, *Friesland* was torn by factions, and at last was subdued by *Albert of Bavaria*. They continued long in a ruinous condition, divided, and with scarcely the vestige of a civil government among them. About the year 1417, the emperor *Sigismund* formed a kind of a title to the sovereignty of *Friesland*, the inhabitants of which, tired out with anarchy, submitted to his authority. It afterwards was swallowed up by the house of *Austria*, as representatives of the dukes of *Burgundy*.

The inhabitants of *Overysfel* make a great figure in the annals of liberty, and it is said that from them proceeded the famous *Salians*, but this tradition is unsupported by evidence, as the *Salians* seem to have been one of the migrating tribes of the *Franks*. *Overysfel* fell under the power of *Charles the Great*, of the house of *Bavaria*, and lastly of the bishops of *Utrecht*. About the year 1028, we find it under the dominion of one bishop *Barnulph*, but the people were sensible that their ancestors had enjoyed privileges of which they were deprived, and often opposed, and sometimes dethroned their bishops. About the year 1412, the bishopric of *Overysfel* was in a flourishing condition, but in the year 1457, the people revolted from their bishop, who was a natural son of the house of *Burgundy*, and bishop of *Utrecht* at the same time. The bishop, whose name was *David*, prevailed by the force of family interest, and reigned for forty years. Upon his death, which happened in 1497, the bishops of *Utrecht* continued to assert their sovereignty over *Overysfel*, which fell of course to the emperor *Charles V.* when the bishopric of *Utrecht* was ceded to him as count of *Holland*. In 1584, the inhabitants of *Overysfel* swore fidelity to his son *Philip II.* of *Spain*.

The

Groningen,

The inhabitants of *Groningen* appear to have been the descendants of a *Roman* colony, and their government bore a great resemblance to that of *Rome*. They fell under the subjection of the bishop of *Utrecht*, but often rebelled, and the property of their territory became a matter of dispute, between those bishops and the counts of *Holland*. The inhabitants were so sturdy that they attempted to conquer the *Frieslanders*, but the latter were protected by the emperor *Maximilian*, who employed *Albert* of *Saxony* to besiege *Groningen*. *Albert* was defeated after a long and bloody war, but the *Gruns*, for so the inhabitants of *Groningen* are called, rather than submit to an inferior prince, followed the fate of the other provinces, by bowing their necks to the yoke of the emperor *Charles V.* Adjacent to *Groningen* lay the country of the *Ommelands*, the inhabitants of which had very high notions of liberty, and were long governed by consuls, who in power resembled those of antient *Rome*. The quarter in which they lived was called *Fivelingo*, and they were often in danger of being exterminated in their wars with the *Gruns* and other neighbouring people, in defence of their independency and freedom. The bishops of *Munster* and those of *Utrecht* long contended for the sovereignty of the *Ommelands*, who behaved with so much spirit, that at last they made themselves masters of *Groningen*. Their misfortune was, that their extreme love of liberty led them into anarchy, for every man was not only independent on another, but upon the whole. The government of *Groningen* having more consistency and durancy, the *Ommelands* was at last united with it.

History of  
the United  
Provinces.

The reader in our history of *Germany*, will find the original of the title which the house of *Burgundy* claimed over the *United Provinces*, and that *Philip* the Handsome left his son, who was afterwards the emperor *Charles V.* under the tutelage of *Lewis XII.* of *France*. He succeeded to the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*, as being the heir of his grandfather. The different claims of independency, which each of those provinces had, sometimes created disturbances, but the power and policy of *Charles* quelled all opposition; and perhaps at the accession of his son *Philip II.* the *Spanish Provinces*, small as the compass of their territory was, formed by far the most considerable state in *Europe*. Their taxes, under the house of *Burgundy*, were low, but their trade was immense, and the mechanical genius of the natives rendered the *Low Countries* the workshop of *Europe*. *Philip II.* there possessed 350 walled cities, with 6300 towns, all in flourishing circumstances; and the inhabitants were in a manner devoted to the house of *Austria*. But *Philip* was a *Spaniard*. He governed by *Spanish* maxims, generals and ministers. The inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, without the least disaffection to their sovereign, greedily imbibed the doctrines of the reformation, and gave shelter to all who were persecuted on that account. This spirit of reformation, even in the time of *Charles*, was perhaps pushed too far, and moderate



moderate as he was, gave him vast disquiet, but in the end he laid aside all persecuting principles. His son *Philip* resumed them; he suppressed many abbeys in order to erect seventeen bishoprics, which alarmed both the nobles and the people; and to curb them, the inquisition was introduced. *Mary* queen of *Hungary*, sister to the emperor, was then the governess of the *Low Countries*; and easily foresaw that the innovations which the erection of the new bishoprics introduced into the civil government, would be productive of a revolt; but *Philip II.* was inflexible, and the power of the old nobility was eclipsed by that of the upstart bishops, who were introduced into their great council, or what we may call their parliament.

Two great personages then existed in the *Netherlands*, *William-Nassau* prince of *Orange*, and the count of *Egmond*. The former, a favourite of the emperor *Charles V.* was governor of *Utrecht*, *Holland*, and *Zealand*; the latter, a native of the *Netherlands*, was governor of *Flanders* and *Artois*. The prince was prudent and penetrating, the count brave and open, and both of them enemies to *Spanish* tyranny and the inquisition. The prince of *Orange*, who had been a hostage in *France*, for the execution of the treaty of *Cambray*, saw that a deep design was laid by *Philip*, for exterminating civil liberty, by the extirpation of the protestants. For this purpose, *Philip* had introduced foreign troops into the *Netherlands*, where he had made his natural sister, the dutchess of *Parma*, governess, and given her for her first minister, cardinal *Granvel* archbishop of *Mecklin*, a man of great, but terrible genius, and detested by the nobility. The latter desired *Philip* to recal his foreign troops, but instead of complying he established three councils; the first to regulate the affairs of law and justice, the second those of peace and war, and the third the revenue. When the dutchess of *Parma*, in 1560, came to take upon her the government, she found the people of the *Low Countries* in a flame; and count *Horn* joined the prince of *Orange* and count *Egmond* in the opposition, which became so violent, that *Granvel* retired to *Spain*. He was succeeded in his ministerial capacity by *Viglius* and *Barlaimont*, who possessed all his bad qualities without any of his abilities. The dutchess of *Parma* was naturally a wise moderate woman, but was obliged to comply with the violent measures of the *Spanish* court. *Philip* for some time smothered his resentment, that he might afterwards give it the more dreadful vent. The prince of *Orange* remonstrated against his enforcing the decrees of the council of *Trent* in the *Low Countries*, and some reformers who had been sentenced to be burnt for heresy, had been rescued by the populace. At last, to prevent a general revolt, count *Egmond* undertook to go to *Spain* as agent for the people. He was favourably received by *Philip*, and matters were for some time kept easy.

Rise of  
the oppo-  
sition to  
the *Spanish*  
govern-  
ment.

1560.

This

Tyranny  
and im-  
prudence  
of *Philip*  
king of  
*Spain*.

This moderation, however, was dissembled, and *Philip*, watching his opportunity, renewed the flames of persecution, by not only ordering that the decrees of the council of *Trent* should be received in the *Netherlands*, but that all heretics should be burnt at the stake. *Henry de Brederode*, said to have been a descendent of the old counts of *Holland*, became a fourth capital member in the opposition. The noblemen of all denominations, *Roman* catholics as well as protestants, formed a confederacy against the inquisition, and the *Spanish* government. They presented their petition to the governess, and she informed *Philip* of the danger of a general revolt; but the only satisfaction he chose to give, was, that in time to come, heretics should be hanged instead of being burnt. The lower rank of people broke out into violences against the established religion, which produced a raging persecution, and the prince of *Orange*, rather than take the infernal oaths proposed by the court of *Spain* against heretics, retired to *Germany*. The flames of persecution now consumed thousands of unhappy protestants, and the duke of *Alva*, that execrable minister of superstition and despotism, was sent, at the head of 10,000 *Spanish* veterans, to give the finishing blow to the religion and liberties of the *Netherlands*. The dutchess of *Parma* made remonstrances against this measure, but in vain; and the duke of *Alva*, besides having the command of the army, was entrusted with powers, which in fact superceded those of the governess. He established a new tribunal of blood, under the direction of one *Vergas*, which annihilated all the antient liberties of the *Low Countries*, and murdered the persons, or confiscated the estates, of all who durst oppose *Spanish* tyranny. The dutchess of *Parma*, seeing that she was no better than a cypher under *Alva*, resigned her government, and he succeeded her.

No ideas of cruelty can exceed the practice of *Alva* in his government. He imprisoned, and afterwards took off the heads of the counts *Egmond* and *Horn*; he proscribed the prince of *Orange*, his family, with all the heads of the reformers; and the *Low Countries* were filled with gibbets, whips, and wheels, for putting protestants to the most excruciating deaths.

Cruel conduct of the duke of *Alva*.  
1568.

The prince of *Orange*, during this infernal persecution, was forming a party in *Germany*, and even the emperor *Maximilian* interceded with his kinsman, *Philip* of *Spain*, for a relaxation of his tyranny, but it could not be obtained. The prince got together some troops in the year 1568, but they were defeated by the *Spaniards*. His brother, count *Lewis* of *Nassau*, defeated the *Spaniards* in *Friesland*, but could not pursue the advantages he had obtained; and the duke of *Alva* mustering all his force, was every where victorious, but cruel. His conduct grew so detestible, that it became the common cause of mankind to oppose him. The prince of *Orange* raised a fresh army of 23,000 men, and challenged the duke of *Alva* to fight

him at *Maestricht*. The duke answered him by hanging his messenger, and behaved with so much prudence, that he found an opportunity of cutting off great part of the prince's army, which soon disbanded itself for want of money, and he again retired to *Germany*.

The conduct of the duke of *Alva*, upon this, became, if possible, more detestable than ever, being a continued series of the most cruel revenge, which is as disagreeable as it is needless to describe. He thought that exterior appearances had their influence in the affairs of government, and he ordered his statue to be erected in the market-place of *Antwerp* in the attitude of trampling under foot the liberties of the *Low Countries*. He exacted fresh and permanent taxes. They were denied, and the people again addressed the throne for relief, but obtained none. The prince of *Orange*, all this while, was concerting with the heads of the protestants in *France* and *Germany*, the means of relieving the *Low Countries* from this tyranny, which every day became more and more insupportable. By their advice he fitted out certain privateers, which did incredible damage to the *Spanish* trade. This was an expedient suggested to him, as it is said, by admiral *Coligni*, on account of the vast poverty of the *Low Country* protestants, who thereby obtained the name of *Gueux*, or beggars, and his privateers were distinguished by the same appellation.

The *Netherlanders* fit out a fleet.

While inhumanity and oppression were thus raging in the *Low Countries*, very little attention was given to the public police, and the neglect of the dykes occasioned prodigious inundations and destruction of every kind. In the year 1571, the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, worn out by the repeated oppressions of *Alva*, seized upon the *Briel* in the island of *Voorn*; and one *Lumey*, who commanded the prince of *Orange's* ships in his descents, destroyed some of the priests and their superstitions. They were poor, and therefore they did not strictly confine themselves to depredations upon the *Spaniards*, so that their proceedings were disowned by queen *Elizabeth*, who in other respects wished well to their cause. Their taking the *Briel*, though a place of no great consequence, gave a kind of consistency to their cause, and was in fact the foundation of the glorious successes that attended it. They defeated *Bossu*, who was sent by the duke of *Alva* to retake it, and the *Gueux* by the prince of *Orange's* advice fortified it. The *Gueux* had now an object. *Dordrecht*, or *Dort*, refused to admit *Bossu's* troops in their retreat. They butchered or plundered the inhabitants of *Rotterdam*, and the people of *Flushing* called upon *Lumey* to assist them against the *Spaniards*, who intended to erect a garrison in their town. This assistance was granted, and a *Spanish* engineer hanged. The duke of *Medina Cæli* was defeated by the *Zealanders* in a naval engagement, and, as is said, lost near a million of livres in the action. It was now evident, that the *Spanish* government was in dan-

Their successes.

1571.



## A GENERAL HISTORY

ger of losing all the *Low Countries*, by its inattention to maritime affairs. A squadron of ships were ordered to be equipped at *Amsterdam* to suppress *Lumey* and his *Zealanders*; but that measure proved too late. The prince of *Orange*, and *Lewis de Nassau*, from the fruits of their privateering, had obtained money, with which they not only purchased arms and ammunition, but engaged in their cause many *British* adventurers, and raised a considerable body of troops in *Germany*. *Lewis de Nassau* surprized *Mons*. The count *de Bergues*, one of his friends, seized upon several places in *Overijssel*, *Guelderland*, and *Friesland*. The spirit of revolt prevailed over all the cities and towns in *Holland*. Even the tyrannical heart of *Alva* failed him, and he seemed willing to mitigate the rigours of his government, by convoking the *States General* at the Army of *Hague*. They would not trust him, and they assembled at the prince *Dort*, where they furnished the prince of *Orange* with money of *Orange*, to put his army in motion. It consisted of 15,000 foot and 7000 horse, and arrangements were not only made for their future pay, but for the future subsistence of their new formed government, by seizing all the royal revenues, and confiscating the estates of those who adhered to the royal cause, with all the property belonging to the church, and popery itself was now declared by the *States General* to be abolished. The prince of *Orange*, however, had a difficult task to manage the rising spirit of liberty, which is always jealous; but he acted with so much address, that while he governed the reformed confederacy with an absolute sway, the members thought themselves free and independent.

His successes.

He took *Ruremond*, *Mechlin*, *Oudenard* and *Dendermond*, but was unable to prevent *Mons* from capitulating with the duke of *Alva*, who besieged it. In the mean while, *Lumey* was by the states of *Holland* employed in reducing *Amsterdam*, which was still in the hands of their enemies; but he miscarried in his attempt, through his own vanity, and want of experience in land operations. The violences committed by the prince of *Orange's* soldiers, and the horrid massacre of *Paris*, relaxed the spirit of liberty and reformation in the *Low Countries*. *Alva* retook *Mechlin*, put the inhabitants, catholics as well as protestants, to the sword, gave a loose to all other excesses, and plundered the city to the amount of 400,000 florins, while *Dendermond*, *Oudenard*, and other towns surrendered in course. The prince of *Orange* was obliged to confine his operations to *Holland* and *Zealand*, the only provinces which kept firm to their engagement. *Frederic de Toledo*, a *Spanish* general, was employed against them, and he surprized the town of *Waerden*, where he butchered the inhabitants without respect to age, sex, or condition, thereby intending to intimidate those of other places. From thence he proceeded to *Amsterdam*, and summoned *Haerlem* to surrender. The magistrates sent out deputies to treat with *Frederic*, about the surrender of the place; the prince of *Orange* sent troops into

into it to enable the inhabitants to defend it. When the deputies returned, they were sent prisoners to the prince of *Orange*, who ordered their heads to be struck off. The siege of *Haerlem* was formed by *Frederic*, and the place was both assaulted and defended with incredible obstinacy in the depth of a severe winter. The town, at last, was carried through the perseverance of the *Spaniards*, and their superior knowledge in military affairs; nor were the cruelties and oppressions exercised here, equal to those of the *Spaniards* on former like occasions.

The *Spaniards* had every day reason to lament the little attention which their government had paid to maritime affairs. The *Zealanders*, on all occasions, defeated their fleets, with an inferior force, under their admiral *Wertz*. Those and many other mortifications induced *Alva* to publish a proclamation, inviting the people to return to their duty, and containing a promise of pardon; but they were so sensible of the faithless sanguinary disposition of the *Spanish* government, influenced by religious revenge, that few or none accepted of the proffered clemency. *Frederic* of *Toledo* then besieged *Alcmar* with 16,000 men, but it was through the persuasion of the prince of *Orange*, though destitute of provisions, nobly defended by 300 burghers, and 800 soldiers. In the mean while, the *Zealanders* took *Rammekins*, as the prince of *Orange* did *Gertruydenberg*, and the inhabitants of *Alcmar*, after sustaining a most desperate siege, forced the *Spaniards* to raise it, and the *Zealanders* once more defeated a great fleet equipped by order of the duke of *Alva*, at a vast expence. The states of the *Spanish Netherlands* met towards the end of the year; the prince of *Orange*, by a remonstrance, demanded the free exercise of the protestant religion, and that all foreign troops should be withdrawn out of the *Netherlands*, as their continuance there was incompatible with the antient privileges of the natives. This remonstrance was disregarded. The duke of *Alva* resigning his government, returned to *Spain*, and don *Lewis de Requesnes* was appointed to succeed him in his government.

*Requesnes*, at first, affected popularity, and pulled down the odious statue of his predecessor, which had been erected at *Antwerp*; but the court of *Spain* was animated by religious fury and despotism, while on the other hand, the *Zealanders* became enthusiasts for their independency. They took *Middleburg* and the isle of *Walcheren* under the prince of *Orange*. Those advantages were balanced by the defeat of a large reinforcement, that was marching to the assistance of the prince, under his brother, prince *Lewis* of *Nassau*, who with two other brothers were killed in the action. The victory was obtained by the *Spaniards*, who were commanded by *D'Avila*, chiefly through the mutinous disposition of the prince's troops. This spirit seized the *Spanish* soldiers in their turn; they deposed their officers, and forced the city of *Antwerp* to pay them

them 400,000 livres, while the *Zealanders* obtained another sea-victory over the *Spaniards*. *Requesnes* made no advantage of the victory he had lately acquired, and by order of his court, he emitted a proclamation of pardon to all who had taken arms, but clogged with such limitations as entirely defeated its intent. *Requesnes* besieges *Leyden*, which was but ill provided for a defence. The siege was carried on by *Valdes*, the *Spanish* commander, and is memorable for the persevering spirit of the besieged, and their sufferings; which were such, that they were reduced to feed on the dead bodies of their fellow citizens. When upon the point of perishing, rather than yielding, they were delivered by a strong south-west wind, which impelled an inundation upon the works of the besiegers and destroyed them, and *Valdes* was obliged to raise the siege with loss and ignominy. The *Spanish* soldiers again mutinied, and after suffering great hardships, they were received, upon capitulation, into winter-quarters in *Brabant*.

1575.  
Distressed  
state of  
the con-  
federates.

Nothing could be more uncomfortable than the situation of the prince of *Orange* at this time, and nothing more magnanimous than his conduct. He could, it is true, have raised men, but he had no money to pay them, and therefore was in danger of being torn in pieces by them. He opposed a prince politic, vindictive, and perhaps, at that time, the most powerful of any in the world. By abandoning the cause of liberty, he might have commanded his own terms; by persevering in it he had nothing, in all probability, to expect, but the utter ruin of himself and his family. The emperor of *Germany* acted the part of a mediator; and conferences were held at *Breda*, but without effect. The operations of war then recommenced, and many places were taken or lost on both sides; and never was there a more raging war confined to so narrow bounds. The *Spaniards* had the advantage by land, but it was overbalanced by the prince of *Orange's* superiority by sea. *Requesnes* was ordered to destroy the sea-ports of the *Zealanders*, and the *Spanish* general, *Madragon*, reduced *Zuriczee*, and was preparing to complete the conquest of *Zealand* with great probability of success. In order to account for the deliverance of the *States General* at this time, it is necessary to take a slight view of the state of *Europe*.

Affairs of  
the conti-  
nent.

The emperor of *Germany* was closely connected with the court of *Spain*. The protestant princes of the empire were well disposed towards the prince of *Orange*, and would have effectually assisted him, if he could have paid their men. It is, however, but doing them justice to acknowledge, that they did him very considerable services. The *French* court hated the *Spaniards*; but hated protestantism at the same time. Their king, *Henry III.* was weak, poor, and bigotted, but many of his principal subjects were protestants, and independent enough to favour the cause of the reformed, so that *Calais* was opened as a kind of free port, where the *Gueux* could dispose of their prizes, which were generally very rich.

*Henry*



Henry had a younger brother, the duke of *Anjou*, who like himself was needy, but ambitious. The protestant princes of the north were at war among themselves, and could take little or no concern in the affairs of the *Low Countries*. *Elizabeth*, queen of *England*, was the only power to whom the revolvers could apply with any propriety, as she was herself a firm protestant. But though she hated the king of *Spain*, yet she had such high notions of royal prerogative, that in her heart she condemned all resistance to princes. Being naturally frugal, her still more frugal minister, *Burleigh*, represented to her the vast expence with which her espousing the cause of the prince of *Orange* must be attended, and she was greatly embarrassed at home, by the faction of *Mary* queen of *Scots*, who were daily threatening an insurrection.

The confederate states saw they could not subsist without foreign assistance. They implored the protection of *Elizabeth*, and she declined it; but the duke of *Anjou* would have gladly become their head. He could contribute little or nothing to the common cause, and the preservation of the states at this time was owing to the distresses of the *Spanish* court. *Philip*, notwithstanding the immense sums he received from *America*, was ten millions in debt, without being able to pay the interest, and his troops were mutinous. *Requesnes*, who kept a close correspondence with queen *Elizabeth*, and had even ordered her popish subjects to leave the *Low Countries*, demanded a supply from the provinces he governed, but without effect, and in the mean time *Requesnes* died. The prince of *Orange* gained vast advantages during the confusion his death occasioned. The *Spanish* garrisons and soldiers every where mutinied against the council of state, who had taken upon themselves the government. The best affected of the *Spanish* provinces, insisted upon the expulsion of all foreigners out of their countries, and declared against the *Spaniards* themselves. The inhabitants of *Brussels* even arrested the members of the council of state, and entered into a confederacy with the provinces of *Artois*, *Hainault*, and *Flanders*. Don *John* of *Austria* had been, by this time, nominated to succeed *Requesnes*, but he was obliged to remain inactive at *Luxembourg*.

The new formed confederacy became so general, that the chief places remaining to the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, were *Ghent*, *Antwerp*, and *Maestricht*. The citadel of *Ghent* was reduced by the confederates, assisted by the prince of *Orange*. The city of *Antwerp*, at that time deemed the richest and most flourishing of any in *Europe*, was besieged, but a body of *Spaniards* who had mutinied, first defended it, and then burned and pillaged it, carrying off an incredible booty. Those outrages united the inhabitants of the *Low Countries*, *Roman* catholics and protestants, in a common cause; and the wise prince of *Orange* persuaded them to enter into the pacification of *Ghent*, as it was called, by which all

The States implore foreign assistance.

The prince of Orange reduces Ghent and other places.

the provinces united themselves in the same confederacy with *Holland* and *Zealand*, and agreed in the expulsion of foreign troops, and in their demands for recovering the privileges they held under the house of *Burgundy*. As to matters of religion, they were to be settled by a future meeting of the *States General*; but in the mean while, the execution of all the duke of *Alva*'s rigorous edicts was to be suspended. This glorious effort for public liberty awakened the attention of the powers of *Europe*. The *French* court seemed to be inclinable to undertake the protection of the confederates, but their designs were so artfully counterworked by queen *Elizabeth*, that the negotiation came to nothing. That great princefs thought, that if the new confederacy could not establish its own independency, it was of far greater benefit to *England*, that the sovereignty of the *Netherlands* should remain in the hands of the *Spaniards*, than in those of the *French*. Her conduct on this occasion was very particular. She insisted upon the confederates, or the Council of States, as it was called, not throwing themselves under the protection of any foreign power, and at the same time she applied, by her ambassador, at the court of *Spain*, and to *Don John*, for a concession of all that the council of the states had demanded. This conduct had wonderful effects, when backed by a loan of 20,000 l. which she advanced to *D'Aubigni*, the ambassador from the *States General*. They agreed to put their interests in her hands, and they even desired her to mediate for them at the court of *Spain*. *Don John*, at this time, had a secret design of marrying the queen of *Scots*, then a prisoner in *England*, and thereby succeeding to both crowns. He thought that the pacification of the *Low Countries*, would leave him at liberty to employ the forces of *Spain* in compassing this arduous design, and he accordingly persuaded that court to offer to the *States General*, two of the chief terms they demanded, which consisted in confirming the pacification of *Ghent*, and the withdrawing of foreign troops out of the *Netherlands*. The majority of the *States General* accepted of those conditions, and a pacification was concluded and proclaimed at *Brussels* and *Antwerp*, on the 17th of *February*, 1577, by the title of the *Perpetual Edict*.

They are  
befriend-  
ed by  
queen  
*Elizabeth*,

1577.  
who is  
alarmed.

Though this pacification had great effects in restoring tranquillity and commerce in all the *Roman catholic* cities and provinces of the *Netherlands*, yet it alarmed queen *Elizabeth*, though she advanced 20,000 l. to *Don John* to enable him to send the *Spanish* troops out of the provinces. The artful prince of *Orange* saw that he could not be supported from *France* without rendering himself a cypher; while, at the same time, the court of *Spain* offered to the prince of *Orange* any terms he could propose. That great man not only was a sincere friend to liberty and protestantism, but distrusted the *Spanish* professions, and now threw himself and his cause entirely upon the protection of *Elizabeth*. Though  
he

he and the states of *Holland* and *Zealand* had never agreed to the perpetual edict, yet for some time after it passed he lived on so good a footing with the *Spaniards*, that he discovered the great secret of *Don John's* intended marriage with the queen of *Scots*, which he communicated to queen *Elizabeth*. This rivetted his interest with her, and they jointly contrived to render the perpetual edict void. The states complained that it had not re-established them in their antient privileges; that the confirmation of the pacification of *Ghent* was clogged with conditions that rendered it precarious; that no care had been taken to oblige the *Spaniards* to refund the immense sums they had acquired by the plunder and ruin of the *Netherlands*; and that the best friends of liberty, the prince of *Orange* himself particularly, remained still dispossessed of their properties. At the same time they made those representations, they agreed to the other articles that were favourable to *Elizabeth's* views.

*Don John* was at little pains to answer, either by his writings or his conduct, those remonstrances, and through a variety of causes that are foreign to this part of our history, he found that he could compass none of his views unless he could persuade the court of *Spain* to violent measures. In the mean while, the inhabitants of the provinces saw that his trust was entirely in the *Spaniards*. Mutual animosities succeeded. *Don John* found that the *States General* never could be brought to be subservient to the great point of his ambition, his marriage, and he seized the citadel of *Namur*, where he fortified himself. The prince of *Orange* fomented the difference, and the breach became irreconcilable. The wider it grew, the higher did the prince of *Orange's* credit become with the *States General*. *Philip* and *Don John*, by their conduct, disavowed the perpetual edict, and ordered *Spanish* troops to re-enter the provinces, while the prince of *Orange* was triumphantly received in *Breda*, *Antwerp*, and *Brussels*. He was then chosen governor of *Brabant*, and president of a new council of state that was formed. He was opposed by the duke *D'Archot*, governor of *Flanders*, a nobleman of great property in the *Netherlands*, and one who hated the tyranny of *Spain*, but not its government. The prince demolished the castle of *Antwerp*, and some other forts in the *Netherlands*, which the *Archot* faction found fault with, and called in *Matthias*, archduke of *Austria*, to be their governor. This was not done without the privity of *Elizabeth*, and even of the prince of *Orange*, who seemed to be so forward in the interest of *Matthias*, that he was chosen his lieutenant upon his resigning the government or retwardship of *Brabant*, which was conferred upon *Matthias*. This disappointed the duke *D'Archot*, who endeavoured to extend his interest in the *Low Countries*, but was imprisoned by the populace of *Ghent*, and released through the interposition of the prince of *Orange*, who thereby removed all suspicion of his

*Don John*

follows

violent measures.

The archduke

*Matthias* called into the *Low Countries*.



being actuated by any other motive than zeal for public liberty. The archduke *Matthias* was a youth of 20 years of age, and equally supported by the *Orange* as the *Archot* party; but the former, being protestant, obtained vast advantages over the latter, who continued to be *Roman catholic*. A proclamation was published, divesting *Don John* of his government, and laying his adherents under a kind of proscription. Both parties concurred in promoting the grandeur of the archduke, because each was in hopes to engross his power, being of himself no better than a cypher.

Disagree-  
ment  
among the  
confede-  
rates,

who are  
assisted by  
queen  
*Elizabeth*.

The duke of *Archot*, however, had such a regard for public liberty, notwithstanding the superiority of the *Orange* party, that he agreed to a formal deputation sent to *Elizabeth* to solicit her assistance, and to renew a convention between the catholic and protestant revolvers, renewing the pacification of *Ghent*, and their engagements to support their privileges. On the 18th of *January*, 1578, the archduke was received into *Brussels* as the governor of the *United Provinces*, whose deputies apologized to the emperor and the king of *Spain* for their conduct, and represented *Don John* as being the cause of their revolt. The latter, on the other hand, vindicated himself so well according to the despotic *Spanish* maxims of government, that orders were issued for assembling a large army, and once more reducing the rebels by force. To break this storm, the *States General* sent the marquis of *Hautree* and *Adolph Metkirk* as their deputies to *Elizabeth*, and to solicit from her the loan of 100,000*l.* which she granted them on their engaging to repay it in eight months, and binding certain towns for the same. A treaty was likewise concluded of the utmost importance between the *States* and her; the substance of which, as it is not to be found in the common histories of the *Low Countries*, we shall here give. By the first article, the treaties between *England* and the house of *Burgundy* are to remain in full force, without any other alteration than shall seem good to the contracting parties. 2. The *States* are to conclude nothing definitive, either as to peace or war, without the consent of the queen or her resident. 3. If the queen is attacked, the *States* are obliged to furnish her with the same assistance of troops with which she engages to furnish them. 4. The queen is to be arbitress of all differences that may arise among the *States*. 5. If the queen shall fit out a fleet for the safeguard of the sea, the *States* shall be obliged to furnish 40 ships of a reasonable burthen each (none under 40 tons) with proportionable crews and provisions. 6. The *States* are to harbour no *English* traitors and fugitives after they are duly declared to be such. 7. The *States* are to make no league with any foreign prince without *Elizabeth*'s approbation, and without comprehending her if she shall think proper. 8. All the future governors of the *States* are to confirm the present articles. 9. If the *States* shall enter into any transaction with his catholic ma-

gesty,

jeſty, they are to produce his ratification of the preſent treaty, or ſo much of it as the queen ſhall think proper.

Though no mention is made in the above treaty of the number of men which it ſtipulated to furniſh to the *States General*, yet we learn from *Cambden*, that it was to conſiſt of 55,000 foot and 1,000 horſe, commanded by an *Engliſh* general, who was to be admitted to ſit in their council of ſtate. *Philip* continued to be diſtreſſed for money, and *Elizabeth* ſent him a laboured apology for her conduct, in which ſhe loaded *Don John* with the breach of the pacification. *Philip*, without paying any attention to this apology, expedited freſh orders for the march of his army out of *Italy* to the *Netherlands*, under the command of the prince of *Parma*, the greateſt general of his age; and his troops were worthy of ſuch a leader, being 16,000 foot and 2,000 horſe, all of them veterans and inured to victory. *Don John*, of himſelf, was a man of eminent abilities in the field as well as the cabinet; and by the aſſiſtance of 4 or 5,000 *Germans* had made a ſurprizing ſtand in the provinces of *Luxembourg* and *Namur*, which ſtill continued faithful to *Philip* againſt the confederates. The face of affairs was again changed; though it was in the depth of winter, he declared war againſt the confederates. The prince of *Orange* in vain endeavoured to quicken the reſolutions and the natural phlegm of the *Dutch*; but before they came to any effectual determination, *Don John* took *Gemblours*, and diſperſed the army of the confederates, conſiſting of 10,000 foot and 5,000 horſe, under *Coigny*, a *Frenchman*, and one *Balfour*, a *Scotchman*. *Louvain* and *Bovines* were next reduced; and the gariſon of *Sichem*, after it was ſtormed by the prince of *Parma*, was put to the ſword. *Dieſt*, *Archot*, *Tillemont*, and *Louve* ſubmitted without reſiſtance, but *Nivelle* obtained an honourable capitulation. *Don John* then reduced *Limburg* and *Philipville*, to ſecure his communication with the *Spaniards*. *Amſterdam*, to compenſate for thoſe loſſes, declared for the *States*, upon a capitulation, which was broken by the zeal of the proteſtants, who drove the *Roman* catholics out of that city.

*Philip* offered various terms of accommodation, but they were mixed with ſo much *Spaniſh* haughtineſs, that, though backed by the emperor, they were rejected; and the *States*, ſenſible of the inconveniences of their conſtitution, inveſted the arch-duke, the prince of *Orange*, and the council, with a power of raiſing what troops they thought proper for their defence. In *Guelderland*, *John* of *Neffau*, brother to the prince of *Orange*, was choſen governor, and he ſoon expelled the popiſh faction, which was very powerful in that province. In *Groningen*, *Bylly*, a *Portugueze*, and a partizan of *Spain*, was governor, and put to the torture one *Stella*, a deputy from the *States General*, who was ſent to adviſe him to ſign the pacification of *Ghent*. *Stella* behaved with an amazing fortitude, and the people of the province expelled *Bylly*.

The

who  
chose the  
duke of  
*Anjou* for  
their go-  
vernor.

The reader must be informed that many *Roman* catholics as well as protestants were active in those revolutions, which were not always attended by a justifiable conduct on the part of the revolvers. After their accession to the common cause, the catholics grew jealous of the great number of protestants who repaired to the *Netherlands*, and were even favoured by the prince of *Orange*, who thereby became suspected of popery. His principle of conduct was to unite the friends of liberty, without regard to their religious differences; but the *Walloons*, for so the *Roman* catholics were called, succeeded in inviting the duke of *Anjou* to be their protector, in the room of archduke *Matthias*, who was now become contemptible. The duke appeared in the *Netherlands* at the head of a most wretched army, and on the 13th of *August* he was chosen defender of the liberties of the *Netherlands*, a step which the prince of *Orange* winked at for patriotic considerations. *Anjou* was to maintain, during the war, 10,000 foot and 2,000 horse, to be paid by the *States*; but if the war lasted above three months, he was to pay 5,000 foot and 500 horse out of his own pocket. In other respects the duke was a dupe to ambition and vanity, for he was to have no solid advantage but what he was to purchase on the point of his sword, and even that was to depend upon the will or caprice of the *States*. This policy had been concerted between queen *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Orange*, who were equally averse to the prince's authority. *Elizabeth* even went so far as to throw out her own person as a bait, by, in a manner, offering herself in marriage, that she might induce him to desist from his pursuits in the *Low Countries*. *Casimir*, a *German* prince of the *Palatine* family, had been prevailed upon by her to levy some troops for the assistance of the revolvers, and was upon his march to the *Netherlands*. *Don John* had refused to agree to a cessation of arms which *Elizabeth* had solicited, and had even hanged an *Englishman* of quality on a suspicion of his being a spy.

The battle  
of *Remanant*.

The name of the archduke *Matthias* was still made use of as commander in chief of the troops of the *Netherlands*, which lay encamped near *Remanant*. *Don John* resolved to attack him before they could be joined by the duke of *Anjou*, *Casimir*, or another body of *Germans* who had advanced as far as *Nimeguen*. The prince of *Parma* made some objections to the attack, but it was carried in the council of war, and indeed upon very sound principles. The archduke's army, which was commanded by count *Maximilian*, an old experienced officer, must have been cut in pieces had it not been for the intrepidity of the *English*, and the *Scots* in *English* pay, who had been sent over by *Elizabeth*; and though but 3,000, pressed the *Spanish* veterans so hard, that it required all the abilities of the prince of *Parma* to bring them off, and prevent their being entirely cut in pieces.

It



It must be acknowledged, whatever praise may be due to State of *Elizabeth* for assisting the *Dutch* at this time, that the prince the con- of *Orange* was the only great personage who seems to have federacy. acted upon principle. *Elizabeth* still kept terms with the court of *Spain*, and even denied that the *English* and *Scots* who fought in the battle of *Remanant* were in her pay. She had given *Casimir* hopes of succeeding the archduke in his government, but both *Casimir* and *Anjou* seeing as yet no vacancy in the command of the army, stood aloof; the former on pretence of securing his retreat, and the latter to pay off his soldiers. Those eventual proceedings had almost ruined the affairs of the confederates. *Casimir* complained that he had been deceived, and retired towards *Ghent*, and the duke of *Anjou* publicly accused him of being his rival. The court of *France*, like *Elizabeth*, denied having any connections with the prince of *Orange* or the confederates, and the *States General* were jealous of all their friends, though their safety depended upon their assistance. Such was the distracted state of the affairs of the *Low Countries* when *Don John* died, and his government, both civil and military, devolved upon the duke of *Parma*.

The internal affairs of *Spain* prevented *Philip* from sending the duke proper reinforcements, nor indeed did he consider himself so much interested for the duke as he had been for *Don John*. The army of the confederates, though vastly superior in numbers, was weak and inactive through the jealousies and disputes that prevailed among the commanders. *Casimir's* army amounted to 7000 horse and 8000 foot, a force that the prince of *Orange* and the *States General* thought dangerous for their public liberty, and therefore gave them no countenance. *Casimir* had no money, and in *February*, 1579, he went over to *England*, where he was magnificently complimented and treated by *Elizabeth*; but during his absence his troops disbanded themselves, and were by the duke of *Parma* suffered to return home. In the mean while, the prince of *Orange* saw with grief the distressed state of the confederacy, and found only seven provinces firm to the principles of their union; these were *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Utrecht*, *Friesland*, *Groningen*, *Overijssel*, and *Guelderland*. He called Union of their deputies together at *Utrecht*, and here the famous union *Utrecht*. which goes under the name of that city was formed. This treaty was a kind of a renovation of the original union. It preserved the spirit of the pacification of *Ghent*, but the parties entered into stricter bonds of amity. All the seven provinces, though each retained its own privileges and forms of government, were to be considered only as one in a fæderal capacity, and each was to concur in supporting the independency of another, and of the whole. Their frontier towns were to be fortified at their joint expence. Their public monies and alliances were to be in common; liberty of religion was to be exercised according to former edicts. The inhabitants

tants from 18 to 60 were to be taught the use of arms: the assembly of the *States* were to be held in a constitutional manner; and if the *States General* could not agree in the interpretation of the articles, it was to be referred to the Stadtholder, the prince of *Orange*.

*Elizabeth*  
befriends  
it.

*Elizabeth* of *England* had been attacked by the king of *Spain* in *Ireland*, and this determined her to embark more heartily than ever in support of the confederates. She sent over *Davison*, one of her servants, to soften the *Ghentois*, who were too rigid against the papists, and with other healing propositions for the common cause. She advanced a considerable sum of money to the *States*, upon the jewels of the house of *Burgundy*, which *Davison* brought over with him, and thereby freed them from the necessity of agreeing to a disadvantageous peace, which the emperor was then mediating at *Cologne*. The cities of *Ghent*, *Nimeguen*, *Arnheim*, *Leewarden*, *Venlo*, *Ypres*, *Antwerp*, *Breda*, and *Bruges*, acceded to the union of *Utrecht*, as did many other towns, and persons of great property. The *Walloons*, or catholic part of the *Low Countries*, remonstrated against this union, but without entering upon hostilities. *Philip*, who was now intent upon the conquest of *Portugal*, endeavoured, by the most magnificent promises, to bring over the prince of *Orange*, but he remained firm to his engagements, though greatly embarrassed by the internal disquiets of the *Ghentois*, and some other confederate cities; but he could not reconcile the catholics, either to his religion or principles. The duke of *Parma* took *Marsien*, by assault, and to shew that the court of *Spain* had not receded from any of its bloody principles, the governor was hanged, and 45 of its bravest citizens were put to death by tortures. *La Noue*, who commanded the army of the *States*, was forced by the duke of *Parma* to retire under the cannon of *Antwerp*. The duke then besieged *Maastricht*, which was taken, though defended by one *Sebastian Tappin*, a brave *Lorrainer*, with so much intrepidity, as procured him the unusual favour from the duke, of being exempted from the general massacre, that attended the taking of the city.

Deplorable  
condition of  
the *States*  
*General*.

The great genius of the duke of *Parma* reduced the affairs of the confederates, at this time, to a most deplorable condition, but they were somewhat retrieved by a fit of illness, into which he was thrown by his own fatigue. When he recovered, he found himself in circumstances similar to those of the *States*. His troops were unpaid, and consequently mutinous. By his treaty with the *Walloons*, he was obliged to dismiss his foreign soldiers, and he could not trust the natives. He desired to resign his command; but that favour was denied him. As to the *States*, they had now no other resource but their own intrepidity and determined resolution to suffer every extremity, rather than again submit to *Spanish* tyranny. The prince of *Orange* endeavoured to animate them, and succeeded so far, that in the beginning of the year 1580, the *United Pro-*

princes chose for their sovereign *Francis Hercules de Valois*, duke of *Alençon* and *Anjou*. This step was greatly owing to the forwardness of a marriage treaty then in agitation, between the duke and queen *Elizabeth*. The duke's sovereignty did not, however, abridge the prince of *Orange's* power, as Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and indeed that great man laid his schemes with so much foresight and justice, both to himself and the cause of liberty, that the duke's sovereignty over the *Netherlands* was no better than nominal. The moderation of the archduke *Matthias*, was equal to the policy of the prince; for finding himself unsupported, he quietly resigned the government with the approbation of the *States*, who applauded the equanimity and prudence of his conduct. The king of *Spain* now offered 25,000 crowns, to any who would bring him the prince of *Orange's* head, and his proclamation was answered by order of the prince, in terms which shewed, that there was now an end of all decorum between them.

In the beginning of the year 1581, the magistracy of *Brussels* banished the monks and popish clergy from their city. Both armies in the *Netherlands* were mutinous for want of pay; but the confederates generals durst not imitate the conduct of the duke of *Parma*, who suffered his soldiers to live on free quarters. He endeavoured to corrupt the *Zealanders*; they took his money, but betrayed his secret to the prince of *Orange*; and he reduced *Nivelle* and *Conde*. On the 26th of July, the *States General* published a writing, which they entitled, *The Abdication of Philip king of Spain*, whereby they excluded him from all authority over the *Netherlands*. The duke of *Parma* answered this paper, which was well penned, by blocking up *Cambray*; but it was relieved by the duke of *Anjou*, who forced the duke of *Parma* to retire to *Bouchain*. The *States* pressed *Anjou* to march to *Flanders*. He was unable, as he had no money to pay his troops, who daily deserted; and he embarked for *England* upon the promising, but romantic, scheme of marrying queen *Elizabeth*. During his absence, the confederates suffered greatly. The prince of *Parma* besieged *Tournay*, which capitulated on the 29th of *November*, and the Spanish general, *Verdugo*, defeated the confederate army in *Friesland*, which however did not suffer greatly. The prince of *Espinoy*, one of the confederates, reduced *St. Guilain*, and in February 1582, the duke of *Anjou* arrived at *Antwerp*, where he was inaugurated, as duke of *Brabant*, by the prince of *Orange*, with unusual splendour.

The proscription issued, and a reward offered, by *Philip*, Attempt for the prince of *Orange's* life, were not without their effects. on the *A Biscayen*, one *Gaspar Anastra*, was encouraged by a *Dominican*, to whom he confessed himself, to employ one of his domestics, in assassinating the prince of *Orange* while he resided at the castle of *Antwerp*. The murderer discharged a pistol and wounded the prince behind the ear, but was killed by the prince's attendants, and the *Dominican* was hanged; but we know

The duke of *Anjou* created duke of *Brabant*.

1581. War in the *Netherlands* continued.

1582.



know nothing farther with regard to this plot. *Norris*, at this time, commanded the *English* troops in the *Netherlands*. The count of *Reneberg* besieged *Steenwick* in *Friesland*, but he was beat by *Norris*, and the siege was raised. The proud imperious behaviour of *Norris* disgusted the *English*, many of whom left him, and he was, in his turn, beat by *Verdugo*. *Norris* had still 1500 foot and 300 horse left, and though attacked by the duke of *Parma* in person, he made a glorious retreat under the walls of *Ghent*.

An inactive campaign.

The duke of *Parma*, to the eternal reproach of his memory, seems not to have been ignorant beforehand, of the attempt upon the prince of *Orange's* life; and at the time it was made, he wrote circular letters to the confederate allies, in a strain that shewed that he imagined it had taken effect. On the 23<sup>d</sup> of *July* he took *Oudenarde*, notwithstanding all the efforts of the duke of *Anjou*, who, about the same time, surprized *Alost*. *Anjou's* infantry was commanded by the count de *Rochfort*, who was encamped under the walls of *Ghent*; nor could the duke of *Parma* bring them to a general engagement. It is hard to figure a more despicable appearance than both armies, at this time, made in the *Netherlands*. That of the duke of *Parma* was employed in garrisoning places he suspected; nor could he bring above 4000 men to the field; but he had the address to prevail with the *Walloons*, to readmit the *Spanish* troops into the *Netherlands*, consisting of 5000 *Spaniards* and 4000 *Italians*. The confederates had no money but what they received from *Elizabeth*, and they engaged 4000 *Swiss* and a body of *French* in their pay; but nothing of any great consequence was done this campaign; the auxiliaries on both sides arriving so late, that they immediately went into winter-quarters.

The States jealous of the duke of *Anjou*,

On the first of *July*, this year, the *Spanish* court exhibited a fresh specimen of its murderous disposition, in a conspiracy that was formed at *Bruges*, against the lives of the duke of *Anjou*, and the princes of *Orange* and *Espinoi*. When the plotters were seized and tortured, they laid the blame upon the duke of *Parma*. Historical justice, however, obliges us to observe, that we are to give no great credit either to confessions extorted by the rack, or to the report of such confessions. A short time discovered, that queen *Elizabeth* and the prince of *Orange* were acting a part unknown to the rest of *Europe*. *Henry III.* of *France*, privately discouraged his brother in his attempt in the *Netherlands*. The prince of *Orange*, by *Elizabeth's* direction, had rendered the *States* jealous of him; and at last, he found himself obliged to rely upon the casual support of *French* adventurers, who, captivated by his sounding titles of duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, had followed his fortunes. He could no longer maintain them without some fixed revenue.

who seizes many places,

The queen-mother of *France*, who governed that kingdom, informed him, that he was to expect no further assistance from his brother; and he resolved upon a blow which should make him an actual and independent sovereign. He employed his

his *French* troops in seizing *Dunkirk*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Vilvorde*; the *States* having made difficulty of admitting the *French* into those garrisons. In other places he failed, and having undertaken *Antwerp* in person, his troops were driven out of it by the prince of *Orange* and the burghers, with the loss of 1500 men killed and taken prisoners. This was a favourable circumstance for the duke of *Parma*, as the *States*, however they dissembled the matter, never afterwards cordially trusted the duke of *Anjou*. They applied to the prince of *Orange* for advice; he privately counselled them to temporize; but to stand on their own footing, and to bid defiance both to the *French* and *Spaniards*.

The duke of *Anjou* threw out to his brother the bait of succeeding him, as duke of *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and it had obliged some effect, especially as the duke had surprized *Eyndoven*, to quit his which had been besieged for three months, and was now governed by the *French*. The duke of *Anjou* was obliged to surrender for want of provisions. The *French* prisoners at *Antwerp* were released; and the *French* gave up the property of the *Flemish* merchants in *France*, with the towns of *Vilvorde*, *Dendermonde*, and *St. Vinox*. In short, a mutual amnesty, between the *French* and the *States*, seemed now to take place. The marshal *Biron* commanded the *French* army; but though he obtained some advantages, he was defeated by the duke of *Parma* near *Bergen-op-zoom*. The duke of *Anjou*, finding his sovereignty not only nominal but unsupported, retired to *France*; and the duke of *Parma* retook *Dunkirk*, *Furnes*, *Neuport*, *St. Vinox*, *Dixmuyde*, and *Menin*. Those successes of the duke of *Parma* were the more alarming, as the prince of *Orange* in the year 1584, was obliged to quit *Ghent*, whose magistracy declared for the *Spaniards*; but were repressed, when ready to deliver up the city to the duke of *Parma*, by a seasonable supply of troops from *Antwerp* and *Brussels*. The prince of *Orange* continued firm, but singular, in the cause of liberty. He had married a daughter of the famous admiral *Coligni* for a fourth wife. The *States* thought him too much attached to the *French* interest to trust him; and imagined, perhaps not entirely without foundation, that he aspired to the Stadtholdership of all the revolted provinces. What the event might have been, had he been spared to longer life, is hard to say; but he was murdered by the pistol of an the prince assassin enthusiast, one *Balthazor Gerard*, or *Guion*, at *Delph. of Orange*. The murderer was one of the prince's domestics. He accused and the prince of *Parma* upon the rack, of being accessory to the duke of assassination; but he appears to have been insane. About the same time died the duke of *Anjou*, partly through chagrin, and partly through intemperance.

1584.

## The History of the UNITED PROVINCES,

## BOOK II.

Prince  
Maurice of  
Orange  
chosen  
Stadt-  
holder of  
Holland  
and Zea-  
land.

THE cause of public liberty suffered greatly by the loss of the prince of *Orange*. If he had a fault while living, it was that of being too reserved, and not sufficiently communicative; for by his immature death, none was found who was in the secret of the mighty designs he certainly had in view. His son, prince *Maurice*, though but eighteen years of age, was chosen Stadtholder of *Holland* and *Zealand*, and though his revenue, as such, could not furnish him with a decent equipage as a private nobleman, yet he was to take the field against the duke of *Parma*. All his efforts (and those of his friends must have been in vain, had not the people been animated by an enthusiasm of detestation at his father's murderers. *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyssel*, followed the example of *Zealand* and *Holland*, and the union of *Utrecht* was renewed with a spirit that the pangs of despairing liberty alone could dictate. The duke of *Parma* took advantage of the prince of *Orange*'s death, by reducing several places, and cutting off the communication between *Antwerp* and *Holland*, and forming the siege of that city. In *October*, after taking *Dunkirk*, he formed the stupendous project of building a bridge over the *Schelde*, and the *English* troops who had garrisoned *Alost* entered into his service. Preparations were made for the siege of *Antwerp*, but in the mean time, the citizens of *Ghent*, intimidated by the duke's vigour, admitted a *Spanish* garrison on the 17th of *September*. The *Antwerpers* made a noble defence, and it cost the duke seven months to perfect his bridge. It appears as if he had secretly corresponded with a party of the citizens, who counteracted all that their governor, *Aldegonde*, proposed for their defence. The *Zealanders* attempted to relieve the city, but in vain; and by means of the bridge already mentioned, the duke of *Parma* again reduced *Antwerp* to the obedience of the *Spanish* crown. The behaviour of the *Netherlanders*, on this occasion, gives us lively ideas of their sentiments and manners. Though exasperated almost to frenzy against the *Spaniards*, yet they refused to advance the money, that could have enabled their engineers to have destroyed the bridge, and it was thought that the city of *Amsterdam* was by no means inclined to prevent such a rival as *Antwerp*, from falling under a despotic government, which must crush its commerce.

In this deplorable state of the confederates, *Henry III.* of the armies *France* offered them his assistance, but they applied to *Elizabeth* in the *Netherlands*. It appears from the state papers of that time, that the *Spanish* force, besides garrisons, were 3000 foot, and 23 companies of horse quartered in *Gueldres*; 5000 horse and foot, who lay in or near *Antwerp*; 3000 about *Ghent*, and 5000 were



were employed in the siege of *Dermont*. To oppose this great force, the *States General* had in the field no more than 3000 foot with 2500 horse, who lay near *Zutphen*, with 3000 German foot, and 400 horse, whom they had hired. The deputies whom the *States* employed with *Elizabeth*, were *De Gryce* and *Ortel*; and they offered to raise 330,000 florins monthly, as follows, *Brabant*, 60,000; *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Utrecht*, 200,000; *Frize*, 36,000; *Gueldres* and *Overyssel*, 30,000. Some have said, though improbably, that *Elizabeth* was offered the sovereignty of the *Low Countries*; but had that been the case, she certainly would have embraced it. When the proposal of assistance was laid before her, she instantly saw the expediency of preventing the *States* from sinking under the power of *Spain*. She sent over *Davison*, an able and a trusty minister, to countermine *Aldegonde*, who was inclined to the Spanish interest, and instead of furnishing the *States* with 4000 foot and 400 horse, which they demanded, to offer them 5000 foot and 1000 horse. The conditions were, "That *Brill* and *Flushing* should be immediately put into her hands, together with some other principal town in each province, at her choice at any time, when she should thereafter demand the same."

*Davison* had various other instructions, which manifest the prodigious abilities of his mistress for government. The English governors of the cautionary towns, were to have no concern with their civil government, and the inhabitants were even to have some preferable advantages in their trade with *England*. *Davison* at the same time declared, that the queen was resolved to send over an English nobleman, to heal the wounds which their government had received by their animosities, and at last the bargain, which was struck, was in substance as follows: "That *Elizabeth* was to send over 5000 foot and 1000 horse, under an English general, and to pay them during the war, but to be repaid as soon as the peace could be settled. That in the mean while, *Flushing*, and the castle of *Ramekins* in *Wacheren*, and the isle of *Brill*, with the city and two forts, were to be delivered into the queen's hands for caution. That the governors of those places should exercise no authority over the inhabitants, but only over the garrison-soldiers, who should pay excise and impositions as well as the inhabitants. That the said places, after the money was repaid, should be restored again to the estates, and not delivered to the Spaniards, or any other enemy whatsoever. That the governor-general, and two Englishmen, whom the queen should name, should be admitted into the council of the *States*. That the *States* should make no league with any, without the advice and consent of the queen; neither should the queen, with the king of *Spain*, without the advice of the *States*. That an equal number of ships should be fitted out, for the common defence, by both parties, and at the common charge, and be commanded by

Queen  
*Elizabeth*  
concludes  
a treaty  
with the  
*States*.

Its terms.

“ the admiral of *England*: And that the havens and ports  
 “ should be open and free on both sides mutually.”

Imprudence of the earl of *Leicester*, was nominated by *Elizabeth*, her general in the *Low Countries*. Sir *Thomas Cecil* took possession of *Brill*, as Sir *Philip Sidney* did of *Flushing* and *Ramekins*. *Leicester*, *Elizabeth*, at the same time, published a manifesto in defence of her own conduct, but was not a little puzzled how to conceal from the world, that she was assisting subjects against their lawful sovereign. The most sensible argument, in fact, in her manifesto, was, that *Philip* had set her the example, by fomenting a rebellion of her own subjects in *Ireland*. The earl of *Leicester* was received by the confederates, as their guardian angel, and treated with such a profusion of power and honours, as gave umbrage to *Elizabeth*, partial as she was in his favour. He even affected an independency upon his mistress, which had some colour, from the prodigious powers with which she had invested him; but he soon discovered, that he had neither moderation, nor abilities to support the authority he assumed. *Elizabeth*, to divide the *Spanish* force, fitted out a strong squadron of ships, to act against them in *America*, under Sir *Francis Drake*; but did not fail to remonstrate to the *States General*, upon the imprudence of their conduct towards *Leicester*. The truth is, that the jealousy she expressed arose partly from her apprehension, of shutting out all possibility of reconciliation with the court of *Spain*, and she sent over *Heneage*, her vice-chamberlain, to be a check upon *Leicester*. We cannot positively pronounce, whether great part of the resentment, she shewed on this occasion against *Leicester*, was not affected, especially, as he resigned no part of his assumed power. Her view, probably, was to have taken upon herself the sovereignty of the *Netherlands*; but her design was balked by the imprudence of *Leicester*, who filled all places of power, or profit in the *Netherlands*, with his own creatures, opposed calling *Germans* in to the assistance of the *States*, and even erected an arbitrary coinage. To compensate for those mismanagements, he affected to introduce discipline into the army, and to preclude the *Hollanders* from an illicit trade, a precaution which had almost ruined them, because they could not subsist without it.

Successes  
 of the  
 duke of  
*Parma*.

In the mean while, the duke of *Parma* was gaining vast advantages. He took *Grave*, *Venlo*, and other towns, notwithstanding the brave resistance made by the *English*, who seem at this time to have borne the brunt of the war. After this, he obliged a great number of places to capitulate; but he was beaten from *Birk* by *Morgan*, an *English* officer, who threw himself into the place with 1000 men. *Leicester*, in the mean time, besieged *Zutphen*, which the duke of *Parma* succoured, and the brave Sir *Philip Sidney* was killed in attacking one of his convoys. All that *Leicester* did was to reduce *Doesburgh*, and he retired into winter-quarters, with the most contemptible character any man ever held in so high a station. He did all

he

he could by his arrogance, pride, and ill-judged partiality, to render himself odious to the *States General*, and, at last, it plainly appeared, that he aspired at making the *States* dependent either upon himself or his mistress, who he pretended had the sole right to the sovereignty. It must be acknowledged, that there is something very dark in this part of *Elizabeth's* conduct, and there is reason to believe, that the whole of *Leicester's* management was dictated by herself.

*Elizabeth*, it is true, had been offered the sovereignty of *Holland*; but she was to be bound by terms; *Leicester* wanted to give it her without terms. Some of the towns of *Holland*, were influenced by the *States*, to refuse to admit *English* garrisons; and *Leicester* applied himself to the lowest arts; those of courting the clergy, and the meanest part of the people, to take part against their magistrates. In this he was successful; but *Elizabeth*, by her uncommon turn of policy and temper, finding it impracticable to support him under his mismanagement, left him to his unpopularity, which was as great in *England* as it was in *Holland*. He durst not own, that he had all along acted by *Elizabeth's* instructions, and he thought of overawing the *States General*, by making a demand upon them from *England*, of 480,000 livres, for the payment of his troops. The *States* answered him, by remonstrating to *Elizabeth* against his conduct, and count *Hohenlo*, or as others call him *Hollak*, openly declared himself his enemy. The duke of *Parma* made advantage of *Leicester's* unpopularity, by debauching two popish *English* officers, *York* and *Stanley*, to whom *Leicester* had imprudently given capital trusts. *York* gave up *Zutphen*, and *Stanley*, *Daventer*; and both of them their regiments. The *States General* saw themselves in a manner deserted, the duke of *Parma* having made preparations to besiege *Ostend* and *Sluys*. The former was saved by a reinforcement of *English*; the latter was reduced, but obtained an honourable capitulation, after a two months siege. The earl of *Leicester* had, by this time, wrought himself again into *Elizabeth's* good graces, and returned to *Holland*, at the time that the *States General* were about to invest prince *Maurice* with the Stadtholdership of *Holland*, *Zealand*, and *Friesland*. *Leicester* arrived in *Holland* time enough to have saved *Sluys*; and it was owing to his mismanagement that it was lost.

The *States*, devoted as they were to queen *Elizabeth*, could not, with any cordiality, see *Leicester* resume the government. They indured him indeed; but a strong opposition to him was formed by *Hollak*. *Elizabeth* set over the lord *Buckhurst*, and other commissioners as checks upon him; but the clamour against him was now so great, that she was, against her will, compelled to disavow his measures. Notwithstanding this, *Leicester* knew she would patronize him, if he could make his party good, and he found himself powerful in *Utrecht*, and many other places, especially among the clergy. A paper war began, in which *Leicester* was incontestibly foiled, and the

Misconduct of the earl of Leicester.

His intrigues in the Low Countries



are discovered, and miscarry.

lord *Buckhurst*, one of the ablest men in *England*, projected a new plan of government for the *Belgic* confederacy, in which he himself was to be the president of the council. Queen *Elizabeth* secretly discountenanced this plan, and the opposition to *Leicester* went so far, that they accused him of intended treachery against prince *Maurice*, *Olden-Barnveldt*, and thirteen other heads of the *States*, whom he intended to put to death. Prince *Maurice* absconded, by which the panic of the public was heightened, and *Leicester* made a progress through the provinces, but was well received only by the dregs of the people, and the furious ignorant clergy. At last, *Leicester*, to leave no room for doubting of his arbitrary intentions, endeavoured, by means of one *Cosmo*, an *Italian*, to surprize *Leyden*; but the design miscarrying, the conspirators lost their heads, upon which *Leicester* was heard to declare, that he thought it high time for him to take care of his own, and hurried back to *England*. Upon his return, the *States General* had convincing evidences of his intentions to have seized the sovereignty of *Holland*, in private concert with *Elizabeth*; but they prudently concealed the discovery, for fear of disobliging her.

Defeat of the Spanish armada.

The court of *Spain* was at this time preparing to invade *England*, with one of the most powerful armaments that ever had appeared upon the seas, and *Leicester* was to command the land troops of *England*. *Elizabeth*, though passionately fond of his person, stript him of his government of the *Low Countries*, but, at the same time, she disgraced *Buckhurst*, for impeaching his conduct. Her danger from the invasions obliged her to lay aside all her designs against the *States General*, and the duke of *Parma*, received orders from the court of *Spain*, to suspend all operations but those against *England*. *Elizabeth* has been blamed for not diverting the blow aimed against her own dominions, by vigorously supporting the *Netherlands*. But she judged better; for though the hand of providence had not interposed as it did in defeating the *Spanish* invasion, there is the highest probability, that the internal strength of *England* would have been sufficient. Even during the preparations for this invasion, negotiations of peace were carrying on, between the duke of *Parma*, and the *English* commissaries; but as they were meant on both sides only to gain time, the particulars are not worth relating. The lord *Willoughby* of *Eresby*, who yielded only to the duke of *Parma*, in abilities, as a general, had succeeded *Leicester*, in the command of the *English* army, in the *Netherlands*; but *Elizabeth* bound him up from doing any thing, without the advice and consent of Sir *William Pelham*. Upon the defeat of the *Spanish* armada, *Leicester* appeared in greater favour with *Elizabeth* than ever, and procured the disgrace of all the *English* who had thwarted his measures, excepting the lord *Willoughby*. The duke of *Parma* now returned, with double application, to the affairs of his government. On the 24th of *September*, 1538, he formed the siege

of *Bergen-op-zoom*, but it was so bravely defended by lord *Wil-*  
*loughby*, that he was forced to raise the siege.

Though the earl of *Leicester* was divested of his govern- Death of  
ment of the *Netherlands*, yet by *Elizabeth's* connivance, he the earl  
kept up so strong a party among the towns, as might have of *Lei-*  
hazarded their independency, had he not died on the 14th of *Leis-*  
*September* this year. By his death, all of them submitted to the  
*States General*, excepting *Gertruydenberg*, which joined the  
duke of *Parma*; while count *Mansveldt*, a *Spanish* general,  
by an unusual exertion of military abilities, reduced *Wachten-*  
*donck* on the 20th of *December*. The duke of *Parma* was but  
ill supported by the court of *Spain*, and chagrin had impaired  
his health. He had no money to pay his troops, and the un-  
grateful *Spaniards* blamed him for miscarrying before *Bergen-*  
*op-zoom*. On the other hand, prince *Maurice*, with the  
counts *Solms* and *Holak* were united, and so vigorous that they  
reduced *Heusdin*. *Waremben*, the *Spanish* governor of *Guelder-*  
*land*, was defeated by general *Schenk*, in an attempt he made  
upon *Rhimberg*. He renewed the attempt upon *Schenk's* death,  
and though it was defended by the *English*, under Sir *Francis*  
*Vere*, who again defeated him, the *States General* suffered the  
place to fall into his hands. Prince *Maurice*, however, began  
now to give strong proofs of his military genius. He defeated  
*Verdugo*, the *Spanish* general more than once, and the affairs of  
the confederates were this year greatly advanced by surpriz-  
ing *Breda*, the key of *Brabant*. The duke of *Parma*, who  
was returned from drinking the waters of the *Spa*, made re-  
peated efforts for taking this important place, but he was  
obliged to employ his arms in defending *Nimeguen*, which was  
threatened to be besieged by prince *Maurice*.

One of the advantages that *Spain* derived from the duke of *Parma's* government, was the encouraging the privateers of *Dunkirk*, who annoyed the commerce of the *States General*, which was now very considerable, and had encreased so amaz-  
ingly, that they were not only enabled to check the *Dunkirk* privateers, but to give great assistance to *Henry IV. of France*, against the popish league, which the duke of *Parma* was ordered to support. He began his march towards *France*, with 12,000 foot and 3000 horse, and left his command in the *Low Countries* to count *Mansveldt*. During his absence, prince *Maurice* gained vast advantages, and *Norris*, the *English* governor of *Ostend*, reduced the fort of *Blamemberg*, and put the garrison to the sword. In the beginning of the year 1591, prince *Maurice* was at the head of 10,000 foot and 1000 horse, and surprized *Zutphen* and *Daventer*, notwithstanding the vigilance of the duke of *Parma*. He then threatened *Groningen* and *Nimeguen*; but his progress was retarded by the duke of *Parma*, who besieged *Knotjemberg*, but was again ordered to march into *France*. This was the last campaign made in the *Netherlands* by that great general, who was worthy of a better fate than that of serving so ungrateful a court as that of *Spain*.

Encrease  
of the na-  
val power  
of the  
States.

1591.

The duke of Parma He was, it is true, an *Italian*, and stuck at nothing to gain his ends by assassination or poison; but in other respects he retires was generous, and he regarded military merit even in his enemies. He was most scrupulously faithful to his trust, and from the Low even when he left it, he endeavoured to persuade the citizens Countries. of *Nimeguen* to receive a *Spanish* garrison, but he could not prevail.

Successes of prince Maurice. Prince *Maurice* now appeared with great lustre. On the 25th of September he reduced *Hulst*. After that he threatened *Dunkirk* and *Neuport*; but all of a sudden he discharged such a shower of red hot bullets into *Nimeguen*, that that important town surrendered, and he gave it magistrates. This and many other exploits, raised the young prince to the highest pitch of credit with the *United Provinces*, whose heads were now convinced, that they must trust to the *Orange* family, for continuing independent. The emperor *Rodolph*, in the beginning of the year 1592, officiously offered his mediation between *Philip* and the *States General*; but both parties appeared as irreconcilable as ever. In July, this year, prince *Maurice* reduced *Steinwyck* and *Oknarsch*, with various other places, and defeated *Verdugo*. The duke of *Parma* had not been permitted by *Philip* to resign his government, but he took little or no concern in its affairs. Count *Manfveldt*, in the year 1593, was made governor of the *Spanish* provinces; the duke of *Archot* of *Flanders*; the prince de *Chimai* of *Hainault*, and the count de *Aremberg* of *Artois*. Those appointments would have been prudent, had not the real government continued to be vested in *Spaniards*. *Manfveldt* cut off all communication with the revolted provinces, on pain of death, and they published edicts, declaring, they would give no quarter to any of the inhabitants of the *Netherlands*, who did not join them before the 1st of February. Count *Philip* of *Nassau* carried fire and sword into the province of *Luxembourg*, and for some time the subjects of *Spain* as well as of the *States General*, suffered the most inconceivable miseries of war, no quarter being given on either side. Every day was, at this time, producing some new improvement in the art of destroying the human species; and prince *Maurice* besieged *Gertruydenberg*, in a manner that never before had been practised by the ablest commanders, for his lines of circumvallation extended to near 12 miles. *Manfveldt* at the head of 12,000 foot, and 3000 horse, attempted to force them, in doing which, he carried on a regular siege, in which, however, he was foiled, and the garrison of *Gertruydenberg* capitulated on the 23d of June. *Manfveldt*, after this, was baffled in every attempt, which was the more mortifying to him, as he had always affected to treat prince *Maurice* as a raw boy.

Matiny in the *Spanish* army.

The prince turned his arms next against *Verdugo*, who commanded in *Friesland*, and attempted to cut off the communication of *Groningen* with *Germany*. The campaign was spent in various operations, which shewed great generalship on both sides.



sides. *Verdugo* attempted to do somewhat decisive, by surprizing *Maurice* in his lines, but he was baffled by that prince's vigilance. The campaign ended by a fruitless attempt made by *Mansveldt* against *Zealand*, and another made by the prince against *Bruges*. We have in another part of this work, mentioned the appointment of *Ernest*, archduke of *Austria*, by *Philip*, who was in hopes of thereby reclaiming the revolters to their allegiance. He was deceived. *Ernest* had no money to pay his troops, and he applied to the *States General*, by writing, to persuade them to submission. This proceeding disobliged the *Spanish* officers, who amassed immense fortunes by the continuance of the war, and gained nothing from the *States*. Several conspiracies were discovered, or pretended to be discovered, against the life of prince *Maurice*, and it was given out that they had been approved of by the archduke, who soon became an object, at once of popular contempt and detestation. During the winter, *Verdugo* was obliged to raise the blockade he had formed about *Coeverden*; and on the 24th of *July* prince *Maurice*, after an obstinate siege, reduced *Groningen*. So many losses and disasters exhausted the patience even of the *Spanish* army, which became mutinous for want of pay, and the soldiers threatened to indemnify themselves by the plunder of *Brussels* and other places dependent on the crown of *Spain* in the *Low Countries*. Notwithstanding all that the archduke and *Velasco*, an active *Spanish* general, could do, part of the mutineers continued in a body, and were favoured, though not taken into pay, by prince *Maurice*. About this time, *Balagnay*, the governor of *Cambray*, being blockaded by the archduke, declared for the confederates, and *Henry IV.* threatened to take severe reprisals for some incursions the *Spanish* parties made into *France*.

In 1595, the animosities between the *Spaniards* and the *Flemings* in the *Low Countries* had silently proceeded to such a height that the archduke was obliged to call an assembly at *Brussels* for allaying them. The duke of *Archot* headed the opposition, and complained in very loud terms of the *Spanish* insolence and tyranny. The sentiments of the assembly were for peace, which the archduke deceitfully seemed to favour. It was expected that in this assembly the complaints and menaces of *Henry IV.* would have been taken into consideration. No regard was paid to them; *Henry* was provoked into a declaration of war against *Philip*, and ordered the duke of *Bouillon* to join his army with that of the confederate states. In the mean while, the archduke, *Ernest*, died, and was succeeded in his government by the count *de Fuentes*; but the real power was in the council of state, which was wholly *Spanish*. *Fuentes* obliged *Brussels* to receive a *Spanish* garrison, and his government soon became detestable from the aversion which he and the *Spanish* faction shewed for peace. The main strength of the *States General*, at this time, lay in the army commanded by the duke of *Bouillon*; bat

1595.  
Discontent of the  
*Flemings*.

prince *Maurice*, though at the head of only a small army, made head against *Mandragon*, a *Spanish* general of 80 years of age, without obtaining any remarkable advantage over the old man. *Fuentes* endeavoured to recommence the negotiations for peace, and was so successful that he reclaimed the *Spanish* mutineers to their duty, and thereby encreased his troops. He now seemed determined to do somewhat that was decisive. He had four armies in the field; one commanded by *Velasco* was in *Burgundy*; one under *Waremben* in *Artois* and *Picardy*; old *Mandragon* commanded that which acted against the prince of *Orange*, as *Verdugo* did that in *Luxembourg*.

Difference  
between  
the States  
and *Elizabeth*.

The *States General* had, by this time, attained to a degree of sovereignty which was favoured by the rising and immense progress of their trade. They seemed to consider *Henry IV.* in the same light as they had *Elizabeth* some time ago; and this offended both her pride and her ambition. She complained of their disrespect, though to say the truth, they had been forced into their alliance with *Henry*, by his threatening to make peace with *Spain*, and thereby leaving *Philip* at liberty to employ the whole of his force in the *Low Countries*. A vast number of her subjects were still serving in their armies; a great debt was due to her from the *States*, and she demanded it by her ambassador *Sir Thomas Bodely*, not without some menaces if the request was not complied with. The *States* pleaded poverty, and that they were not obliged to discharge the debt before the end of the war, and even demurred towards discharging the original sum. Upon *Bodeley's* pressing them and renewing his threats, they made the following offers: "That they would immediately free the queen from the entire expence relating to the maintenance of the *English* auxiliaries (computed at 40,000 *l.* per annum.) That they would pay 20,000 *l.* sterling for some years, assist her with a certain number of ships, and conclude no peace or treaties without her consent. That upon the conclusion of the peace they would pay her a yearly sum of 100,000 *l.* for four years; with this reserve notwithstanding, that they should have out of *England* a supply of 4,000 men, and a free and full discharge of all debts and demands."

Demands  
of *Elizabeth*.

Those offers were backed by the most moving remonstrances concerning the miserable state of the *United Provinces*; but *Elizabeth* was not to be imposed on. She knew the flourishing state of their commerce; that they had lent money to the *French* king; and she insisted upon her demand, till they were obliged to quiet her by lending her 25 sail of ships of war to act against the *Spaniards*. *Philip* was now old and disgusted with the world, and he committed the government of the *Low Countries* to the cardinal archduke *Albert*, whom we have already mentioned in the history of *Germany*. His intention was to give the remaining provinces in dowry with the infanta *Clara Isabella Eugenia*, wife to the cardinal, and that they

they should thereby become a state independent of the crown of Spain. *Albert*, about the same time, obtained the liberty of *Philip* of Orange, who had been 28 years a prisoner to *Philip* of Spain, and was eldest son to the great prince *William*. This prince had been educated a *Roman catholic*, and the *Spaniards* proposed to make great use of him in reducing the seven *United Provinces*, whose independency had been so gloriously established by his father, but he was disappointed, for the *Dutch* saw the scheme, and avoided it.

The commerce of the *Dutch* was, at this time, at an incredible height. They sent, at least, 70,000 sailors every year to sea. The bloody war they were engaged in seemed to encrease their wealth, as it heightened their spirits, and even *Philip*, their capital enemy, was obliged to connive at their carrying on a most gainful trade with his *Spanish* and *Portuguese* subjects. Archduke *Albert*, when he took upon him the government of the *Provinces* in the year 1596, was in high reputation all over *Europe* for his abilities, but engaged in a war with *France*. His first step was to take *Calais*, and had it not been too late in the season, he would have besieged *Ostend*, which was garrisoned by the *English*. He, however, besieged and took *Hulst*, the garrison of which had been weakened by a detachment that prince *Maurice* had sent off to *Breda*. The affairs of that prince was, at this time, in an untowardly situation. The vast attention of the *States* to commerce had made their armies weak, and they were farther reduced by the succours they were obliged to furnish to *Elizabeth* of *England*, and *Henry IV.* of *France*. It was therefore thought that the prince gave secret orders for the surrender of *Hulst*, that he might save its garrison, consisting of 3,000 men, to make head against the cardinal, who commanded 30,000. In *November*, the *States* concluded a new treaty with *Henry IV.* of *France*, by which he engaged to pay him 450,000 florins for maintaining 4,000 men in *France*, provided *Philip* did not attack him in his own dominions; and in consideration of this seasonable supply, *Henry* gave the subjects of the *States* many valuable privileges in *France*, particularly that of being exempted from the "*droits des aubaines*," by which the goods of their subjects dying in *France* were not forfeited to that crown. In the mean while, the *Dutch*, who were commanded by *John de Duvenvoorde*, had a considerable share in the glory which the *English* under the earl of *Essex* and Sir *Walter Raleigh* obtained by the taking of *Cadiz*.

In the winter of the year 1597 prince *Maurice* took *Tournhout*, and beat the count *de Vareux*, one of *Albert's* generals. He owed this advantage to an improvement he had introduced among his cavalry, whom he armed with carbines and horse pistols. Though the finances of *Spain* were, at this time, very low, yet *Albert*, in all probability, must have overwhelmed prince *Maurice* had it not been for the diversion given

Encrease  
of the  
*Dutch*  
com-  
merce.

1596.

1597.  
Successes  
of prince  
*Maurice*.



by *Henry IV.* who laid siege to *Arras*, but could not prevent *Dourlens* and *Amiens* from falling into the cardinal's hands. In the month of *September* prince *Maurice* took *Alphen*, *Meurs*, and *Grol*, as he did *Briefort* in *October*. Many other *Spanish* garrisons then submitted to his arms before he went into winter quarters. The negotiations for peace were renewed before the end of the year; but the confederate *States* could not be shaken in their capital demand, that the king of *Spain* should declare them to be an independent, sovereign, government. The emperor of *Germany* and the king of *Denmark* offered their mediation, but it was rejected, as was that of other states, because that preliminary was not established. The marriage of archduke *Albert* with the infanta *Clara Isabella*, and the cutting off the *Provinces* from their dependence on *Spain* were favourable incidents, but not sufficient to divert them from their purpose, and *Philip* applied himself to detach *Henry IV.* from his confederacy with the *States* and the queen of *England*. *France* stood as much in need of peace as *Spain* did, and *Henry* represented this to the *States* by his ambassador *Busenvel*, with the advantageous terms offered him by *Philip*. The *States*, in vain, endeavoured to divert *Henry* from his purpose, and the treaty was concluded at *Vervins* on the 2d of *May*.

The peace  
of *Vervins*.

*Elizabeth* of *England*, as well as the *States General*, affected to be highly disgusted with the peace of *Vervins*, which was on *Henry's* part a measure equally wise as necessary. For some time, *England* and *Holland* negotiated together about carrying on the war, which the *Dutch* seemed to be very intent upon, but *Elizabeth* could not be driven from her main point; and treated *Justin Nassau* and *Barneveldt*, their ambassadors, with great severity, because she had not been repaid her money, though *Henry IV.* had paid them what he owed them, and though they were now sufficiently rich from commerce. Two parties at that time divided *Elizabeth's* councils; one headed by *Burleigh* was pacific, the other, by *Essex*, was the reverse. *Elizabeth* secretly inclined to the former, but apparently encouraged the latter, that she might have the better pretext for demanding the payment of the money the *States* owed her, and break off all their interested commerce with *Spain*, which enabled her to continue the war with

The *States*  
treat with  
*Elizabeth*.

*England*. The *States* were likewise informed by *Elizabeth* that their domestic conduct was in all respects unjustifiable; that they neither bore a proportionable share in the expences of the war, and that the expences they did bear were paid in adulterated money; and that, in short, they left no fraud unpractised that could advance their interest. The death of *Cecil* gave a warlike turn to *Elizabeth's* councils, and she at last agreed, but not without ample satisfaction from the *States*, to continue the war, and to renew her treaties with them. The *States* agreed that the treaty made *anno 1585* should be ratified and confirmed, excepting some articles relating to the

civil administration; that the confederate *States* should pay to the queen 800,000 *l.* of *English* money: viz. 30,000 yearly, during the continuance of the war, to be employed against the common enemy, until 400,000 *l.* were paid; and if a peace was agreed on between the king of *Spain* and the queen, there should be paid of the remaining sum 20,000 *l.* yearly, till the 800,000 *l.* were discharged; that 1150 soldiers, who were in the garrisons of *Flushing*, *Brill*, and the adjacent parts, should be paid by the *States*; that they might have the liberty to levy men in *England* under *English* officers, who should serve under their pay; that if the *Spaniards* should make a descent on the isles of *Wight*, *Guernsey*, *Jersey*, or *Scilly*, the *States* should be obliged to assist the queen with 5,000 foot and 500 horse; that if it was necessary to equip a fleet in *England* to serve against *Spain*, they should provide an equal number of ships; that if any *English* forces were sent over into *Flanders* or *Brabant*, they should provide and furnish out the same number of men; as for the money due to *Pallavicini*, the queen should reimburse herself from *Brabant* and *Flanders*, and the rest of the provinces which were not within the union.

By this treaty *Elizabeth* freed herself from an annual expence of 120,000 *l.* but at the same time *Philip* was left at liberty to direct the whole of his force against the *United Provinces*. He still persisted in his design of bestowing the government of those which remained faithful to him upon the archduke *Albert*; but the free exercise of the protestant religion stumbled him. The archduke *Albert* repaired to *Madrid*, and during his absence the *Spanish* provinces were filled with mutinies and discontents. *Albert* arrived just time enough at *Madrid* to see *Philip* expire, but the marriage between him and the infanta *Isabella* was solemnized, and *Albert* entered upon the possession of his new sovereignty, and laid aside his ecclesiastical character. It is thought that *Philip's* wars in *Europe* alone, during his reign, cost him twelve hundred and fifty millions of pounds sterling. While *Albert* remained in *Spain*, the affairs of the *Spanish Low Countries* were directed by his brother, *Andrew* of *Austria*, who made some fresh advances towards a peace with *England*. *Elizabeth* did not entirely reject the proposal, but the new government had on foot an army of 25,000 men in the *Low Countries*; where the *Spaniards*, under *Mendoza*, made great progress. Prince *Maurice* took the field, but all he could do was to watch the enemy's motions, and take *Rhimeberg*, while *Mendoza* reduced the fortresses of *Alphen* and *Bronk*, and to maintain his army by the contributions he raised in his conquests. This campaign served to display the great abilities of prince *Maurice*, as a general, by throwing sufficient garrisons into places of the greatest danger, and his making head with so inferior an army against *Mendoza*.

The archduke *Albert* married to the infanta *Clara Isabella*.

Farther  
progress  
of the  
*Dutch*  
com-  
merce,

If we turn our eyes from the operations of war to those of commerce, the progress made by the *Dutch* is amazing. No dangers nor disappointments could deter them from embarking in new adventures. One *Balthasar Monchuen*, besides carrying on a great trade with *India*, made settlements on the continent of *Africa*, and on the islands of *St. Thomas*, from whence the settlers, however, were driven by the treachery of the *Portuguese*. Other *Dutch* merchants sent ships to *California*, through the *Straits of Magellan*, in hopes of discovering a passage to *Japan* and *China*. Besides those private adventures, their great commercial companies sent 30 large ships to trade to the *East* and *West Indies*. The *French* procured them many advantages in the *Levant*; and, above all, their fisheries in the *British* seas, produced them mines of wealth. Even their military men turned merchant-adventurers; and a small squadron fitted out by prince *Maurice* made vast captures. The *Dutch*, instead of applying themselves to privateering, found now their commerce so enlarged, that their shipping became often a prey to the privateers of other *States*, who seized it under *Spanish* colours, till at last they were obliged to give orders for blocking up the harbour of *Calais*.

who in-  
termeddle  
in the  
affairs of  
*Germany*.

The reader, in the history of *Germany*, may see the disordered state of the empire at this time, and the vast outrages committed there by the *Spanish* soldiers, under the command of *Mendoza*, who was an enthusiast in superstition and popery. The princes of the empire, in vain, endeavoured to get rid of those unwelcome guests; but were unable, through the differences that reigned among themselves, though all agreed in their detestation of the *Spaniards*. Prince *Maurice*, in the winter of the year 1599, surprized *Emmeric*, and made an effort to transfer the seat of war to *Germany*, in hopes of being assisted by the princes of the empire, against the oppressive *Spaniards*. *Emmeric* was retaken, but the *States*, who now proceeded with amazing vigour and spirit, in supporting prince *Maurice*, enabled him to take *Zawenar*; and the money they raised by taxations, was all applied to new levies, and cheerfully defrayed by all the *States*, excepting *Groninger*. It was observed that the commerce of the *States*, still encreased as the war continued. Cardinal *Andrew* filled the *Low Countries* with manifestoes on this head, and against the obstinacy of the *States General*. All commerce between them and the *Spaniards*, and the subjects of the *Spanish Netherlands*, was prohibited. They published a counter-edict in their own vindication; a new system of discipline was introduced into their armies by prince *Maurice*, and he was soon at the head of an army, through the assistance of *England*, capable of looking that of the *Spanish* veterans in the face. His operations quickened those of the archduke, who, on the 14th of *April*, passed the *Rhine* on a bridge of boats, to invade the territories of the *States*. His general officers were divided among themselves, and disappointed by prince *Maurice* in all their attempts.

*Mendoza*



*Mendoza* prevailed, in laying siege to *Bommel*, which was covered by *Maurice*. That prince had taken his measures so justly, that he had reduced the *Spaniards* to despair. The *States General*, with some secret jealousy of his ambition, ordered him at all risks to fight *Mendoza*. He remonstrated against this measure, which the *States* intended should be decisive of the campaign. He complained of those preposterous orders, but in vain, for they were repeated, and he was so far obliged to comply with them, that he twice attacked the *Spaniards*; but was forced to desist, without any very remarkable advantage being gained on either side. The prince, however, was superior on the whole, *Mendoza*, after a prodigious expence of blood, was obliged to withdraw from *Bommel*, and the rest of the campaign was spent in inferior operations, with various successes.

Notwithstanding the military abilities of prince *Maurice*, the *Dutch*, who served under him, were but raw to the field, compared to the *Spaniards* under *Mendoza*, nor were the last equal to the *English* under Sir *Francis Vere*; and this superiority alone, prevented the army of the *States* from being ruined. Mean while, archduke *Albert* and his consort, who affected all the state of crowned heads, made a triumphant, but unpopular, entry into *Brussels*. The *States* of the *Spanish Netherlands* demanded, that the foreign troops should be withdrawn; but the demand was evaded by the archduke, who with great difficulty tempered the despotic disposition of his consort. After the necessary preparations, an enquiry was set on foot, concerning the miscarriage of the attempt upon *Bommel*, and it terminated in favour of *Mendoza*, who was continued in his command. Parties run equally high among the *States* of the seven *United Provinces*, who complained of the expences of the war, and notwithstanding the strongest remonstrances of prince *Maurice*, and *Henry IV.* of *France*, who remitted them 300,000 francs, they reduced their forces. Happily for them, the *Spanish* troops were then so mutinously inclined, that *Mendoza* could take no advantage of this improvident frugality, and prince *Maurice*, notwithstanding the mortifications he had received, continued to serve the *States* with the same ardour in the field as ever.

While the affairs of the campaign were thus disagreeably circumstanced for the *States* by land, they were victorious by sea. Their admiral, *Vander Does*, insulted the coasts, and ruined the commerce of *Spain* in *Europe*. Fresh resources of wealth were opened in *America*, and their *East India* fleet continued to bring them in prodigious wealth. *Vander Does*, at last, after destroying the *Spanish* *Canary* islands, proceeded with half his fleet to *America*; but he died on the voyage, and the diseases of the climate made such havock of his men and officers, that this expedition cannot be said to have been fortunate, farther than that it drew the attention of *Spain* from the *Netherlands* to *America*. The affairs of the archduke, at this

The *States*  
jealous of  
prince  
*Maurice*.

Conduct  
of the  
archduke  
and his  
consort.

The  
*Dutch* vic-  
torious by  
sea.

this time, were in a deplorable situation, and for want of money to pay his mutinous troops, he was obliged to assign them free quarters in *Brabant*. Even this did not satisfy them, and the revolt among them became general. Prince *Maurice* laid hold of that opportunity, to reduce *Wachten-donck*, *Crevecœur*, *St. Andre*, and other places of importance, the garrisons of which, for want of pay, enlisted under him. It must be acknowledged, that the *States* behaved in a fordid manner, and made no allowance for accidents, and the disadvantages under which their frugality had laid the prince. They were at last reanimated by his successes, but the inhabitants of *Groningen* and *Friesland* gave an alarming example to the other members of the confederacy, by continuing to refuse to pay their contingencies of the public taxes. The necessity of the juncture determined their governor, prince *William* of *Nassau*, to hazard a bold stroke, by disarming the burghers of *Groningen*, and bridling them with a citadel. Their provincial *States* complained to the *States General*; they were answered, by being shewn the necessity of complying with the terms of the original confederacy, and that the dissolution of it must ensue, if *Groningen* did not pay its quota towards its support.

1601.  
Are  
checked  
by the  
*Dunkirk*  
private-  
ers.

During the winter of the year 1601, the *States* of *Holland* and *Zealand*, entered with a spirit astonishing to the princes of the *Orange* family, into the farther operations of the war, which was owing to the severe checks their trade had met with from the enemy's privateers. They proposed to attack *Dunkirk*, *Newport* and *Furnes*; but the plan was opposed by prince *Maurice*, who was for attacking *Sluys*, and for transferring the seat of war to *Flanders*, from whence their enemies drew their principal supplies, both of men and provisions. This plan was rejected, because it was to bring no relief to the merchants. On the 9th of *June*, the prince took upon himself the command of the army, which consisted of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, and a large train of artillery. After arriving at *Rammekins* by water, contrary winds obliged him to march through *Flanders*. In his march, he took the forts of *Oudenberg*, *Snafckesk*, and *Budeno*; and at last, *Fort Albert* in the neighbourhood of *Ostend*, which was then garrisoned by *English* soldiers. Those forts were all retaken by the archduke *Albert*, who trode upon his heels with a superior army, whose mutinous spirit, he had found means to subdue. *Albert's* progress was so rapid, that his troops took possession of *Leffingen*, and defeated a strong detachment, which, under prince *Ernest* of *Nassau*, came to take it. By *Albert's* expedition, *Maurice* found all his scheme disconcerted, and the former, on the 2d of *July*, encouraged by the alacrity of his men, resolved to attack him. *Maurice* was then marching towards *Ostend*, but *Albert's* army coming in sight, he made ready to fight it, before his own army should know of *Ernest's* defeat. His vanguard was led by prince *Lewis* of *Nassau*, but the chief strength

of it lay in the *English*, commanded by Sir *Frances Vere*. The Prince chief dispute lay between *Vere* and the *Spaniards*, and he drove *Maurice* back their cavalry; the foot, however, supported the latter so gains the well, that *Vere* was wounded and in danger of being taken battle of prisoner, when he was disengaged by the main body, under *Neuport*, prince *Maurice*; the battle then became general; the heat of the action lasted three hours, and the impenetrable discipline of the *Italian* and *Spanish* veterans, must in the end have proved victorious, had not the sailors, who served the artillery of the confederates, opened the ranks of the enemy, by four field pieces. This first put them in disorder, which prince *Maurice* improved by a vigorous charge in person, and thereby gained a complete victory. In this battle, which was fought near *Neuport*, from which it has its name, 5000, others say 3000 *Spaniards* were killed, or taken prisoners, while the loss of the confederates amounted to 1500; but 800 of them were *English*; archduke *Albert* was slightly wounded; the two best *Spanish* generals, *Mendoza* and *Zapena*, were made prisoners: By this battle, the confederates obtained an undisputed victory, but with great loss to themselves.

Though the selfishness and obstinacy of the *Dutch* field deputies, who controuled prince *Maurice*, had brought him into the critical situation out of which he had escaped, yet he dissembled all the provocation he met with, and applied himself to appease some tumults that had risen among the soldiers, on account of the disposal of the prisoners. *Zapena* died of his wounds; and *Maurice* was not more beloved for his humanity and modesty, than he was revered for the piety and devotion of his behaviour. *Albert*, retiring from the battle, had an interview with his archdutchess, who behaved with surprizing intrepidity on the occasion, and by collecting together the remains of his army, and some troops under *Velasco*, he reinforced the *Spanish* forts that lay in the neighbourhood of *Ostend*, and the garrison of *Neuport*, which on the 16th of July, was invested by prince *Maurice*, but he was obliged to raise the siege, and finding himself severely reproached by the *States* for not pursuing the enemy, and for remaining three days inactive in *Ostend*, he sent his troops into winter-quarters. During the winter, negotiations for peace were renewed, but to no purpose, and the *States* of the *Spanish* provinces, renewed their complaints with greater vigour than ever, against the continuance of foreign troops in their country. The broken conferences being broken off, the privateering war by sea was resumed, and the *Dutch* fishing-busses met with a severe blow from *Wakena*, the *Flemish* admiral. This loss, however, did not impede the vast profits, even to the amount of 400 l. per cent. which the subjects of the *United Provinces* continued to gain upon their *East India* trade; but their fleet, which was destined for the *South Seas*, never could pass the *Straits of Magellan*.

The



Operati- The rest of the winter was consumed in surprizing, or  
ons of war buying, little garrisons on both sides, and in settling a cartel  
during the for the exchange of prisoners. In the spring of the year, the  
winter.

*States* renewed their imposts, and received a large sum of money from *France*, for carrying on the war with more vigour than ever. Money was borrowed at a vast interest from the *East India* traders, and prince *Eugene*, after defeating a body of the enemy's horse, besieged and took *Rhimberg*. Archduke *Albert* was at this time employed in forming the siege of *Ostend*, the most important of any that happened during that age. By the taking of *Rhimberg*, *Overyssel* was covered from the ravages of the *Spaniards*; and queen *Elizabeth* was so well pleased with the spirit which the *States General* discovered, that she allowed Sir *Francis Vere* to levy some fresh troops in *England*, with whom he threw himself into *Ostend*. It would be difficult to assign any other cause than the obstinacy of *Albert* and his wife, for prosecuting this siege to such extremities as they did. It was open by sea to the succours thrown into it by the *English* and the *Dutch*; its situation, rather than its fortifications, made it next to impregnable by land, and prince *Maurice* commanded the *Flemish* provinces. On the 1st of *November* he besieged *Bolduc*, with 7000 foot and 3000 horse; but the obstinate defence of the besieged, and the reinforcements they received, obliged him to give over his enterprize towards the end of the campaign. The inclemency of the season did not discourage archduke *Albert* from the siege of *Ostend*. The lives of whole armies were thrown away upon it in vain, fresh works seemed to start up behind the ruins that were made by the *Spanish* artillery, and *Vere* encouraged his troops to defend the place, with a spirit next to enthusiasm. *Albert* resolved upon a general assault, of which *Vere* was informed by a deserter. He found means to amuse the archduke with proposals of a capitulation, which might save the lives of many brave men on both sides. The negotiation continued till he had completed the fresh works he was raising, and received new reinforcements, and then the operations of the siege recommenced. *Albert* was incensed beyond measure at having been imposed upon, and resolved upon a general assault, under one *Mexia*, a *Spanish* officer, and though executed with all imaginable intrepidity, proved ineffectual, and cost him 1000 of his best men. The rigorous season coming on, *Albert* was so far from taking the advice of his best generals, that he repaired to *Ghent* to concert measures for carrying it on with redoubled vigour. During his absence, the *Dutch* sent a fresh garrison into *Ostend*, while Sir *Francis Vere*, with his emaciated troops, joined the army under prince *Maurice*.

The siege  
of *Ostend*  
formed,

and obli-  
nately  
prosecut-  
ed.

Prince  
*Maurice*  
marches  
to relieve  
it.

It soon appeared, that the *Spanish Netherlands* were as much as ever under the direction of the court of *Spain*. Their *States* remonstrated against the madness of prosecuting the siege of *Ostend*, and refused the sums demanded by the archduke for that purpose. The direction of the siege and war,

was

was now committed to the marquis of *Spinola*, the only general in *Europe*, who was capable to make head against prince *Maurice*. He brought with him, out of *Italy*, 8000 foot, and baffled all prince *Maurice's* endeavours to intercept him. The prince was then, against his better judgment, obliged to undertake a march through *Brabant* and *Flanders* to the relief of *Ossend*. The *States* pressed this march the more obstinately, as they were not without hopes, that the natives of the *Spanish Netherlands* might be excited to insurrections, by manifestoes to be dispersed by the prince. This expedient failed, and the continuance of the march was found impracticable. Near *Tillemont*, *Mendoza* had, with 14,000 men, taken possession of a pass, by which the prince must march; but *Maurice* found he could not force it, upon which a council of war was held, and it was resolved to besiege *Grave*, one of the strongest places in the *Netherlands*. The operations for carrying on the siege were so judicious, that *Mendoza* could neither raise it nor succour the town, which was provided of a strong garrison, under an excellent officer, and it capitulated. The wants of the *Spanish* court still continued, and their *Italian* soldiers in the *Low Countries*, mutinied for want of pay. They put great part of *Brabant* under contribution, took post near *Breda*, where they held a correspondence with the garrison, as they had another with prince *Maurice*, who encouraged them in their revolt. The garrisons of *Antwerp* and *Wuert* followed their example, and *Mendoza* finding it impossible for the archduke to pay his troops, quitted his command. The archduke had recourse to violent means, and proscribed the mutineers. This severity seemed to confirm them in their revolt; but they proceeded with the utmost regularity and military discipline among themselves. The *States* of the *Spanish Netherlands* would have satisfied their demands, but severe measures alone would go down with the archduke. He sent one of his generals, *Frederic de Berg*, with 7000 men to reduce them; but they were relieved by prince *Maurice*. Being strangers, and violent papists, they were unwilling, formally, to join the protestants, and being in a manner, at last, left to themselves, the pope's nuncio interceded with the archduke, and a considerable sum being advanced to them, they were pardoned.

Mutiny of  
the *Italian*  
troops in  
the *Spanish*  
service.

About this time, an ambassador from the king of *Achem*, an The eastern prince, arrived in *Holland*, in a *Dutch* fleet, laden States re- with the riches of *India*, and the *Dutch East India* company, ceive an which has since proved the source of strength and riches to ambassa- their state, was established. They became in a manner mas- dor from ters of the island of *Ternate*, one of the *Moluccas*, by support- the king- ing the natives in a war against a neighbouring prince; and of *Achem*. upon the return of the *Achem* ambassador, all the people of those islands and countries conceived very different ideas from what they had entertained before of the power of the *States*, which they now believed to be equal to that of the *Portuguese*

and *Germans*. In short, the more that the wealth and greatness of the seven *United Provinces* advanced, the more did they forget the original maxims of their constitution, which were humble, simple and frugal; for their great men breathed nothing now but eternal war against *Spain*. *England* was likewise making a progress in foreign commerce, but it was far from being so considerable as that of the *Dutch*; and *France* was preparing to imitate the example of both. As the successes of all three depended on the ruin of the *Spanish* and *Portuguese* trade, each of them concurred in maintaining the war.

The siege  
of *Ostend*  
continu-  
ed.

1604.

Prince  
*Maurice*  
takes  
*Sluys*.

The *Spaniards* were all this while gaining inch by inch upon the garrison of *Ostend*, which, by still substituting new works, instead of those they had lost, was now reduced into a very narrow compass. The governor was a *Dutchman*, one *Vander Noot*, and one *Rivas* carried on the siege with more effect than ever. *Pompey Torgou*, an excellent engineer in the *Spanish* service, raised amazing works for cutting off the communication of the garrison with the sea, but they were soon destroyed by the fury of the winds and waves. *Rivas* discouraged, resigned his command to *Spinola*, and his thirst of glory induced him to accept of it in *October*, 1604. As he proceeded upon different principles from those of his predecessors, and was possessed of a far superiour genius, prince *Maurice*, as well as the *States General*, thought that the loss of *Ostend* must be inevitable, unless some vigorous effort was made to give *Spinola* a diversion. The siege of *Sluys* was proposed, and undertaken by *Maurice* and other princes of the house of *Orange*. *Maurice* proceeded in it, though with great abilities and vigour, in a manner that increased the suspicions of the *States* deputies, that he was not in earnest about finishing a war, on the continuance of which, the future greatness of his house depended. He proceeded step by step, instead of rapidly falling all at once on the main body of the place, which being unprovided for a siege, must have surrendered, and *Spinola* being cut off from his provisions, must consequently have abandoned the siege of *Ostend*. At last, however, *Spinola* made an attempt upon prince *Maurice's* army, but without effect, and without relaxing in his operations before *Ostend*, which were farther advanced by him in a few weeks than they had been by his predecessors in two years. Upon *Spinola's* retreat, the garrison of *Sluys*, which consisted of 4000 men, but emaciated with famine and sickness, capitulated. The reduction of *Sluys* did vast honour to the military character of prince *Maurice*, but raised such an emulation in *Spinola*, that after the most amazing effects of mining and engineering, in which several successive sets of *Dutch* governors and officers were killed, the survivors sent a message, to prince *Maurice*, for leave to surrender. This was granted, and on the 20th of *September*, 1604, *Ostend* obtained an honourable capitulation, after sustaining a siege of three years, which, besides incredible sums of money, cost the lives of 100,000 of the bravest troops in

*Europe*.



*Europe.* But we are now to attend operations of a different kind.

On the 24th of *March*, 1603, died queen *Elizabeth* of *Eng-* Death of  
land, the friend and protectress of the *States* of the *United* queen  
*Provinces*, though their governors secretly thought her their *Elizabeth*.  
tyrant. They were strangers to the character of her successor,  
*James I.* which, at his succession to the crown of *England*,  
was rather favourable, than otherwise, in the eye of the pu-  
blic. *Henry IV.* of *France* knew it better, and endeavoured  
to bring *James* over to a league against both branches of the  
house of *Austria*. The *States General* sent a deputation, with  
*Barneveldt* at its head, to co-operate with the *French* ambas- The *States*  
sador, the marquis de *Rosni*, afterwards the famous duke of *Sully*; apply to  
and the duke of *Aremberg* was resident at the same court, from her suc-  
archduke *Albert*, who had now no hope of issue by *Isabella*, cesssor,  
and consequently his dominions were to revert to the crown of *James I.*  
*Spain*. *James* gave a favourable reception to them all; but  
was shy of declaring his sentiments upon foreign affairs. He  
was so far swayed by *Rosni*, that he gave licence for *Buckleugh*,  
a *Scotch* gentleman, to raise 2000 men in *Scotland*, for the ser-  
vice of the confederate *States*; he assigned to them a consider-  
able sum, due to his crown from *Henry*, and he entered into  
a defensive league with *France* against *Spain*. The deputies of  
the *States* behaved to him with great submission, and laid be-  
fore him the expences they had been at in equipping a strong  
squadron of ships, then lying in the *Downs*, at the request of  
his predecessor. Though *James* returned only general answers  
to their applications, yet it is certain the *English* and *Scots*  
auxiliaries were the chief instruments of prince *Maurice's*  
successes in the *Low Countries*; but the deputies soon discover-  
ed, that *James* had an irresistible bias towards peace with  
*Spain*, and that a most magnificent deputation for that pur-  
pose was already arrived in *England* from that king, and the  
archduke. This occasioned the *States* giving *James* some  
marks of disrespect, which he resented, and which at last  
manifested their ingratitude, particularly their affronting his  
general, Sir *Francis Vere*, who, thereupon, left their ser-  
vice.

*John de Velasco*, constable of *Castile*, was at the head of the who nego-  
*Spanish* deputation, and he demanded at first, that the *English* tiates with  
should break off all communication and commerce with the the *Spa-*  
subjects of the *United Provinces*. Failing in this, he offered to niards.  
lay down the money that had been advanced for the caution-  
ary towns, provided they were put into his master's hands.  
The *English* plenipotentiaries seemed not to discourage this  
proposal, if their subjects were admitted to a share of the  
*Spanish West India* trade. This was rejected on the part of the  
*Spaniards*, but the peace was at last concluded, in terms which  
left the honour of *James* entire, as to any imputation from the  
*Dutch*, of breach of faith, though it is certain, that by some  
of its articles, he shewed himself disposed to continue the de-  
pendence

The war  
continued

between  
*Spinola*  
and prince  
*Maurice*.

Operati-  
ons by sea.

pendence of the *States* upon *England*, and to force them, if he should think proper, from their warlike system.

After the reduction of *Ostend*, which was now a heap of ruins, where scarcely the vestige of a fortification remained, *Spinola* repaired to *Spain*, and persuaded that king to a new plan of operations, by carrying the war across the *Rhine*, instead of attacking the *Hollanders* on the side of *Zealand*. *Spinola*, after obtaining all the honours and powers he could wish for from *Philip*, with large sums of money for paying his troops, upon his return, found them far gone in a mutiny, and that many of them had actually entered into the service of the confederate *States*; the power of the archduke, through his poverty, being now despicable among all parties. The money *Spinola* brought along with him reclaimed them to their duty, and his activity, with his high reputation, soon put him at the head of a formidable army. The prize of war was now disputed in the *Low Countries*, between the two greatest generals of their age, prince *Maurice*, and *Spinola*, who had been declared commander in chief of the *Spanish* and *Italian* troops. *Maurice* attempted to surprize *Antwerp*, but failed in the execution, through no fault of his own. He then attempted to carry the war into *Flanders*, that he might disconcert *Spinola*'s plan, but he was every where counteracted by that able general. *Buquoy*, who commanded under *Spinola*, seized upon *Keiserfweart*, which obliged *Maurice* to send off a large detachment towards the *Rhine*. *Spinola*, all of a sudden, abandoned his proposed operations, and in a most masterly manner, on the 24th of *July*, he crossed the *Rhine*, with an intention of traversing the dutchy of *Cleves*, and attacking the provinces of *Friesland* and *Overyssel*, which by an unaccountable fatality had been left uncovered by the *States*. In his march through *Cleves*, his discipline was so exact and regular, that he extorted praise even from his enemies, and with great rapidity, before prince *Maurice* could march to their relief, he seized *Linguen*, and many other places of importance in *Overyssel*. If *Spinola* committed any fault during this expedition, it was his being too solicitous in securing his retreat, in case he should be beat in the field. Upon the arrival of prince *Maurice* in *Overyssel*, the progress of *Spinola* was checked, but the prince failed in an attempt to surprize the *Spanish* army, in which the loss was pretty equal on both sides. The victory, however, certainly fell to *Spinola*, for he soon after besieged and took *Wachtendonck*.

Those two great men were not only similar in their martial genius, but in their political situations; for each had enemies with their respective principals. The court of *Spain* was prevailed upon by those of *Spinola*, to retard the payment of his troops, and the *States* of the *Spanish Netherlands* would contribute nothing towards paying his army; both which circumstances, rendered it every hour liable to fresh mutinies. Prince *Maurice* was in a still more undesirable situation, being not

only

only distrustful, but controuled by the *States* deputies in all his operations, and an unsuccessful attempt he made upon *Gueldres*, threw him under still farther disadvantages. The *Dutch* commerce this year, was carried to an inconceivable height. They had made vast captures of *Spanish* and *Portuguese* ships in the *East Indies*, and the ships which arrived in their ports this year, were more rich and numerous than those of the preceding. *James*, since the late treaty with *Spain*, had permitted his subjects, both by sea and land, to enter into the service of that crown, and of the archduke, and had even suffered them to raise levies in his dominions. The *English* harbours were, by the late treaty, open equally to *Spanish* and *Dutch* ships; but the *Dutch*, without any regard to that, treated all *English* ships which were in the service of the *Spaniards*, or the archduke, as enemies. A fleet of transports, with troops on board for *Spinola*, were intercepted coming from *Lisbon*, by the *Dutch*, who sunk five of them and drove the other five into the harbour of *Dover*, and even there the *Dutch* admiral proceeded to hostilities. *James* affected to resent those violences, but the *States General* defended themselves under the plea, that most of the transports were *English*, and therefore ought not to be employed in that service.

The disregard of the *States* towards *James* was increased, *James I.* by his giving leave to count *Arundel* of *Wardour*, to command a regiment of 1500 *English*, and the lord *Hume* 1000 the *Spaniards*. favours the *Spaniards*. *Scots*, in the archduke's service. The *Dutch* treated the *Dunkirk* privateers, of whatever nation they were, as pirates, by hanging them up as soon as they were caught, and justified themselves by the law of nations; and the *States General*, through *Henry IV.* of *France*, knew that the friendship of *James* was now held cheap at the court of *Spain*. In the beginning of the year 1606, the frugality of the provincial deputies of the confederates refused to raise the sums necessary for terminating the war in their favour; while *Spinola*, who had conquered all opposition at the court of *Spain*, was so plentifully supplied with money, that had he not been prevented by a fever which seized him, and the dilatory proceedings of the *Spaniards*, he would, probably, that year have given a considerable, if not a fatal, blow to the independency of the confederate *States*. *Spinola* having recovered, took the field with two armies well provided in every respect. One commanded by himself, consisting of 12,000 foot and 2000 horse, and the other headed by *Bugoy*, of 10,000 foot and 1200 horse. *Maurice*, though inferior in numbers, frustrated many of *Spinola's* schemes, but could not prevent him from taking *Grol* and *Rhimberg*.

After those conquests, the disappointment of remittances *Spinola* from *Spain*, created fresh discontents in *Spinola's* army, 2000 distressed of whom actually marched towards *Breda*, where they were for money. sure of being protected. *Maurice* endeavoured to avail himself of this mutiny, but through the vigilance of *Spinola*, he failed



failed in an attempt he made to retake *Grol*, and his prudent backwardness to fight *Spinola*, who relieved the place, augmented the clamour of his enemies against his conduct and designs. It happened, fortunately for *Maurice*, that the mutinous spirit which still continued in *Spinola's* army, obliged him to discontinue his operations, and to return to *Brussels*, where his personal credit and character with his troops, were so great, that he persuaded them, on promising that they should be speedily paid, to return to his standards; but the court of *Spain* not enabling him to discharge his engagements, he comforted himself with the reflection, that *Maurice* was under the like difficulty, and from the like causes; and thus the campaign ended.

on account of  
their ships  
taken by  
the Dutch.

The indigence of the court of *Spain* was owing in a great measure to the numerous captures at sea by the *Dutch*, who intercepted and destroyed their fleets coming from the *East* and *West Indies*. The *Spanish* admiral, by his master's orders, hanged, by way of reprimand, all the *Dutch* seamen he took. This brought on a war, that was advantageous to neither party, but by the ruin of the other. The *Spaniards* suffered their richest ships to be sunk or blown up, rather than they should fall into the hands of the *Dutch*, whose admiral, *Hautain*, with their grand fleet, was disappointed in an attempt he made upon the *Caracca* fleet in the *Tagus*, and was preparing to return home, when he discovered eight capital galleons bound for *Spain*. On their being attacked by *Hautain*, six of them escaped, and two perished upon the rocks, without being of any service to the *Dutch*. After this, *Hautain's* squadron was reduced to thirteen sail by a storm; but a new booty appeared of eighteen *Spanish* galleons, under *Don Faisardo*, escorted by nine men of war. The greatness of the booty animated the *Dutch*. *Classen*, one of their admirals, being beset by five of the enemy's ships, and reduced to a wreck, chose to blow it up, with its brave crew of soldiers and sailors, rather than fall into the hands of the *Spaniards*; and *Hautain*, being unable to continue the fight, the *Spaniards* proceeded on their voyage.

A peace  
proposed  
between  
the Dutch  
and Spaniards.

The vast remittances that *Philip* received from the *West Indies*, could neither discharge his debts nor his engagements, and he began now to give way to pacific councils towards the *United Provinces*; it being more eligible for *Spain*, that they should remain independent, than that they should put themselves under the protection of the house of *Bourbon*, which must have been the case, had they been rendered desperate. Those sentiments were cherished by the archduke, his wife, and *Spinola* himself; and it now appeared that the principal difficulties of a peace arose from the *Dutch* traders, who had made immense fortunes by war. Commissioners arrived at the *Hague*, from the archduke, to propose a congress; but they were received by the *States* deputies in so discouraging a manner, that they returned to *Brussels* without opening their

1607.

their instructions. They renewed their applications. but in the beginning of the year 1607, the archduke's deputies were informed by the *States*, that they would enter into no new negotiation of peace, in which their independency was not established as a preliminary. One *Neyen*, an ecclesiastic, was by the archduke employed in renewing the negotiation, but was unable to get over that obstacle, though his personal interest was very great with the *States*. The reader may easily form a judgment of the arguments made use of by both sides on this occasion; it is therefore needless to repeat them. The firmness of the *States* prevailed; and *Neyen* was sent back with full power to treat with them as a free state, over whom, neither the king of *Spain* nor the archduke had any sovereignty; provided his proposals were accepted in eight days. On the 13th of *March*, and the 24th of *April*, the point of sovereignty was adjusted, and agreed upon by both parties. The consequence was, that a suspension of arms for eight months was published on both sides, without either the kings of *France* or *England* knowing any thing of the matter, and a congress was appointed for a definitive treaty; but in the mean while, limits and boundaries were settled.

The kings of *France* and *England*, though nettled at this Progress great event, agreed to send ambassadors to the future congress. and dissuaded *James*, at the same time, reproached the ministers of *Spain*, for culies of their having kept him so long in the dark, and they were at the negotiation. The *States*, though fond of wealth, were afraid, lest the continuance of the war should render prince *Maurice*, who was already stadtholder of four of their provinces, their sovereign. Their jealousy of the power of *France* encreased in proportion, as their dread of the house of *Austria* declined. *England*, it is true, might still have been formidable to them, through the great debt they owed her, and her being in possession of the cautionary towns; but they knew the pusillanimity of *James* too well to fear him. The pacific part of the *States General*, therefore, met with their chief opposition from prince *Maurice*, and the *Orange* family, whose interest it was that the war should be continued, and they puzzled every step of the negotiation. The party for peace chose *Barneveldt* the pensionary and chief magistrate of *Holland*, the wisest and worthiest man of the confederacy, to be their head; and at last, a declaration, confirming what the archduke had done, came over from the court of *Spain*; but it was objected to, on the part of the *States*, and a copy of one more precise, was given by them to *Verreiken*, the archduke's ambassador, as being what they required. This copy was dictated by the influence of the *Orange* faction, and contained articles relating to religion, which bade fair to stop all farther proceedings. Various other expedients were practised by the *Orange* faction, to embarrass the treaty; and the *German* emperor pre- tended

tended, that as the *United Provinces* had formerly belonged to his empire, they could not be declared free without his consent; but this claim was treated by the *States* with contempt.

A short  
armistice  
concluded.

1608.

In the mean while, the king of *Spain's* ratification of what had been concluded on, arrived at the *Hague*; and notwithstanding the opposition made by the house of *Orange*, on account of some omissions, it was voted by the *States* to be a sufficient ground for a definitive treaty. By this time, the term of the armistice was expired, and the archduke required that it should be prolonged for a month, and at the same time, he nominated his plenipotentiaries for the congress, the chief of whom was *Spinola* himself. They arrived at the *Hague*, in the beginning of the year 1608, and were well received by the *States*, who had beforehand engaged the *French* king to be guarantee of the future treaty, in case it should be violated by the *Spaniards*. *William of Nassau* and *Brederode*, were appointed by six of the provinces, to confer with the *Spanish* deputies; but the interests of *Holland* were committed to *Barneveldt*; and before the conferences were opened, the *Dutch* deputies obtained a formal acknowledgment, that they were treated with, as representing a free and an independent *State*. After various points had been given up by the *Spanish*, and the archduke's deputies, the *Dutch* demanded, that they should either have liberty to trade with both the *Indies* after a peace was settled, or during the time that the truce should be concluded for, or that the war might continue on the other side of the tropics, though a peace should be agreed upon on this side. The *Dutch* deputies stood out so firmly for having one or other of those conditions granted, that the *Spaniards* would have then broken off the treaty had it not been for the moderation of *Spinola*. At last a truce for a number of years was proposed, but that the independency of the *States* should be acknowledged by *Spain*, even after its expiration. Prince *Maurice* was afraid that this condition would be agreed to, and did all he could to interrupt the negotiation; but his most popular arguments arose from certain articles, with which it was clogged by the *Spaniards* in favour of the *Roman* catholic religion.

The ne-  
gociation  
interrupt-  
ed,

Those altercations employed the deputies so long, that, at last, the conferences actually broke off. The *Spaniards* endeavoured to bring the *French* king over, but in vain, to their interests. His ambassador, the president *Jeannin*, was for a truce, in which he was seconded by *Barneveldt*, who laid open, in very strong terms, the ambition of prince *Maurice* and the *Orange* family. Both parties appealed to the pres; the life of *Barneveldt* was threatened, and it was only at the earnest request of the deputies that he returned to the assembly of the *States*. When he resumed his seat, his arguments and eloquence were so irresistible, that all the provinces, excepting *Zealand*, agreed to accept of a truce for twelve years; but so

high



high did disputes run, that the finishing hand was not put to the negotiation till the 9th of *April*, 1609.

1609.

The tediousness of this negotiation discovered the original and the flaw of the constitution of the *United Provinces*, in the necessity they were under of being unanimous in their public resolutions. *Zealand* had opposed the negotiation because it was entirely devoted to the *Orange* family, and the natives had acquired immense riches by the war, especially at sea. By the treaty of truce, the archduke, in his own and the king of *Spain's* name, renounced all right of sovereignty over the *States*. Each party was to possess, during the truce, what they then held. A general amnesty, on both sides, was stipulated, and a freedom of trade by sea and land, consequently in the *Indies*, was established. By other articles of the treaty, the reciprocal commercial duties to be paid on both sides were settled. The house of *Orange*, prince *Maurice* in particular, was nobly rewarded by the *States* for their services in the cause of public liberty and the head of it, and *Philip* now reentered into possession of his patrimonial estates in *Burgundy* and the *Spanish Netherlands*.

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*The History of the UNITED PROVINCES.*

BOOK III.

**D**URING the long disputes that succeeded the first proposal of a pacification between *Spain* and the *States-General*, the *Dutch* lost no opportunity of distressing the *Spanish* commerce and improving their own. They planned a *West-India* company that was to trade to *Africa*, and suggested the first idea of an *African* company in *England*. Their famous admiral *Hemskirk* attacked a rich *Spanish* fleet in the bay of *Gibraltar*, and losing his life in the engagement, he was succeeded by *Verhoef*, another brave commander, who killed the *Spanish* admiral and saw his fleet destroyed by its own sailors and the garrison of *Gibraltar*, so that no part of it fell into the hands of the *Dutch*. The ocean was now covered with their fleets and armaments, and the period between the year 1560 to that of 1609 is, perhaps, the most remarkable in history, upon many accounts, all which took their rise from the revolt of the *United Provinces*, till then containing but a small and despicable portion of territory. The arts of commerce, navigation, and war by sea and land, were now brought to a perfection which, perhaps, they have not since exceeded. Seminaries of learning were founded and flourished in the *United Provinces*, amidst the horrors of war; new countries were explored; new channels of trade were opened; the *Low Countries* was the school in which the most illustrious pupils from all parts of *Europe* were fitted for the service of their own

own countries, in the field ; nor was their education thought compleat till they had borne arms under either a *Spanish* or a *Dutch* general. This concourse of noble personages from different quarters had a considerable effect in softening the manners and dissipating the prejudices which the several nations of *Europe* had, till then, against one another ; but, on the other hand, the return of so many experienced officers to their several courts and countries had afterwards a fatal effect upon the quiet of *Europe*.

Obligations of the *Dutch* to *James* I.

As the *Dutch* are by no means famed for national gratitude, their historians have carefully concealed that the acquisition of their independency and tranquillity was owing chiefly to the steadiness of *James* I. It appears from unquestionable authorities, that *Spain* had negociated so effectually with *Henry* IV. of *France*, that he advised the *States* to conclude a truce without any direct acknowledgment of their independency, and this measure was strongly enforced by the president *Jeannin* to the *States*. *James* continued the firm friend of their independency, notwithstanding the tempting baits thrown out to him by *Spain*. This conduct of *France* had encouraged the *Spaniards* more than once to retract the acknowledgment of the independency of the *States*, and that they obtained it at last through the generous friendship of *James* is proved by his concluding in the year 1608 two treaties with the *States*, the substance of which we shall here give, though omitted by *Dutch* historians.

Contents of two treaties between them.

By the first article of the first treaty, all treaties between the two parties were confirmed. By the second, *James* engaged to furnish 20 ships from 300 to 600 tons, well victualled armed and manned, and 6,000 foot, with 4,000 horse, to be paid by him, and employed against any power whatsoever who should disturb their peace with *Spain*, in case it should take place. By the third article, the expence of those auxiliaries was to be defrayed within five years after the war was finished. By the fourth article, *James* engaged himself, instantly, to furnish his assistance, if the parties attempting to break the peace could not be prevailed with by fair means to desist in three months after they were required so to do. By the fifth article, the *States General* are bound, in case *James* is attacked, to assist him with the same number of ships of the like force, 4,000 foot, and 300 cavalry, and the like terms are stipulated for their re-payment. By the other articles, this treaty was to be perpetual ; nor was either party to make peace with the aggressor without the consent of the other ; nor was the treaty to be prejudicial to the defensive one made between the *States* and the king of *France*.

By the other treaty, concluded between *James* and the *States* at the same time, it was agreed, that the liquidated debt of 818,408 *l.* sterling should be defrayed by the *States* in half yearly payments of 30,000 *l.* and all the privileges of the

the *English* merchants in the *United Provinces* were to be inviolably confirmed.

*James* drew many reproaches upon himself not only from *Spain*, but *France*, on account of this treaty, and for some time he was addressed by the *Dutch*, as being their only support and dependence. But the return of tranquillity had almost ruined the *Dutch*, whose independency was born, and whose glory flourished amidst the tumults of one of the most consuming wars that history can produce.

They began now to be infected with pride and ambition; *The Dutch* their independency inspired them with insolence towards the other sovereign powers of *Europe*, and impelled by the princes of *Orange*, they took part in their quarrels. The reader, in the foregoing history of *Germany*, will find a detail of the disputes concerning the succession to the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*, and the conduct of the *Dutch* in that affair. Prince *Maurice*, at the head of their troops, took garrisoned *Juliers*; but the more masterly operations of *Spina* (whose master, the archduke, thought that their conduct was an infraction of the neutrality) in taking *Wesel*, obliged them to seek to return to a good understanding with their new ally, who had now opened a way into their provinces. They were obliged to have recourse to the mediation of *England* and *France*, and to make the most abject submissions to *Albert* before he would admit them to a reconciliation. The truth is, they had been drawn, with some reluctance, into the war, by the overbearing authority of *Maurice*; and their most sensible members were not sorry that he was mortified, though it was through the sides of the *States*. The assassination of *Henry IV.* of *France* probably saved the house of *Austria* at this time, and occasioned a great turn in the affairs of *Europe*, but did not alter the steady conduct of *James* towards the *States*, who had now a more dreadful enemy to contend with than ever, we mean civil dissention, which secretly arose from ambition and revenge, but publickly from the most absurd and ridiculous motive, the controverted and inscrutable points of religion.

The professional chairs in the universities of the *United Provinces*, since their foundation, had been filled generally by Calvinists. One *James Armenius*, a *Hollander*, getting possession of the divinity chair at *Leyden*, taught the doctrine of free agency, which was considered as a schism in the church of *Holland*. As no disputes are more cruel than those of religion, the subjects of the *States General* were soon split into two parties, the *Armenians* and the *Gomarists*; so called from *Gomar*, another professor, who taught predestination. *Barneveldt*, in his private opinion, was a *Gomarist*, and prince *Maurice* an *Armenian*; but *Armenianism* being espoused by the most sensible and respectable members of the *States*, and *Gomarism* by the clergy and common people; prince *Maurice* headed the *Gomarists*, as *Barneveldt* the *Armenians*, though each acted in



which is  
filled with  
religious  
disputes.

Their fa-  
tal effects  
on the  
public  
peace.

in direct contradiction to his private opinion. The acrimony and bitterness with which the dispute was carried on, especially by the *Gomarists*, soon affected the civil government. *Grotius* and *Vossius*, both of them celebrated authors, wrote admirably in favour of the *Armenians*. *James I.* and the archbishop of *Canterbury*, opposed them with great zeal, and supported prince *Maurice*. In a short time, the dispute came to be political as well as theological, and the forms of the republic added to its misfortunes. Each city possessing within itself independent powers, punished or protected either the *Armenians* or the *Gomarists*, as the people or their magistrates were affected towards either, till the prisons of *Holland* were filled with the professors and disciples of both. Among the *Gomarists* were a great number of *French* and *German* protestants, who had imbibed, even to enthusiasm, an aversion towards *Spain*; and prince *Maurice*, well knowing the effects of popular clamour, encouraged them in declaring that the *Armenians*, whose principles were more moderate, were friends to that court, and enemies to the liberty of their country. Matters soon came to such a head, that the military power interposed. Prince *Maurice* was befriended by *James*; he was at the head of the army, and he was sure of the people, who were every where rebelling against, and deposing, their *Armenian* magistrates and substituting others in their room, so as to secure a majority in the *States General*. In those violences they were protected and encouraged by prince *Maurice*, whose conduct on this occasion was indefensible.

In the populous city of *Utrecht*, the people displaced their magistrates, and seemed to be actuated by no principle but fury against the civil power. Their tumults ran so high, that prince *Maurice* and deputies from the *States* repaired to their city, but they could not obtain a hearing, and were expelled out of it with ignominy. The *Utrecht*ers were censured for this conduct by the *States General*, but this seemed only to encrease their fury, and the *States*, at last, ordered a body of troops to invest their city. This reduced the rioters to order; they made their submissions to the *States General*; their magistrates were deposed, and tranquillity was restored to the city. This did not continue long; the people formed a conspiracy to become masters of the garrison; but it was discovered, prevented, and punished. Some busy heads now suggested doubts of a new and more dangerous kind. It was debated, how far the civil power had a right to restrain either the tongues or the consciences of the clergy, or indeed to intermeddle at all in religious affairs. This partly arose from a proposition made by *Barneveldt*, that the *States* should enact certain ecclesiastical laws, which would have given a mortal blow to the authority and interest of the *Orange* faction, and it required all the abilities and power of prince *Maurice* to prevent his project from taking place. The two parties had now lost their names; that of the *Armenians* were called re-

monstrants,

monstrants, and that of the *Gomarists* contra-remonstrants. This change of denominations seemed to re-kindle their animosities. The venerable character, the disinterested conduct, the wisdom and moderation of *Barneveldt*, continued to balance the power of prince *Maurice*, who endeavoured to make him his friend. *Barneveldt* spoke of the prince's family in the most respectful terms, and professed himself ready to exert all his power in aggrandizing it, provided he could do it consistently with the duty he owed his country. *Maurice*, after this, had recourse to the most profound dissimulation, and pretended to agree to all *Barneveldt*'s moderate proposals for a general toleration in religion; but at the same time he was meditating the old man's ruin. The contra-remonstrants, though they could be familiar with *Jews*, *Infidels*, and *Mohometans*, who lived among them, made it a matter of conscience to exterminate the remonstrants. Volumes of treatises, and thousands of pamphlets, were every day published on each side of the question. The *States*, with *Barneveldt* at their head, continued to labour with indefatigable moderation, but all their endeavours came to nothing, through the pride and obstinacy of divines and disputants, and the secret practices of the house of *Orange*. The demagogues of faction directed their most envenomed shafts against *Barneveldt*, whom they accused of treason towards his country. The nobles and magistracy of *Holland* were treated with equal scurrility, and it was now plain, that the liberty of the press was the root of all the licentiousness that had engendered and fomented the public commotions.

A people whose government, like that of *Holland*, had been founded upon resistance to their former sovereigns, could not easily adopt any idea of limiting that resistance in the case of their present magistrates. *Barneveldt* shewed the necessity of this, and of enacting some public law against libels and seditious publications. He was opposed by the magistrates of *Amsterdam* upon the principle we have hinted at, and though by the dint of reason and eloquence he afterwards obtained such a law, yet it never was put in execution, and some towns even refused to receive it. Prince *Maurice* thought it was now time to declare himself without the reserve he had before affected. The populace of *Amsterdam* had treated the remonstrants in a most atrocious manner, without their being able to procure any redress for their wounds. *Maurice*, finding the first town of the confederacy declare so openly in his favour, ordered a *French* contra-remonstrant preacher to be introduced into the *French* chapel at the *Hague*. This step, with the high declarations of the prince, intimidated the states of *Holland* from exercising their authority, and both they and *Barneveldt* were so grossly insulted, that they were forced to implore the protection of the prince, which was refused them. They endeavoured, according to the original plan of their constitution, by their own authority, to encrease their guards

*Barneveldt* heads the *Armenians*, and prince *Maurice* the *Gomarists*.

*Maurice* prevails.

Makes attempts on the liberty of his country.

and

and garrisons for their protection, but were intimidated by *Maurice*, who declared, that he would look upon such a proceeding, to be an invasion of his rights, as governor of the province, and in contempt of the remonstrances of the magistrates, he seized upon *Brill*, and soon after upon *Delf* and *Scheidam*.

His violence.

This violent and illegal proceeding was equally detrimental to the interest, as the reputation, of *Maurice*, because the most scrupulous now could have no doubt, that his true intention was to subvert the constitution of *Holland*, and the confederate provinces. The magistrates of *Leyden*, *Haerlem*, *Torgau*, and other towns, prepared either to divert him from his design, or to resist his attempts. He new modelled the magistracy of *Nimeguen*, and received the thanks of the *States* of *Guelderland* for the same. In short, he confounded all distinctions between the civil and military power; his sword gave law to the constitution of *Holland*, where he was resolved to obtain a majority of the *States*, that he might reach *Barneveldt's* head. That patriot was so much affected by the prospect of the ruin of that liberty, which he had assisted in establishing, that he was seized by a fever. Upon his recovery, he begged his dismissal from his office; but being prevailed upon by the *States* to keep it, he seemed to redouble his assiduity in the public service; and by the assistance of the *French* ambassador, *Maurier*, he restored tranquillity to the *States* of *Holland*, by establishing a general toleration in matters of religion. But it is proper in this period of our history, to premise certain facts, that the subsequent part of it may be the better understood.

*Barneveldt* attaches himself to *France*, and why.

From what we have already said, it is plain, that prince *Maurice* attempted to render himself master of *Holland* and the *Dutch* republic. *Barneveldt* and its other patriots, might easily have bid him defiance, had they attached themselves to *England* instead of *France*; and they had many reasons, besides those of gratitude, for pursuing such a measure; but they considered *England* now as the rival of their trade, and, that if they required her protection, they must submit to her dictates, in the only object that made even independency desirable to them. They had no rivalry of this kind to dread from *France*, whose situation was more convenient for their protection, than even that of *England*, possessed as they were of a great sea force; and by cultivating the friendship of *France*, they promoted their commerce, and had a far more ready and advantageous vent for their manufactures and commodities, than they could have by their connections with *Great Britain*. Such were the real motives of the two parties, the *French* and the *Orange*, that were now formed in the *Dutch* government; but little did their patriots then foresee, that a time would come, when the house of *Bourbon* would be as formidable to their liberties, as that of *Austria* had ever been;



been; and that they would at last be saved by the family of *Orange*.

*Maurice* proposed to the *States*, at *Overyffel*, that a national synod should be held; but he was now too much suspected by the *States* of *Holland*, to be attended to, as formerly. He continued to be supported and countenanced by *Carleton*, the *English* minister, and the attacks upon *Barneveldt's* person and reputation being renewed, that great man condescended to vindicate himself in print, by an admirable apology for his own conduct, in a state that ought to have erected statues to his honour, even before his death. He was answered only by railing accusations, which raised such a spirit in the *States* of *Holland*, that they directly attacked *Maurice's* conduct, and laid before him the late attempts that had been made upon their liberties, and advised him in very spirited terms to desist from such for the future, to restore their constitution to its original principles, and to redress public grievances; but above all, to relinquish his purpose of calling a national synod, which they said, was inconsistent with the terms of the union of *Utrecht*. The prince employed some of his furious ignorant divines to answer this remonstrance, which they did; but their reasoning was exposed, and destroyed by the excellent pen of *Grotius*. Various were the proposals for accommodation; but all of them were defeated by the obstinacy of *Amsterdam*, which, in conjunction with *Zealand*, *Groningen*, and *Friesland*, was rivetted to the interest of prince *Maurice*, and insisted upon a national synod; but were firmly opposed by the council of *State*, which very justly resented the disregard which the prince had here shewn for their authority. He had no recourse but the sword to carry his point of erecting himself the sovereign of the *United Provinces*. His superior power prevented them from augmenting their guards and garrisons, and he threatened to proceed against them as rebels, if they insisted upon that measure.

He, and the *States* of *Holland*, had audiences before the *States General* on that subject, but this served only to accelerate his ambitious projects, and to enforce his scheme of a national council, where he was sure to carry his point. The deputies of *Holland*, though convinced of his intentions, waited upon him in *Utrecht*, where he had met with a severe opposition, as the magistrates had raised guards for their own defence. He had recourse to arms, disarmed them and their garrison, and in effect annulled their privileges in their own town-house, by abolishing their annual council, and introducing one of his own choosing, which, by the plenitude of his own power, he declared to be perpetual. *Ledemberg*, the secretary, and faithful servant of the *States*, for thirty years, was obliged to resign his office, and to fly to the *Hague*, where, by *Maurice's* orders, he was arrested. The situation of the *States*, at this time, was deplorable, but not singular. They opposed remonstrances, compacts, provincial and civil privi-

*Maurice* proposes a national synod, which is opposed by the *States General*.

His disputes with the *States* of *Holland*.

His chief  
adver-  
saries com-  
mitted to  
prison.

*Barne-  
veldt* loses  
his head.

1619.  
His cha-  
racter.

leges, to arms, but in vain. Prince *Maurice* having subdued *Utrecht*, returned to the *Hague*, where he carried every thing by power, against authority. *Aersens*, secretary of state, a man of abilities, was the ready prompter and tool of his ambition, before which every thing plied; and in the month of *November*, the long contested synod assembled at *Dort*. The pretexs of the *Orange* party were so plausible, and that of the *Arminians* so unpopular, that the synod of *Dort* opened with great splendour. Deputies repaired to it from the *States General*, the provincial *States* of the *Seven Provinces*, the kings of *England* and *France*, the elector *Palatine*, and almost all the protestant *States* in *Europe*. The *Armenians* were cited to appear before this synod, but they declined it, and published a constitutional vindication of their declinature. *Aersens* took up the pen against them, and the popular tide set so strongly against the *Armenians*, that *Maurice* ventured to imprison *Barneveldt*, *Grotius*, and their other heads, in the castle of *Louvestein*. It may be useful to the reader to observe, that from this time the friends of *France*, in the *United Provinces*, went by the name of the *Louvestein Faction*; nor is either their party or their principles extinguished to this day.

Even the steadiness of the *States General* was staggered by the power of *Maurice*, and they appointed a commission, the members of which consisted of the *Orange* faction, to try the venerable old patriot for his life. The charge against him was founded upon the facts we have already mentioned, and which were construed as so many attempts against public liberty, and for destroying the tranquillity of his country. All the defence his innocence could make was disregarded by the judges, who were themselves afraid of being put to death, if they did not find him guilty, which they did, and his head was cut off in the castle of *Hague*, on the 13th of *May*, 1619.

Thus fell *Barneveldt*, after living 72 years, fifty of which he had spent in successful, but laborious, services for his country. As a patriot, he possessed virtues both public and private, equal, if not superior, to any that antient history can produce. His early zeal for the independency of his country cost him his head, by agreeing to invest the house of *Orange* with powers, which he had long foreseen would be converted to his destruction. *Maurice*, though otherwise a person of great moderation and of a most amiable character in all matters where ambition was not concerned, rendered himself detestable even to many of his own party, by *Barneveldt's* execution. His son, whom *Maurice* had made governor of *Bergen-op-zoom*, continued still in his post, which is an evidence, that the enmity which *Maurice* had conceived against the old man was confined to his person only. As to *Grotius*, it does not appear, that he was treated with any farther rigour, than that of an easy confinement. This gave his wife an opportunity of furnishing him with the means of his escape, which he effected by concealing himself in a chest, instead of the

books

books which he was allowed to read; and he thereby eluded the vigilance of his guard, by the chest being carried unsearched out of the castle.

The *Dutch* lost no opportunity of improving the breathing time, which the truce allowed them, for extending and protecting their commerce. They were now considered as a powerful and independent state, and all *Europe* felt either their arms or their influence. *England* might have rivalled them, as no age ever produced a race of more hardy enterprising *English* adventurers than this did; but the discoveries they undertook were not sufficiently encouraged by their indolent court. *James*, was by *Spain*, lulled into a state of shameful inattention to maritime affairs. It would be doing him great injustice to say, that under him the trade of *England* did not amazingly encrease; that he was not even zealous for its prosperity, and that he did not give it great countenance. But his spirit did not second his inclinations. His indolence rendered him inactive. He was shy of giving umbrage to *Spain*, or the powers of the continent, and, in short, he wanted spirit to protect the commerce which he sought to extend, and through that failing he omitted more than half of what he might have effected. The conduct of the *Dutch* was the reverse of this. Their ships of war gave laws from the *Baltic* to the *Levant*. They forced a trade to the *Spanish West Indies*; and besides the inferior flourishing colonies, which they settled in the *East Indies*, they raised that of *Batavia*, which was the most splendid, as well as the richest, the most populous, and powerful, that any state ever founded; and in a short time, it outvied, in all those respects, their *European* republic. It cannot, however, be dissembled, that the *Dutch* carried the exclusive maxims of trade in those countries to most detestable lengths; and that they never omitted practising fraud, treachery, and the most atrocious cruelties, to accomplish their ends.

The temper of *Albert*, and that of the court of *Spain*, at this period, were very different. The former, wise, moderate and resigned, was glad to gain a respite from war. He beheld with amazement the power of the *Dutch*, and the more it grew, the more happy he thought himself in being able to retain, in their duty, the ten remaining provinces which he still ruled. *Philip*, on the other hand, the more the *Dutch* (whom he still considered as rebels) prospered, he thought them the more worthy objects of his avarice, ambition, and revenge, and though he dissembled his intention, he was daily laying schemes for reducing them. The time now approached when the treaty of truce ought to be renewed. *Philip* obliged *Albert* to demand of the *Dutch* such terms, as he had exacted in the infancy of their revolt. The *Dutch* merchants beheld the magnificence of *Albert's* ambassador with contempt, and the *States* dismissed him with disdain. They did not sufficiently attend to the means of supporting this

Prosperous state of the *Dutch* marine.  
Violent measures of the court of *Spain*.



1621.

spirit, however noble it was in itself. Prince *Maurice* continued at the head of their army, but they beheld him with an eye of detestation and jealousy; his ranks were thin and his troops ill supplied. *Spinola* knew his distresses, and in 1621, the truce being expired; he penetrated into the country of *Juliers*, where he reduced that city, which had been still held by the *Dutch* troops, since the death of the duke of *Cleves*.

Death of  
*Philip III.*

The archduke *Albert*, and *Philip III.* of *Spain* (leaving behind him a minor son) died about this time. The circumstances of the court of *Spain* directed that ministry to a peace with the *Dutch*; but the jealousy subsisting between the *States* and prince *Maurice*, encouraged *Spinola* to persuade the archdutchess, and the council of *Spain*, to continue the war.

Siege of  
*Bergen-*  
*op-zoom* by  
*Spinola.*

His motions soon convinced *Maurice* of his intention, and a Scotch officer, one *Henderson*, in the *Dutch* pay, deceived the vigilance even of *Spinola*, by throwing himself with 700 men into *Bergen-op-zoom*, but he was killed next day, fighting gallantly at the head of a party. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, will find great lights as to the concomitant circumstances of this war, and the reasons of *Maurice* being disappointed in the assistance he expected from count *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunswic*. It is sufficient here to say, that the prince finding himself too weak to fight *Spinola*, made an attempt upon *Bois-le-duc*, in which he failed; but the resistance made by *Bergen-op-zoom*, the strongest town in *Dutch Brabant*, if not in all the *Netherlands*, obliged *Spinola* to raise the siege, with the loss of 10,000 of his best troops. In the mean while, *Borgia*, the governor of *Antwerp* was baffled in an attempt he made upon *Sluys*, and the sturdy burghers of *Haerlem*, and other towns of *Overysse*, drove an army of *Spanish* veterans out of that province, with the loss of their artillery.

Is raised.

*Spinola* had retired towards *Antwerp*, where he received reinforcements, that rendered his army superior to that under prince *Maurice*, who had by this time reduced *Steenberg*. *Spinola* thought his character had suffered, by his miscarriage before *Bergen-op-zoom*, and to repair it he offered *Maurice* battle. The latter coolly replied, that he had relieved *Bergen-op-zoom*, and taken *Steenberg*, the two objects he had in view when he took the field, and he was satisfied. *Spinola* admired the wisdom, and equanimity of the prince, who was then meditating a blow, which had it succeeded, must have ruined the *Spanish* possessions in the *Netherlands*. This was no less than the surprize of *Antwerp*, which he proposed to effect, by a sea and land armament. The season of the year proved unfavourable to the enterprize. Some of the *Dutch* ships were frozen in, others were shipwrecked, with the loss of two regiments, and the undertaking miscarried.

*Maurice*  
fails in an  
attempt  
upon *Ant-*  
*werp.*

Prince *Maurice* was uncommonly dejected at this failure, because he had expressed himself in terms, as if he had been sure of success. He returned to the *Hague*, where he narrowly escaped

escaped being assassinated by the *Arminians*, instigated by one of A conspiracy *Barneveldt's* grandsons. He had communicated his design to racy a his brother, who rejected it with horror; but not having dis- gainst him covered it, through fraternal tenderness, he was beheaded, discover- while the assassin escaped. This conspiracy gave infinite ad- ed and vantages to the *Gomarists*, who accused all the sect of the punished. *Arminians*, as being concerned in it, and the flames of persecution were lighted up afresh. It was in vain for them to make the most solemn appeals and applications to God and their country, concerning their innocence, however, some particular persons of their persuasion might be guilty. The *States of Utrecht* declared them rebels to their country, and a reward of 600 livres was offered to any one who should swear a treasonable matter against them, and lodge his charge, whatever the issue might be, in a public court. The *Arminians* applied to the *States General*, but they durst not attempt to relieve them, because prince *Maurice* was at the head of the persecution, which a fine apology, composed for them by *Grotius*, served rather to augment than allay the tempest. Thus a set of men, for the original crime of having asserted the dignity, and the free agency of mankind, were by their country proscribed from all rights of society, and all means of redress. The rack and the axe had constant employment, and to be thought an *Arminian* became capital.

The *Dutch* commerce, at this time, suffered severely from The the piratical *States of Barbary*, who are under the protection Dutch of the courts of *Constantinople* and *France*. The *Dutch* bought make a peace with them, and concluded a treaty, by which the peace the *Barbarians* assisted them in interrupting the *Spanish* commerce. with the The war in the *Low Countries* still raging, *Tilly*, at the head States of of the catholic *Germans*, was preparing, by order of the emperor (though he had made no formal declaration against Barbary. the *Dutch*) to enter *Friesland*, and he, and *Gonzales de Cordova*, general of the *Spaniards* in the dutchy of *Fuliers*, were ordered to join *Spinola*, that the republic might at once be crushed. The *States* took *Mansfield* and the duke of *Brunswic* Prepare again into their pay; they contracted an alliance with for war. *Bethlem Gabor*, and to avert the impending blow, they made a war of diversion. *Gabor* acted in *Hungary*, *Mansfield* in *Westphalia*, and the duke of *Brunswic*, or as he is called, the bishop of *Halberstadt*, upon the *Rhine*. The reader will find in the history of *Germany*, the measures taken by the princes of the empire, to prevent the prodigious ravages of those several armies, who had no pay but plunder. *Tilly* beat the bishop of *Halberstadt*, but 6000 of his troops were taken into pay by the *States General*. The conqueror, and *Gonzales*, then marched towards *Embsen*, where the precautions of the *Dutch* defeated all their schemes; but turning off, they took *Lipstadt*, the garrison of which had committed great ravages upon the catholic party.

*Dutch*  
shipping  
seized.

Their suc-  
cesses in  
*America*.

Operati-  
ons of  
war.

The treaty between the *Dutch* and the *States of Barbary* was soon broken, by the temptation of a squadron of the *Barbarians* falling in with four *Dutch* ships richly laden, three of which were taken, after a bloody engagement, and the sailors of the fourth blew her up. The reader, during the course of the *Dutch* history, is to carry one useful observation in his eye, which is, that the subjects of the *United Provinces* were generally at peace with the powers whom their masters were at war with. They traded with the *Spanish* ports, and they even sold provisions and ammunition to their armies, fleets and garrisons, though besieged by their own countrymen. This practice had been so long carried on, that they thought themselves as safe in the harbours of *Spain* and *Portugal*, as in those of *Holland*. They were mistaken, for the *Spaniards* this year, seized 100 of their ships in their ports. This loss, however, was amply repaid, by the prodigious successes of the *Dutch* in the *East Indies*, where they destroyed their enemies colonies, took or sunk 60 of their best ships, and sent the plunder home, to the amount of two millions sterling. In *South America* they had two squadrons, one in *Brasil*, under *Willekens* and another under *Hermit*, who were ordered to penetrate into the *Spanish* settlements. The viceroy of *Lima* had a far superior naval force to *Hermit*, and was preparing in the ports of *Callao* to pursue the *Dutch*, when they attacked him with irresistible fury. In an hour's time eleven of the *Spanish* capital ships were destroyed or taken; that of their admiral being blown up with 800 men on board, and that of their vice admiral burnt. The victory was complete, and *Lima* must have surrendered, had not the attack been deferred till next day. *Willekens*, in the mean while, entered the town of *St. Salvador*, in the bay of *All Saints*, and forced the garrison to surrender. The town was plundered with the nicest scrutiny of *Dutch* rapine and avarice. A garrison was placed in it, under one colonel *Van Dort*; and by hoisting *Spanish* colours in the harbour, eight rich merchant ships fell into his hands, besides great numbers of other captures made by *Willekens'* squadron, so that the *Dutch* now talked of the reduction of the *Brasils* as a certainty.

In *Europe*, *Mansfield*, though his mercenaries were paid by the *Dutch*, obliged them to buy the places he took in *East Friesland*, at the rate of 300,000 florins. During a hard winter, the *Spaniards* entered *Holland* upon the ice, and were preparing to invade the province of *Groningen*, but they were disappointed, through the precautions taken by prince *Maurice*. The count *de Berg*, a *Spanish* general, however, over-ran *Dutch Guelderland*, and besieged *Arnheim*, which he could not take; so that upon advice of the prince's approach, he was obliged to repass the *Yssel*, with the loss of half his army, through the fatigue of his expedition. In short, this winter campaign, which the *Spaniards* were in hopes of rendering decisive, terminated in their shame and loss. The *Spaniards*



still refused to give up the places they held in the dutchies of *Cleves* and *Juliers*; and the *Dutch* did the same, notwithstanding all the projects of accommodation set on foot by the two competitors, the elector of *Brandenburgh* and the duke of *Neuburgh*. The archdutchess, who still continued to govern the *Spanish Netherlands*, galled the *Dutch* trade by the *Dunkirk* privateers, who were protected by men of war. The latter were attacked by general *Lambert*, and he lost his life in the engagement, which, though not remarkably successful, curbed the privateers for some time. The success of the *Dunkirk* privateers may be accounted for, by the genius of the *Dutch*, who employed their naval power in making captures of very rich prizes upon the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*, one of which, belonging to the viceroy of *Sicily*, yielded them 150,000 l. The *Dutch*, about the same time, took advantage of some differences subsisting between the courts of *France* and *Spain*, in forming nearer connections with the former, and made a new treaty with it, by which *French* subjects were to be associated with *Dutch* in the *East India* trade. They concluded, at the same time, another treaty with *James I.* which extended to the *East Indies*, and gave them an opportunity of committing the most shocking barbarities against the *English* in those quarters, which never were sufficiently resented by the *English* government.

*Dunkirk*  
privateers  
trouble-  
some to  
the *Dutch*  
trade.

The mention of those barbarities, naturally leads us to a few observations upon their maxims and conduct towards the *English* in that part of the world. Their adventurers, by their amazing sagacity, perceived that nothing was so effectual to reconcile the natives to their government as splendid appearances, magnificent guards, attendants, and equipages, and above all, a regular, uniform, face of justice. They cultivated those particulars with prodigious attention, and gained so much upon the inhabitants, that some of their princes and chiefs, entrusted the company with the education of their sons, whom they sent over to *Holland*, where they were treated by the prince of *Orange* with great politeness and tenderness. This management had a double effect, for it rendered not only the prince of *Orange* (whom the barbarians believed to be king of *Holland*) their friend, but the *States General* likewise, who thought they could not do enough for the encouragement of so rich, and so respectable a company, composed of their own subjects. From those circumstances, the reader must naturally believe, that the members of that company were willing to conceal, even from the *States General*, the riches of their settlements, and the maxims on which they proceeded, particularly that of extinguishing all rivalry in commerce, especially from the *European* nations. In 1623, they beheld with an evil eye, the settlement of the *English* in the little island of *Amboyne*, where the agent of their company resided; but the *Dutch* were provided with four good garrison forts, particularly that of the town of *Amboyne*, where the *English* were

1623.

at *Amboyne*,

suffered to live and trade, in consequence of the treaties between their company and that of the *Dutch*. The latter had been already guilty of massacring, and inhumanly torturing, the members and agents of the *English* factory at *Lantore*; but the facts, though plainly proved, were hushed up by a treaty. The excessive hardships and extortions which the *English*, who lived in the town, suffered from the *Dutch*, who commanded in the citadel, occasioned many complaints from the former, which were at last carried to *Europe*; but the *Dutch* now formed a most horrid scheme of revenge.

where the  
*English*  
are tor-  
tured and  
put to  
death,

They pretended that the *Japanese*, who were in their pay, but were not suffered to continue in the garrison all night, intended to seize the citadel, and some of them by the force of exquisite tortures, confessed, that they had been set on by the *English*. A drunken *English* surgeon being apprehended, was put to the like tortures, and said whatever the judge required of him. Upon this, captain *Tower*son, the head of the *English* factory, and the other members of it were seized, with all their effects, and put in irons. The *English* in the neighbouring factories underwent the same fate, and were brought to *Amboyna*. The tortures they separately underwent exceed all description. They are too shocking to be particularized, and were too exquisite to be borne. Some of the unhappy wretches confessed every thing the *Dutch* fiscal suggested to them, but not till their torments became too dreadful to be longer endured. Having finished their terrible operations on the rack, the prisoners were condemned to death, which many of them suffered, but all of them protesting their innocence. Mr. *Tower*son, among the rest, was put to death; and the *Dutch* governor affected to make a public rejoicing, for the discovery and punishment of the conspirators. Nothing, perhaps, could have convinced the public of the barbarity of the *Dutch* in this proceeding, so effectually, as the lame apologies they made, when the directors of their company were charged with it in *Europe*. But the most incredible part of the whole is, that well authenticated and proved as the horrid transaction was, the *European Dutch* found means to elude giving any satisfaction to the sufferers.

The *Spaniards* re-  
new the  
war with  
more vi-  
gour than  
ever.

It is almost incredible that the *Spanish* monarchy, after the immense losses in the *Low Countries*, should have still had resources sufficient to enable the archdutchess to place *Spinola* at the head of a stronger army, than he had ever yet commanded. *James I.* was, at this time, in a most despicable situation, through the delusion in which he was wrapped by the court of *Spain*, the miscarriage of his son-in-law's affairs in the *Palatinate*, and the unspeakable insolence of the *Dutch*, who, through long indulgence, in fishing on the *British* coasts, now claimed an exclusive privilege of fishing upon them as their own. Upon the whole, *James* continued neutral, and the army of the archdutchess was this year supposed to amount to 50,000 men, divided into three bodies. The strongest was given

given to *Spinola*, who laid siege to *Breda*. The count *de Berg* commanded the next, and led it against the places held by the *Dutch* in *Juliers*, while the third was to form a flying camp, to harraß the *Dutch* territories, under one *Lagunas*. The army of the *States* consisted of no more than 13,000 foot and 4000 horse, who under prince *Maurice*, were to oppose *Spinola*, and 18 troops of dragoons, with 6000 foot, who, under prince *Henry* of *Nassau*, were to cover the *Dutch* possessions in *Juliers*.

The garrison of *Breda* was commanded by *Justin Nassau*, Its pro-  
natural son to *William* prince of *Orange*. *Spinola* found the place so well provided to receive him, that he prepared to reduce it by famine, before he would venture an attack. While he was making dispositions for this purpose, the count *de Berg* had, notwithstanding all that prince *Henry* could do, taken *Mundeberg*, the city of *Cleves* itself, *Giret* and *Genep*, and leaving strong garrisons in them all, he marched to assist *Spinola*, who had intercepted a considerable convoy coming by water to the garrison. The *Spaniards*, however, were confounded, when it was known that the prince of *Orange* had retaken *Cleves*, and made its *Spanish* garrison prisoners. The prince after this, made another attempt upon *Antwerp*, as the best means of relieving *Breda*, but it failed, through the vigilance of a *Spanish* centinel; nor could the presence of the prince himself re-animate his troops, who were struck with a panic. The danger in which *Breda* was, affected him the more, as great part of his patrimonial estate lay in that city and territory, and upon his return to the *Hague*, care and concern, added to the weight of 88 years, put an end to his life. We have sufficiently described his military capacity, and ambition, which alone prevented him from being one of the most amiable, as he was, in all other respects, one of the ablest men of his age.

Death of  
prince  
*Maurice*,

Prince *Henry* succeeded to him in his command, and had been instructed by his brother, to attempt to raise the siege of *Breda*, as soon as he should be joined by the auxiliaries he expected from *France*. *Spinola* improved the juncture, by carrying on his approaches against *Breda*, where the brave colonel *Morgan* commanded a body of *English*. *Spinola* was in hopes from the constant fire of the besieged, that their ammunition would fail them, but *Justin* had provided a reservoir of water, which he broke open, and deluged the *Spanish* camp to such a degree, that their soldiers could not continue their operations, and the dampness of their situation produced among them such diseases, as before the month of *September*, from 32,000 men reduced the army of *Spinola* to 12,000, who could do duty. Notwithstanding this, he continued to perform all the duties of an able commander. By his cares, many of his soldiers recovered; he received a reinforcement of 8000 foot and 1500 horse, and, in a short time, his army amounted to 33,000 excellent troops.

Succeeded  
by prince  
*Henry*.  
Siege of  
*Breda*,



which is  
bravely  
defended,

but is  
forced to  
surrender,

and *Spinola*  
re-  
signs his  
command.

1625.  
Successes  
of the  
*Dutch* in  
*America*.

Prince *Henry*, by this time, had not only succeeded to the estates and command of his brother in the army, but had been chosen Stadtholder of *Holland*, *Zealand*, *Guelderland*, *Utrecht*, and *Overyssel*. Having received reinforcements from *France* and *Germany*, he attacked *Spinola's* lines, but was repulsed, and was forced to retire towards *Bois-le-duc*, from whence he sent permission, but not under his hand, for *Justin* to surrender *Breda*, if he thought proper. The letter was intercepted, and sent open to *Justin* by *Spinola*, with the offer of an honourable capitulation, but was refused by that steady commander, though his garrison was now by diseases, fatigues, and famine, reduced to half its original number. *Spinola* threatened to come to extremities; but *Justin* knew the desperate state of the *Spanish* army, the mutinies that prevailed in it, the blowing up of their magazines by the mutineers, and other disadvantages they lay under, but was ignorant of all that had happened, since the attempt made by prince *Maurice* upon *Antwerp*. He was soon apprized of the deaths of *Maurice* and *James I.* and the ineffectual efforts made to relieve them, in a letter signed by *Henry*, who repeated his permission concerning the surrender. *Justin* called a council of war; but *Morgan* said he was answerable for the honour of his nation, and refused to surrender without a particular order from the prince addressed to himself. This was obtained; and all who refused to surrender were threatened with capital punishments. The vigilance of *Spinola* soon informed him of the reduced state of the garrison, where scarcely a man could stand upon his legs. He again offered, though against the sentiments of the *Spanish* barbarians, who commanded under him, an honourable capitulation, which was accepted on the 6th of *June*; the siege having lasted ten months, and only one third of the garrison left alive. *Spinola*, when the garrison marched out, drew up his army, and received both officers and soldiers with the highest marks of honour, and proofs of humanity; and, as if the surrender of *Breda* had given the finishing glory to his military character, he resigned his command. The archdutchess made a triumphal entry into *Breda*, but the *States* prohibited all commerce with that city, because of the excessive kindness shewn to them by *Spinola*. The archdutchess issued the like prohibition to her subjects, but instead of calling the subjects of the *States* rebels and traitors as formerly, she only called them enemies.

The ill fortune of the *Dutch* by land, was partly counterbalanced by their successes at sea; *Hermit* destroyed a great number of the *Spanish* shipping at *Callao*; but was too weak to take a galleon in the port, worth above 500,000 l. He was more fortunate at *Guayaquil*, on the coast of *Peru*, where he took an immense treasure, but his men setting fire to the place, the inhabitants had the courage to attack them in their retreat, killed 500 of them, and recovered great part of the treasure. *Hermit* made a fresh attempt upon *Calloa*, but was baffled,

baffled, and the difappointment had fuch an effect upon his fpirits that he died of melancholy; upon which his command devolved upon vice-admiral *Hugues*, who proved a brave and fucceffful commander in the cruizes he made againft the *Spaniards* in *South America*. The conqueft of *St. Salvador* was, by the *Dutch*, juftly confidered as a prelude to the reduction of all the *Brasils*. When *Willekens* failed to *Europe*, he left 2000 men in fix fhips of war to defend it, under *Van Dort*. They were attacked by a fleet of 56 fail and 12,000 *Spaniards*, commanded by *Frederic de Toledo* and *Juan Faxardo*, who preffed the fieve with great vigour. Many *Dutch* fhips being deftroyed, the failors mutinied, and *Van Dort* dying of a fever, in the mean while, they, and the garrifon, obliged his fucceffor, who ftadily refufed it, to furrender it without any other capitulation, than that of being carried to *Holland*. There the governor was received, but his officers were broke with ignominy, and his foldiers and failors whipped out of the fervice of the *States*.

The lofs of *Breda*, the death of *James I.* and the great They en- fcenes that were opening in *Europe*, when *Charles I.* fucceeded ter into an to the *British* throne, gave a new turn to public affairs. The alliance governing paffion of *Buckingham*, the favourite of *Charles*, with was to reduce the houfe of *Austria*, efpecially the *Spanish France* branch of it. He would have entered into new connections againft the with the *Dutch* for this purpofe, but he durft not propofe it to *French* his mafter, who was highly exafperated at the *States*, for their prote- cruelties in the *East Indies*, and their infolence on the *British* ftants. feas. *Richelieu*, the firft minifter of *France*, fufpected *Buckingham's* intention to divide the *States General* from *France*, and he out-bade him in his terms, though it does not appear that *Buckingham* had ever opened himfelf to any but the prince of *Orange*, and that too with the greateft referve and fecrecy. Though the friendship of *France* was neceffary for accomplifhing *Buckingham's* views, yet from private caufes he became the irreconcilable enemy of *Richelieu*, who drew the *States* in to conclude a moft unnatural treaty; by which they obliged themfelves to affift the *French* king in oppreffing and reducing his proteftant fubjects. The *Dutch* having joined their fleet with that of *France*, were attacked by the proteftant prince *de Soubife*, and their admiral was blown up, almoft to the joy of the common people of *Holland*, who detefted the conduct of their fuperiors, and in *Amfterdam* they pillaged the houfes of thofe who commanded their fleet. In fhort their fpirit pointed fo ftrongly towards a general infurrection, that their government durft not attempt to check it.

The ftate of affairs in the *Low Countries*, obliged the go- Religious vernment of *Holland* again to take their expenfive general diffentions *Mansfield* into their pay, and likewise the bifhop of *Halber- revive in* *ftadt*, who made a ufeul diverfion for them againft their ene- *Holland.* mies in *Westphalia*, till he was defeated by *Wallenftein*, and the bifhop died at *Wolfenbuttel*. The *States*, in the *Low Countries*, made

made no figure in the field this year, their subjects relapsing into their religious frenzy. *Henry*, prince of *Orange*, was thought to be more moderate, than his brother had been, towards the *Arminians*, who were now instigated to return some of the severities they had suffered. He heard their complaints with moderation, and expressed his esteem for some particular persons of their party. The violent *Gomarists* opposed this with such fury, that a civil war was on the point of breaking out, when all parties was forced to unite in their common preservation.

*Spinola*  
president  
of the  
*Flemish*  
admiral-  
ty.

Prince *Henry* exerted himself in making preparations for the next campaign, and was soon at the head of 6000 foot and 4000 horse, besides 12,000 men commanded by count *Ernest Casimir*, who took *Oldenzeel*. The prince of *Orange* miscarried in several excellent designs he laid, and count *Stirum*, who commanded under him, while he was heading a detachment upon an expedition, was attacked, defeated, and taken prisoner by the count *de Berg*; but the *Spaniards*, in their turn, were repulsed with loss, in a spirited attempt they made to surprize *Sluys*. *Spinola*, at this time, acted as the president of a new court of admiralty, erected in the *Spanish Netherlands*, and the privateers of *Dunkirk* still continued to distress the *Dutch* trade. *Charles I.* through the injustice his sister, the queen of *Bohemia*, suffered from the house of *Austria*, and by some slight submissions made to him by the *Dutch* in the affair of *Amboyna*, ordered his fleet to join that of *Holland*, and to intercept that of *Spain* from the *West Indies*; but four of their ships were destroyed, by those under the direction of the new court of admiralty, in the *Spanish Low Countries*, though the *Dutch* afterwards destroyed two of their capital galleons. *Spinola*, in his marine department, appeared as great as he had done in his military, and encreased the naval power of the *Spanish Netherlands*, so as to find employment for the combined fleets of *England*, *France*, and *Holland*.

1627.  
The *States*  
threaten-  
ed with  
an inva-  
sion.

In 1627, the prince of *Orange* reduced *Grol*, by which he narrowed the contributions of the *Spaniards*. The place was nobly defended, and the siege lasted from the 20th of *July* to the 18th of *August*. This was followed by several important acquisitions which the prince made, while the *Spaniards* miscarried in various designs they had formed against *Zealand*. The loss of *Spinola* in the field, was now severely felt by the *Spaniards* in the *Low Countries*, and about this time he was recalled to *Spain*. The cardinal *de Gueva* now directed the civil, as the count *de Berg* did the military, affairs of the *Spanish Netherlands*. Count *Tilly* and the prince of *Anhalt* threatened the dominions of the *States* with an invasion, and they were opposed by an army of 18,000 men, under count *Ernest*. The rest of the campaign was spent in operations, which, though indecisive, were generally in favour of the *Imperialists* and *Spaniards*, while the *Dunkirk* privateers still continued to commit excessive depredations upon the *Dutch* shipping.



shipping. The finances of the *States* were, at this time, in disorder, chiefly through the parsimony of their great men, whose exactions in the dutchies of *Fuliers* and *Cleves* drove the inhabitants there into the arms of the emperor, who received them most cordially, and *Imperial* mandates were formally issued, requiring the *Dutch* to evacuate those two dutchies, and that of *Berg*; and *Tilly* was charged with the execution. In the history of *Germany* the reader will meet with the event of those proceedings. In the year 1628, the *Dutch* continued to hold their garrisons in that country, and the *Spaniards* did the same, notwithstanding the *Imperial* mandates. This summer the *Dutch* garrisons obtained several advantages over the *Spaniards*, whom they attacked in several detachments, and laid their country under contribution for their own interest, the *States* not being able otherwise to pay them. 1628.

The depredations of the *Dunkirkers* brought on so many bankruptcies at *Amsterdam*, that the *Dutch*, to a man, agreed to block up the harbour, and besiege the town of *Dunkirk*. Thirty ships of war were fitted out, and a squadron of eight of them defeated six *Dunkirkers*, by which the homeward bound *Dutch East-India* fleet arrived in safety. Upon the whole, however, the blockade of *Dunkirk* did not succeed, but the growing commerce of the *Dutch* in all parts of the world, enabled them to keep at sea a naval force which checked the privateers as soon as they came out of their harbours. We have already mentioned the formation of the *Dutch West-India* company, which for some time proved as fortunate as their *East-India*, and had destroyed vast numbers of the *Spanish* ships in the *European* harbours. *Peter Adrien* took twelve of the richest *West-Indian* merchantmen in the bay of *Honduras*. Admiral *Peter Heine* had still greater success, for he destroyed in the bay of *All-Saints* a *Spanish* fleet, and brought home such a quantity of sugar as lowered the price of that commodity in the *European* markets. He then commanded a squadron of thirty-one ships, with instructions to intercept the *Spanish Plata* fleet, which he did, after ravaging the coasts of *Spain* and *Portugal*; and the booty he carried home amounted to above fifteen millions of livres, the greatest the *Dutch* had ever made. They received *Heine*, whose prudence was equal to his good fortune, with a profusion of the most splendid honours, and he was raised to the post of admiral of *Holland*. As if the encrease of wealth had rendered the *Dutch* more intractable than ever, (the *Gomarists* in particular) a riot happened at *Amsterdam*. The prince of *Orange* had widened the foundations of his government, by admitting all into it who were capable of serving their country, especially the *Arminians*. The *Gomarist* citizens of *Amsterdam* refused to obey the *Arminian* magistrates, and their disobedience produced a tumult, which was with difficulty quelled by the prince and the *States General*, with the help of the army. This disturbance was succeeded by another among the sailors who had served under *Heine*, and

and who complained that they had been defrauded of their prize-money. There is reason to believe there was but too much ground for their complaints; but after a considerable sum was distributed among them to prevent their pillaging the whole, they returned to their duty, and entered on board a fleet of 60 capital ships, which were destined for the reduction of all the *Spanish* empire in *America*.

and land.

The successes of the *States General* by sea proved to be the most ready means of distressing their enemies by land. The *Spanish* soldiers were on the point of an universal mutiny. The nobility and chief subjects of the *Spanish Netherlands* were equally dissatisfied, and threw the blame of all their grievances upon the pride and mismanagement of the *Spanish* counsellors, which had driven from their service *Spinola*, their guardian and protector. The prince of *Orange*, on the other hand, was at the head of a fine army of *Dutch*, *English*, and *French*, with which he laid siege to *Bois le Duc*, called the *Maid of Brabant*, because she never had surrendered to an enemy. Its strength was such, that it was deemed to be impregnable, and it was defended by one *Anthony Schets*; but the low condition of the *Spanish* finances, and the poverty of the court of *Brussels* left him no hope of assistance from without, excepting 800 men who slipped into his garrison from *Breda*. *Schets*, who was an officer of great character and experience, made an excellent defence, and it was here that the young viscount of *Turenne* gave the first specimens of his great genius for war. At last, the court of *Brussels* found means to put 25,000 men in motion under *Berg*, to raise the siege; but in three attacks he made he was repulsed. He then drew off, to join *Montecuculi*, in a war of diversion, but they were opposed by count *Stirum*, who was defeated, and the *United Provinces* were thereby exposed to most imminent danger. The prince of *Orange* flew to their relief at the head of 22,000 men, leaving troops sufficient for carrying on the siege of *Bois le Duc*; but in the mean while, the *Dutch* governor of *Emmeric* surprized *Wesel*, where the *Spaniards* had all their magazines. This seasonable blow lost the *Spaniards* all the great advantages they had obtained. They were obliged to re-pass the *Yssel*, and *Bois le Duc* surrendered upon an honourable capitulation. A conquest which put the reputation of prince *Henry* on a parallel with that of *Maurice* himself.

Successes  
of the  
*Dutch*  
in the *Ne-*  
*therlands*.

By this time, the *Spaniards* and *Imperialists* were preparing again to invade the *United Provinces*, but they were opposed by count *Ernest Casimir*, who drove them into the dutchy of *Munster*, while *Hautesve*, the *French* general in the *Dutch* service, passed the *Rhine*, and, in conjunction with the *Dutch* garrison in *Wesel*, took *Duisburg*, and all the places possessed by the *Spaniards* in those parts, almost without resistance. When the bishops of *Munster* and *Paderborn* seemed inclinable to take part against the *Dutch*, they thought proper to desist upon the menaces of count *William* of *Nassau*, who took *Berg*,

Berg, Solingen, Ongermunde, and a great number of other places in the dutchy of *Juliers*, where the *Dutch* were befriended by the natives. In the year 1630, the operations in *Juliers* and *Cleves*, against the *Spaniards* recommenced; but the latter were every where defeated by prince *William of Nassau*, who, however, failed in two attempts he made upon *Dusseldorp* and *Mulheim*. His progress gave such jealousy to the *Imperial* court, that the emperor endeavoured to form a catholic confederacy against the *Dutch*, who refused to give up any of their conquests on the side of *Germany*, even to their undoubted owners, unless the *Spaniards* would evacuate theirs at the same time. The archdutchess complied with the terms, but the *States General*, though they ceded all their other conquests, still kept possession of *Emmeric*, *Rees*, and *Wesel*.

1630.

The court of *Brussels* (which was at this time in a wretched situation) and the archdutchess, proposed to renew the truce for 34 years. The affair was proposed and debated in the assembly of the *States General*, where *Richlieu's* influence not only carried it for a continuance of the war, by means of *Bougay* the *French* ambassador, but renewed their alliance with *France*; and a vigorous continuance of the war on all sides was resolved on. The archdutchess applied to the court of *England*, which she wanted to interest in her favour, by giving *Charles* hopes of his nephew being reinstated in the *Palatinate*. *Charles* ordered his ambassador at the *Hague* to co-operate with the party which was for a truce, but the *Dutch* coldly declined his mediation. The truth is, that ever since the *States General* had redeemed from *James I.* their cautionary towns, the *English* influence had declined amongst the *Dutch*. About this time, the war was renewed between the *Dutch* and the *Dunkirkers*, and three *Spanish* ships of war which protected the latter, were taken, after an obstinate engagement, in which the brave *Dutch* admiral *Heine* lost his life. Nothing could have prevented the inhabitants of the *Spanish Netherlands* from taking arms against their government at this time, but their extream misery and weakness. All that they could do was to send the archbishop of *Mechlin* and the duke of *Archot* to the archdutchess with their complaints; she heard them with compassion, but could give them no relief.

Proposals for renewing the truce.

*Richelieu*, notwithstanding the prodigious things that the family of *Orange* had performed for the *States General*, was, at this time, in effect, their chief minister, and endeavoured to get possession of the city of *Orange*, the patrimony of prince *Henry*, by bribing its governor, one *Walkenbourg*. The prince, and his friends within the city, had an intimation of the conspiracy, and it was defeated by one *Kunyth*. *Walkenbourg* was killed, and the citadel surrendered to *Kunyth*, who had the prince's commission to be governor of the city. It is from this incident that we may naturally date the rooted aversion which the princes of the house of *Orange* ever after retained towards

Treachery of Richelieu to the Orange family.



The  
prince of  
Orange  
miscarries  
in an at-  
tempt up-  
on Ghent.

the *Bourbon* family. It is certain, no prince ever deserved better of a people than prince *Henry* did of the *States General*. He was averse from the very appearance of giving them umbrage, and they thought their liberties so safe in his hands, and those of his family, that they made the stadtholdership hereditary in the house of *Orange*; and they raised his son, though no more than five years of age, to be general of their cavalry. The archduchess, by this time, had lost all the promising hopes she had entertained of a truce, and prepared to renew the war in the best manner she could; but the *Flemings* were exasperated anew when they understood that her army was to be commanded by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, a *Spaniard*, and that the chief commissions under him were given to foreigners. Prince *Henry* having drawn immense magazines from *Dantzic*, took post on the *Rhine*, from whence he surprized three *Spanish* forts, with an intention to attempt *Ghent*; but in that he was deceived and obliged to retire. The emperor, the *Roman catholic* princes in *Germany*, and the court of *Spain*, seeing the desperate state of the archduchess, furnished him with troops to defend *Ghent* and *Bruges*, and receiving remittances of money, she formed a design, by means of flat-bottomed boats, of cutting of the communication between *Holland* and *Zealand*; the execution of which was committed to *John*, count of *Nassau*, who was furnished with 90 boats, 5,000 land troops, and 1,300 marines, the principal officer under him being a capuchin, who had planned the enterprize. Having proceeded as far as the island of *Tolen*, they were encountered by a fleet of *Zealanders*, commanded by *Hollart*, and an engagement followed in the night, which lasted six hours, but ended in the total defeat of count *John*. Of all the officers he had with him, only himself and ten more escaped, of whom one was the capuchin, who had performed wonders during the engagement; 76 boats and barks were taken, the rest being destroyed; and of 5,000 men who were made prisoners, the greatest part entered into the service of the *States*.

The Dutch  
worsted by  
sea.

The marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who was at the same time to have penetrated as far as *Gertruydenberg*, was blamed for this miscarriage; but some advantages which the *Dunkirkers* gained over the *Dutch* ships, with many pretended victories given out to have been obtained by the *Spaniards* in the *East* and *West-Indies*, brought the *Flemings* into temper. The only foundation for those reports was a dear bought victory which *D'Oquendo*, the *Spanish* admiral, had gained over *Pater*, on the coast of *Brazil*; but the conqueror was in return beat by the *Dutch*, with considerable loss, in his return to *Europe*.

Successes  
of the  
prince of  
Orange.

The reader, in the history of *Germany*, will find a full account of the progress which *Gustavus Adolphus*, at this time, made in the empire; and he concluded a treaty, by his chancellor *Oxenstiern*, at the *Hague*, with the *States General*, who undertook to make a powerful diversion in his favour upon the *Rhine*,

*Rhine*, where the prince of *Orange* commanded a strong army, and reduced *Venlo* and *Spanish Guelderland* after a brisk siege, which cost him no more than two men. He then reduced *Stralen* and *Ruremond*, but the brave count *Ernest Casimir* was killed by a musket ball at the siege of the latter, and upon his death the provinces of *Groningen* and *Friesland* continued the Stadtholdership in the person of his son, prince *Henry*. Upon the *Schelde*, prince *William* of *Nassau* made a vast progress, and by the assistance of *Scotch* and *Irish* auxiliaries, he gained a compleat victory over 5,000 *Spaniards*. About this time, the count *de Berg*, who had so long and so bravely served the *Spaniards*, and had very near connections with the prince of *Orange* and count *Stirum*, resigned his commission and retired to *Liege*. He was earnestly pressed by the archdutchess to resume it, but declined it, because of the vast power which the count *de Olivarez* had in all the affairs of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and even intimated that he was ready to raise an army to rescue them from foreign tyranny. This produced a proclamation from the court of *Brussels*, declaring the count a traitor, and he was obliged to take protection under the prince of *Orange*, with whom it was now plain he had long acted in concert.

Nothing can exhibit a stronger proof of the justice and moderation of the archdutchess, than the attachment which her *Flemish* subjects continued to shew towards her person, notwithstanding the vast provocations they had received under her government. A few *Flemish* soldiers followed the example of the count *de Berg*; but towards the middle of *June*, the prince of *Orange* laid siege to *Maastricht*, which was defended by 2,500 men under the young baron *de Leda*. *Leda* at first, by his vigour and courage, gained some signal successes and made a brave defence, till *Cordova*, a *Spanish* general, came to its relief. He was followed by the marquis *de Santa Cruz*, who arrived about the 22d of *July*, and he was followed by *Pappenheim*, one of the best *Imperial* generals. The attention of all *Europe* was turned to the event of a siege in which so many illustrious commanders were concerned. Their presence seemed to redouble the courage and the assiduity of the prince of *Orange*, in which he was favoured by a jealousy which had sprung up between *Pappenheim* and *Santa Cruz*. During a great number of bloody attacks and sallies, the *Spaniard* and his troops remained cool spectators of the combats. *Pappenheim* required *Santa Cruz* to advance to the attack; his answer was, that his master had employed 400,000 ducats to fill the ditch of *Maastricht* with *German* carcases. This brutish reply did not discourage *Pappenheim* from making incredible efforts, and it is said he was amazed that they were not successful, as he and his troops had before been always victorious. The brave garrison favoured him by a sally, in which they were repulsed; and *Pappenheim*, in the last attempt he made, having lost 2,000 men killed, and 900 wound-

ed or taken prisoners, drew off in good order, leaving the *Dutch* and the *Spaniards* equally well pleased at his retreat. The garrison continued still to make a glorious resistance, and the *British* troops without, on the 20th of *August*, sprung a mine, which laid open great part of the ravelin. A storm was attempted, but without success, and 300 *Britons* were killed in the breach. A second attempt proved more successful, and *Leda*, after performing all that a brave commander could for the defence of the place, complied at last with the prayers of the inhabitants, and accepted the same honourable capitulation that had been granted to the garrisons of *Venlo* and *Ruremond*.

Negotiations for peace renewed.

The taking of *Maestricht* in the fight of three great generals at the head of their armies, crowned the glorious reputation that prince *Henry* had acquired. He made the duke of *Bouillon* governor of *Maestricht*; he spread consternation all along the coast of *Flanders*; *William* of *Nassau* advanced with 8,000 men to *Lillo*; and *Pappenheim*, by desire of the archdutchess, asserted his master's paramount right to the few places which still remained in the possession of the *Spaniards*. Prince *Henry* refused to pay any regard to this claim, and not only reduced *Limburg*, but imposed severe contributions upon the duke of *Neuberg*, and all the *German* princes who had assisted *Pappenheim* when he marched to relieve *Maestricht*. The above, and other noble successes, too numerous to be recounted here, obliged the courts of *Madrid* and *Brussels* to agree to renew the negotiations for a truce. They were communicated from the archdutchess to the prince of *Orange*, who sent them to the *States General*; and they offered to treat with the states of the *Netherlands*, provided they would separate themselves from the *Spaniards*. The archdutchess closed with this proposal, and sent the archbishop of *Mechlin* and the duke of *Arfchot* to open the conferences. It was soon conjectured (as happened to be the case) that the conferences must come to nothing, through the dependence the archdutchess had on the court of *Spain*, and the connections of the *States General* with *France* and *Sweden*. In the mean while, the prince of *Orange* besieged and took the important town of *Rhimberg* on the *Rhine*, by which the provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen* were relieved from a heavy scourge. The archdutchess, in like manner, continued her warlike preparations; but the duke of *Bouillon* defeated *Mettery*, one of her generals, in the district of *Liege*, while 12,000 *Swedes* joined prince *Henry* in *Brabant*.

Strength of the Dutch army.

The *Dutch* had now the greatest army on foot they had ever seen of their own, consisting of 50,000 foot and 10,000 horse, which was thought sufficient, under such a general as the prince of *Orange*, to have compleated the conquest of *Spanish Brabant* in one campaign. He took the field for that purpose, but the rains that fell, the sickness of his army, the scarcity of provisions, inundations, and many other inconveniences,



conveniences, obliged him to put his army into winter quarters, without his even attempting a blow of any consequence. Count *William* of *Nassau* commanded the *Dutch* marine, which was to alarm the coast of *Flanders*; but he likewise did little, to answer the public expectation, besides taking fort *Philippin* in the *Sas van Ghent*. During the winter, the conferences were resumed at the *Hague*. The *Dutch* aimed at a re-union of the ten provinces, exclusive of the *Spaniards*; this was defeated by the intrigues of the court of *Madrid*, and the tenderness of the archdutchess in point of honour towards his catholic majesty, and *Richelieu* persuaded the *States General* to break off the conferences abruptly. This was by no means agreeable to some of the *States*, or the provinces of *Holland* and *West Friesland*. *French* promises broke down all opposition, and in the mean while, the archdutchess, *Clara Isabella Eugenia*, died, after her rectitude, prudence, and moderation had endeared her to all parties, however discordant in other respects. The *Spanish Netherlands* now reverted to that king, and the cardinal infant *Albert* was to have succeeded the archdutchess in the government; but in the mean time, the marquis *D' Aytone* was declared governor and captain-general in the *Spanish Netherlands*.

Death of  
the arch-  
dutchess.

The court of *Madrid* now resumed its tyrannical principles, and *Aytone* imprisoned all the *Flemish* nobility who were thought to be inclinable to a re-union with the *States General*. This severity must have created an universal insurrection, had it not been prevented by an act of amnesty. The count, to counterbalance the alliance between the *French* king and the *States General*, on the 4th of *May*, 1634, concluded a treaty with *Gaston*, brother to *Lewis XIII.* and the count soon after took the strong fortrefs of *Argentau*, between *Maastricht* and *Liege*, which had been unaccountably left without any means of resistance by the prince of *Orange*. The truth is, the prince was, at this time, amused by a vast variety of treaties set on foot after the death of *Gustavus Adolphus*; but at last he took post with his army upon the frontiers of *Brabant* and *Guelderland*. The marquis *D' Aytone* laid siege to *Maastricht*, which was bravely defended by the duke of *Bouillon*; and the marquis drew off towards *Brada*, threatened by the prince of *Orange*, who had strengthened his garrisons so that the *Spaniards* could make no impression upon them. The duke of *Orleans*, by this time, was again reconciled to his brother, but the arrival of the cardinal infant *Albert*, who declared for a neutrality towards the *States General*, produced a deputation from the latter, promising him assistance if he was attacked on account of his neutrality. In 1635, the *States* were diverted from all their pacific intentions, by a treaty of partition of the *Spanish Netherlands* concluded between them and *France*, by which the dutchy of *Luxemburg*, the earldoms of *Namure*, *Hainault*, *Courtray*, *Artois*, and *Flanders*, were to be the portion of *France*; *Brabant*, *Guelderland*, the districts

1634.  
Alliance  
between  
the *States*  
and the  
*French*  
king,

1635.

of *Waes*, *Mecklin*, and the rest of *Flanders*, were to fall to the *States*.

excites the  
jealousy  
of the  
*English*.

1636.

Warlike  
operations  
in *Flan-*  
*ders*.

This treaty, when the contents of it came to be known, made a strong impression upon *England* and the prince of *Orange*. *Charles* I. expressed his jealousy of it by fitting out a fleet for the express purpose of chastizing the insolence of the *Dutch*, upon which, the combined fleets of *France* and *Holland* withdrew towards their own harbours. This renewed the good understanding between *Spain* and *England*, which is so natural and necessary for the prosperity of both kingdoms. *Charles* fitted out another great fleet, the command of which he gave to the earl of *Northumberland*, and which the combined fleets of *France* and the *States* were in no condition to withstand. The earl of *Northumberland*, in *May*, 1636, put to sea, and sunk all the *Dutch* ships he met who refused to leave the *British* coasts, or to discontinue their fishing. The *Dutch* were dismayed by this spirited conduct, and they were so far from supporting their unjust usurpations on the *British* seas, that they agreed to pay *Charles* 30,000 *l.* for liberty to fish that year, till a new regulation could be established.

Had it not been for this vigour of *Charles*, the partition treaty between *France* and the *States* must, in all probability, have been fatal to the liberties of *Europe*. The *French*, having gained their ends, would have soon made themselves masters of *Holland*, and the prince of *Orange* looked upon the treaty in that light. *Lewis* XIII. declared war against *Albert*, on account of his detaining the elector of *Triers* prisoner. The prince of *Orange* durst not openly oppose *Richelieu*'s ambition, who marched an army of 20,000 foot and 7,000 horse into *Brabant*, to join that of the *States* under the prince. *Albert*'s army, under prince *Thomas* and other *Spanish* generals, endeavoured to prevent the junction, but were defeated by the *French* at *D'Avien* in *Luxemburg*, with the loss of 4,000 killed. The prince of *Orange*, who was to have commanded both armies, gave the *French* generals *de Breze* and *Chatillon* but a cold reception at *Maestricht*; but his army, now amounting to 50,000 men, took *St. Trou*, *Linden*, and *Hallem*, and committed the most shocking barbarities at *Tillemont* because its garrison dared to resist. On the 10th of *June*, the prince marched towards *Brussels* to make head against *Albert*, and the *French* reduced *Diest*. When the armies rejoined, the secret dissatisfaction of the prince, and the insolence of the *French*, broke out in a perpetual course of altercations and disputes between them, which gave the archduke leisure to provide for the safety of *Louvain*, into which he threw himself with 5,000 foot and 200 horse. A motion of the prince towards *Brussels* brought the archduke back to the defence of that capital. *Louvain* was defended by the baron *Growbendenck*, and was invested on the 25th of *June*. The barbarities exercised by the allies at *Tillemont*

ment served only to render the defence of the brave garrison more determined; and mutual jealousies arising among the allies, they found themselves in no condition to continue the siege, which was accordingly abandoned. The *French* went into exhausted winter quarters at *Ruremond*, where 6,000 of them died of want and diseases, and the survivors appeared like patients rather than like soldiers.

Neither the effects nor the causes of the misunderstandings among the allies were unknown at *Albert's* court. He had been reinforced by a fine army under *Picolomini*, and one of his officers surprized the strong and important fortress of *Schenck*, which cost the allies a vast expence of time and men to retake. It is said, on good authority, that the *French* army, by this time, was reduced to one third of its number, by the secret malevolence of the prince of *Orange*; that when it returned to *France*, which it did this winter, the soldiers were obliged to beg their way home, and their officers were forced to sell their cloaths from their backs for bread. The blame of all was thrown by *Richelieu* on the prince of *Orange*, and the haughty prelate would have declared war against the *States* had he not been diverted by the circumstances of the times; while the prince defended himself by reproaching the *French* court for not having transmitted the sums necessary for maintaining their soldiers.

While the remainder of the year 1636 was spent in a number of brisk, but unimportant, expeditions by land, young *Evertzen*, afterwards the famous *Dutch* admiral, defeated the *Spaniards* and *Dunkirkers* by sea, by which he secured the growing and immense trade of his country from the *East* Indies. The *Dutch* had not been so fortunate in the *West* Indies, where they now executed a plan which they long had in view, that of establishing a government in the *Brazils*, every way equal to that in *Batavia*. This important charge was bestowed upon prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, who was appointed commander in chief of *Brazil* and *South America*; and on the 25th of *October* sailed from the *Texel* with 12 ships of war, 20 of an inferior force, and 2,700 land forces on board. His instructions were to complete the conquest of the *Portuguese Brazils*, part of which had been for some time in possession of the *Dutch*, who had gained vast advantages over the *Spaniards* in those parts. When the prince landed, he defeated the *Portuguese* general *Bagnicla*, took *Porto Calco*, *Ope-nada*, with other places, and strengthened his conquests by fortresses. In short, he left no part of the duty of a brave and wise governor undischarged.

In 1637, cardinal *Richelieu*, notwithstanding the gross provocations he had received, was reconciled to the prince of *Orange*, and persuaded the *States General* to renew their engagements with *France*. His attention to the prince seemed to win him over, but his secret ambition was to recover *Breda*, the patrimonial inheritance of his family; and on the 23d of

1637.

The prince of

*Orange*

recovers

*Breda*,



of *July*, the day on which *Landreci* and *Hanau* surrendered to the *French*, the prince formed the siege of *Breda*, which was defended by *Fourbin*, an officer of the greatest and most amiable qualities. The siege was carried on with great vigour by the prince and his son, prince *William*, though then but thirteen years of age. Cardinal *Albert* advanced to the relief of the place, but was obliged to draw off, though he took *Venlo* and *Ruremond*. *Fourbin* made a glorious defence, till his garrison was reduced to so weak a state, that it must have been worse than madness in him, not to have admitted of an honourable capitulation, which was accordingly granted him.

1638.

but mis-  
carries in  
an attempt  
upon *Ant-  
werp*.

The reduction of *Breda* was attended with the happiest consequences to the *States*; but the *Dunkirkers*, towards the end of the year, gained some advantages by sea over the *Zealanders*. In the beginning of the year 1638, the prince of *Orange* miscarried, in a well laid plan, for surprizing *Antwerp*, which had cost the *States* large sums. After a variety of military operations, he made another attempt upon *Gueldres*, which was likewise unsuccessful. In the *Brasilis*, prince *Maurice* had laid siege to *St. Salvador*, but was obliged to abandon it with considerable loss, and the brave *Dutch* admiral, *Jol*, being deserted by his cowardly officers and seamen, failed in an attempt he made upon the *Spanish* Plate fleet in the bay of *Honduras*.

1639.  
*Tromp* ob-  
tains a  
glorious  
victory  
over the  
*Spaniards*.

The campaign of 1639, in the *Low Countries*, opened with vast expectations on the side of the *Spaniards*, who were immeasurably elated by their successes of last year. The prince of *Orange* took the field, and being joined by 4000 *Hessians*, he would have made a fresh attempt upon *Gueldres*, had he not found it too well fortified and reinforced, and the campaign by land, this year, produced nothing considerable. It happened otherwise by sea, where the famous *Van Tromp*, vice, or lieutenant, admiral of *Holland*, under the prince of *Orange*, having the command of the *Dutch* fleet, attacked a *Spanish* squadron, of ten large men of war, off *Graveline*, on the 18th of *February*. The fight was bloody and lasted for six hours, but ended in a complete defeat of the *Spaniards*. The *Spanish* admiral, and three of his largest ships, were taken, after being driven ashore. The *Spanish* vice-admiral was burnt by her own crew, four frigates were likewise taken, and the *Spaniards*, upon the whole, lost 2000 men in the engagement. Notwithstanding this blow, a most tremendous *Spanish* armament put to sea, from *Cadiz* and *Corunna*, consisting of 87 capital ships, besides transports, with 20,000 land troops on board, under admiral *D'Oquendo*. The intrepid *Tromp* engaged the van of this fleet, sunk *D'Oquendo's* own ship, and took four more, but a fog prevented him from pursuing. Next day, *Tromp* having received reinforcements, would have destroyed the rest of the *Spanish* fleet, had it not been protected in the *Downs* by the *English* admiral. *Van Tromp* was ordered

dered not to renew the engagement under such circumstances, until he could be joined by *Evertzen*. He was then to desire the *English* to withdraw their protection, and if that was refused, to fight both fleets. *Charles I.* durst not hazard this event, being afraid of the fidelity of his own seamen, and well knowing that the *Spanish* ships were miserably ill provided both in arms and ammunition. He gave orders to his admiral, Sir *John Pennington*, who commanded 34 *English* men of war in the *Downs*, to declare for a neutrality; but that he should join the fleet which should be attacked. *Charles*, in the mean while, advised *D'Oquendo* to escape, if he possibly could, but it was no longer in his power; and *Pennington*, under pretence, that the *Spaniards* had broken the neutrality, which they ought to have observed, while under the protection of the *English* forts, withdrew his protection. Upon this, *Van Tromp* attacked the *Spaniards* in six divisions of his own fleet, and entirely defeated them. Fourteen *Spanish* men of war were destroyed, among which was the *Teresa*, the admiral of *Portugal's* ship, which mounted 100 brass guns, and her crew, consisting of 800 men, perished by the waves or the enemy. The vice admiral of *Spain*, and the admiral of *Galicia*, shared the same fate, 16 *Spanish* ships were taken, with 4500 prisoners on board; 14 were lost near *Boulogne* and *Calais*; the miserable remains were saved by the interposition of the *English*, and of all this mighty armament, no more than eight ships under *D'Oquendo* reached *Dunkirk*. Eight thousand *Spaniards* are said to have been killed in this engagement, and the victory was complete on the part of the *Dutch*, who, with the *French*, lost only 10 ships.

A naval victory, with so many glorious circumstances attending it as did this, raised the reputation of the *Dutch* arms by sea to a prodigious height all over *Europe*, and no honours that could be bestowed, either by *France* or his country, were thought too great for *Van Tromp*. In the beginning of the year 1640, the prince of *Orange* invaded *Flanders*, but through the dispositions that had been made by the cardinal, he was every where unsuccessful and obliged to retire, leaving *Albert* at liberty to relieve *Arras*, then besieged by the *French*. The prince of *Orange* took the opportunity of his absence to besiege *Hulst*, but in this attempt he was likewise defeated by the *Spaniards*, and obliged with loss to abandon his enterprize. The operations in *Brasil* this year, were disadvantageous to the *Spaniards*. Their admiral, count *de la Torre*, had been dispatched thither with 46 sail of large ships, of which 27 were double manned galleons, but before he arrived at *St. Salvador*, he had lost 3000 of his land troops, and the survivors, who consisted of 2000 men, were so sickly that they could not do duty. The *Dutch* fleet in those parts, consisted of 41 sail, but generally of an inferior sort to those of the *Spaniards*. They had the advantage, however, of being well commanded by two admirals, *Looff* and *Huggens*, and their want of bulk

was amply compensated by the quickness and dexterity of their manoeuvres. *Looff* was killed by a cannon ball, at the beginning of the engagement, which lasted for several days, and though *de la Torre's* fleet, by the reinforcements he had received from the *Portuguese Brasils*, consisted of 94 sail, with 12,000 land troops on board, *Huygens* obtained over him a complete victory; 4000 *Spaniards* were killed and wounded, 12 of their largest ships were destroyed, and their crews perished, and pestilential diseases swept off half the survivors, while *Huygens*, during the whole long engagement, scarcely lost 100 soldiers and seamen! Thus prince *Maurice*, who upon the first appearance of this armament, had entertained thoughts of abandoning the *Brasils*, before the end of the year, beheld it reduced to four galleons and three merchant ships.

After *Portugal* had thrown off the *Spanish* yoke, *Maurice* repaired the *Dutch* fleet, under admiral *Jol*, which had suffered severely by storms, while cruising for the *Spanish* Plate fleet. He gave *Jol* orders to enlarge the *Dutch* conquests on the coast of *Angola*, where he was to secure the negro trade. He had with him 2200 land soldiers, commanded by one colonel *Henderson*, who besieged *Santo Paolo* on the coast of *Congo*, defeated the natives in a pitched battle, cut in pieces the army of the *Portuguese* governor, and took the town, where he found abundance of plunder, and which *Jol* fortified for a settlement. The governor remonstrated against this, and in answer, *Jol* drove him, and his people, out of the island of *Loanda*, and then conquered that of *St. Thomas*, where he died. In the mean while, prince *Maurice* conquered the province of *Maranbaan*; in consequence, half the *Brasils* were reduced to the sovereignty of the *Dutch*; but the new king of *Portugal*, *John IV.* concluded a ten years truce with the *States*, for their respective dominions all over the world; but this did not prevent the *Dutch* from driving the *Portuguese* out of *Japan*.

where a  
truce is  
concluded  
with the  
*Portu-  
guese*.

The  
young  
prince of  
*Orange*  
marries  
*Mary*, a  
princess of  
*England*,

In *Europe*, *William*, the young prince of *Orange*, espoused the princess *Mary Stuart*, daughter to *Charles I.* of *England*. After this, the elder prince of *Orange* besieged and took *Genep*, notwithstanding the brave defence made by its garrison, and the vigorous efforts of *Albert* to relieve it. *Cantelmo*, a *Spanish* general, defeated *Alnaerdt* and *Tillemont*, officers in the service of the *States*, and joining with *Fontaines*, he forced the prince of *Orange* to abandon a design he had formed against *Hulst*. Towards the end of the campaign, cardinal *Albert* (sometimes called *Ferdinand*) died, and the government of the *Low Countries* devolved upon *Francisco de Mello*, who, with the marquis *de Valada*, made head against the *French*, while *Fontaines*, the governor of *Bruges*, was opposed by the *Dutch*. The death of cardinal *Richelieu*, which followed soon after, made a great alteration in the system of the republic's affairs. The treaty, however, between *France* and the *States*, was re-  
newed



newed on the 6th of *March*, 1642, by which the latter were to receive a subsidy of 1,200,000 livres, on condition of their keeping a fleet in the service of *France*, and granting her troops a passage into *Germany* over the *Rhine*, the *Wesel*, and the *Maeſe*; but *Lewis XIII.* of *France* died before this treaty was ratified.

In the beginning of the year 1663, *Cantelmo*, the old *Spanish* general, was defeated by the young prince of *Orange*, and narrowly escaped being made prisoner; and every thing being settled between the new government of *Portugal* and prince *Maurice*, the latter returned to *Europe* with a rich fleet and was received by his country with distinguished honours, being made lieutenant-general under the prince of *Orange*, and governor of *Wesel*. By this time, as the reader will see in the history of *Germany*, every thing was preparing for facilitating the grand conferences for peace, which had been for some years proposed at *Munster*, and *Osnaburg* in *Westphalia*. The *States General*, though sensible of the ambitious views of *France*, knew they had only her to depend upon, for the final establishment of their independency. *Van Tromp* assisted them in reducing *Graveline*; and the prince of *Orange*, after receiving a check by the prince of *Iſſemburgh*, in marching to their assistance through *Flanders*, reduced the important fortress of *Sas van Ghent*, on the 7th of *September*.

When the conferences opened at *Munster*, the *States General* found themselves somewhat hampered in their engagements with *France*, by which they had promised not to conclude any truce or peace without her consent. *Spain* did all she could to divide the *States* from *France*, but they could not trust her; and *Mazarine*, the *French* first minister, gained them entirely over, by offering to give the same honours to their ambassadors, as the *French* court had always paid to those of *Venice*. While conferences for peace were held, the operations of war went on with great briskness in *Flanders*, till the prince of *Orange* desiring to be assisted in his favourite plan of reducing *Antwerp*, was by the *French* generals given to understand, that it was inconsistent with their instructions. They could not, however, prevent him from beating the *Spanish* general *Beck*, and laying siege to *Hulst*, which, notwithstanding the most artful and the most determined opposition he met with, he reduced. The court of *France* complained of his refusing the catholic religion to be tolerated in that town. His answer was, that he had his reasons for it; and that he had already incurred the suspicions of the *States General*, for the favours he had granted to the *Roman* catholics in his conquests.

The reduction of *Hulst* was followed by the conquest of several other places, by which he acquired a barrier for the dominions of the *States* from *Lillo* to *Sluys*: Those were the last conquests of his life; for he was now worn out by a complication of distempers; but in his latter days, he became

more than ever sensible of the ambitious, and self-interested, views of *France*.

The  
*Dutch*  
driven out  
of *Brasil*.

The successes of the *Dutch* in *Brasil* against the *Spaniards* were now looked upon with an evil eye by the new government of *Portugal*. Their ambassador at the *Hague* had thrown out many hints of dissatisfaction on that account, which were disregarded by the *States*, and upon the return of prince *Maurice* from *Holland*, *Antonio de Silva*, the *Portuguese* vice-roy of *Brasil*, formed a kind of universal insurrection there against the *Dutch*. It is said, that a plan had been laid for massacring the heads of the *Dutch* at a friendly meeting, but the latter having intelligence of the conspiracy, by letters from *Europe*, within an hour of its intended execution, found means to escape. Though they beat the *Portuguese* in a sea fight, yet they lost *Cape St. Augustin*, *Rociff*, and *Olinda*, with other places, and mutual massacres filled both colonies. Those accounts coming to *Europe*, it was with difficulty that the prince of *Orange* saved the *Portuguese* ambassador at the *Hague*, from being torn in pieces; but the *States*, who believed that nothing had been done without orders from the *Portuguese* government, carried their complaints to the court of *France*. Cardinal *Mazarine* took that opportunity of upbraiding the *States*, with their having entered into separate negotiations with the *Spaniards*, but promised them all the services that *France* could do them by her interposition, and advised them by all means to maintain their *Brasil* settlements. A fleet of 52 ships was accordingly sent out, under admiral *Boucher*; and *Schuppen* was to direct the land operations. Hostilities recommenced and raged for ten years, with a variety of operations which are too minute for general history; but the final consequence was, the utter expulsion of the *Dutch* from the *Brasils*. It may be proper here just to observe, that the war between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese* in those parts, was of the utmost service towards the establishment of the *English* islands in *America*. *Brasil* was the original country of the *American* sugar-cane; and the subjects of both nations being, by turns, sometimes obliged to take shelter in *Barbados*, *Antigua*, and other *English* islands, introduced among the planters the culture and manufacture of that profitable and useful commodity.

Death of  
the prince  
of *Orange*,  
who is  
succeeded  
by his son.

While the conferences for peace were going on at *Munster* and *Osnaburg*, cardinal *Mazarine* continued the subsidy to the *States*, and laid before the prince of *Orange* a plan for besieging *Ghent*, and afterwards for reducing *Antwerp*. The marquis of *Castel Rodrigo*, who governed the *Spanish* *Netherlands*, in the absence of the archduke *Leopold*, hearing of this proposal, demanded a suspension of arms, during the time of the conferences. Though this was not granted, yet partly through the indisposition of the prince of *Orange*, who was afflicted with the gout, and partly through his backwardness

to

to concur longer with *French* plans, the design was laid aside. This, however, did not prevent *Van Tromp* from blocking up *Dunkirk* by sea, while the *French* besieged it by land; but the *States*, by this time, began to be so jealous of the *French* designs, that by the prince of *Orange's* advice, they laboured sincerely for peace. Such was the state of affairs with the *States General*, when on the 14th of *March*, 1647, the prince of *Orange* died, in the 67th year of his age, with the character of his inheriting all the virtues and public spirit of his illustrious ancestors. He was succeeded by his son, *William II.* in all his power and offices. That young prince was then in the highest reputation, both with the people and the army, and he endeared himself to the *States General* by an early declaration, that he would follow the maxims of his father, by accelerating a peace with *Spain*. This peace was accordingly concluded at *Munster*, notwithstanding all the obstacles it met with from the *French* ministry. *Monf. Servien* was sent from *Paris* to the *Hague* to traverse it, but had the very singular mortification to meet with affronts, while he saw the *Spanish* minister loaded with caresses. The deputies of the *States* at *Munster*, were *Knuyt* and *Pauw*, and they agreed with the *Spanish* plenipotentiaries, that his catholic majesty should from that time acknowledge the freedom and independency of the *States* upon himself and all other powers; that a clause of *uti possidetis* should take place, between the two powers, in all parts of the world, after the hour the treaty was signed. We are henceforth to consider the *States General* as forming a sovereign and an independent republic.

*France* did not fail to upbraid the *States General* for their ingratitude, in concluding a peace without their participation, and the *States* pleaded necessity in their vindication. They affected to reconcile *France* and *Spain*, but the *French* plenipotentiaries declined the offer, and those of the *States General*, upon their return to the *Hague*, received the thanks of their country for what they had done. The system of *Europe* was now all of a sudden altered; the house of *Bourbon* became then what the house of *Austria* had been before, the object of public dread and jealousy, and *Spain* the favourite ally of the *States General*. The *French* made violent efforts, but to no purpose, to prevent the *States* from ratifying the treaty, for the peace was solemnly proclaimed on the 15th of *June*.

The elector of *Brandenburgh* demanded the *States* to evacuate the places they held in the dutchy of *Cleves*. They refused to comply, because they held them in trust, during the dependency of the dispute, which was not yet finished. The court of *Spain* countenanced this refusal, and endeavoured to bring the *States* to a rupture with *France*, by raising several commercial difficulties within the *Low Countries*, arising from the late treaty. *France* left nothing unattempted that could embroil the new allies

1647.

Conclusi-  
on of the  
peace of  
*Munster*,between  
the *Spa-  
niards* and  
the *States  
General*,to the dis-  
like of the  
*French*.



allies with each other, and endeavoured to gain over the young prince of *Orange* to her interests, but without any visible effect.

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*The History of the UNITED PROVINCES.*

BOOK IV.

Rise of  
the war  
between  
*England*  
and *Hol-*  
*land.*

*HOLLAND*, during the civil wars of *England*, had maintained an exact neutrality between the two parties, and the good offices done by the *Orange* family, to that of *Charles I.* were only of a private nature, and such as arose from their near connections in blood. They did not, however, fail to alarm the jealousy of the *English* republicans, and the *States*, at the earnest request of the prince of *Wales*, who took refuge at the *Hague*, named their two most respectful members, *Payw* and *Joachim*, the one 88, the other 78 years of age, to repair to *England* in the depth of winter, and to mediate for the unhappy *Charles I.* They performed their commission cheerfully and zealously, but, as is well known, to no purpose. When the dreadful event of that king's decapitation took place, the *States* endeavoured to preserve the appearances of their neutrality, and though they condoled with the prince, they did not congratulate him upon his accession to the throne of *England*. Sir *William Boswell* had, for some time, resided at the *Hague* as minister from *Charles I.* as Mr. *Strickland* did from the parliament. The latter now demanded audience from the *States*, as ambassador from the republic of *England*. His demand, through the influence of the *Orange* party, was rejected, and *Dorisslaus*, a native of *Holland*, but one of the regicides of *England*, who had been sent over as an assistant to *Strickland*, was murdered in his own house by the *English* royalists, who had flocked to *Holland*; nor did the *States General* sufficiently bestir themselves in bringing the murderers to justice. In short, the government of the *Dutch* republic had, at this time, a most disagreeable part to act. The people, in general, detested the new *English* republicans, because of the murder of *Charles*. The *States General* were not their friends, through political considerations. The *States* of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, though inwardly of the same sentiments, were cautious, and protested against every resolution that could give umbrage to *England*, and this induced *Strickland* to renew his applications for an audience, which the *States General* did not any longer think proper absolutely to refuse him.

Intrigues  
of *Mazarine*.

The designing *Mazarine* intrigued against the royal party at the *Hague*, and endeavoured to draw the prince of *Orange* from his interests, and to involve the *States General* in a

new war with *Spain*. At this time, his catholic majesty sent an envoy extraordinary to the *Hague*, who in the strongest terms, acknowledged the sovereignty of the *States General*, but could not bring them to break their neutrality, by engaging them to take part with the *Spaniards* in *Germany*. About the same time, a ridiculous demand was made, by the prior of the order of *St. John of Jerusalem*, of the commanderies of *Malta*, in the dominions of the *States General*; but without any effect. A treaty between the crown of *Denmark* and the *States General* took place, at the same period, by which the navigation duties of the *Sound* were regulated, and each party was to furnish the other, when attacked, with 4000 men. This treaty, however, met with great opposition from the northern powers, because all duties for shipping were to be comprehended in a certain annual sum, paid to the *Danes* by the *States General*.

This æra, properly speaking, gave rise to the system of 1650. moneyed interest, which has since so greatly prevailed in *Europe*. The *States General* found themselves vastly in debt, which the *States of Holland* offered to discharge, if the creditors would not agree to a reduction of the interest, which they readily did. The annual charge thus exceeding the income, a kind of land-tax was introduced, which gave rise to public and the discontents, and disputes succeeded about diminishing the public charge, by reducing the standing army, which the prince of *Orange* opposed. It is certain, that the province of *Holland*, which at this time wanted to take the lead in the affairs of the *States General*, was jealous of the prince of *Orange*, but he was supported by the deputies of the other provinces, the army, and the common people. *Holland* still insisted upon presiding and directing, but was opposed by the council of state, and the count *de Nassau*, governor of *Friesland*. Assisted by them, the prince of *Orange* obtained a resolution from the *States General*, against the proposed reduction of the army and garrisons, and a deputation was sent to each town of the province of *Holland*, to prevail with the magistrates to change their sentiments. This was a step equally imprudent as unconstitutional. The prince of *Orange*, who attended the deputies, met with nothing but insults in the towns where he was admitted; most of whom would not suffer the deputies to enter upon their business, which, they said, was unconstitutional, and the city of *Amsterdam*, with some others, shut their gates, both against the prince, and the deputation. The *States of Holland* justified their cities and towns in what they had done, and fresh fuel was soon added to the rising flame.

Admiral *de Wit*, who had been sent to *Brasil*, returned about this time with a ruined fleet, but without making the smallest effort, for re-establishing the affairs of the republic in that country. He was put under arrest by the prince of *Orange* as high admiral, while the *States General* ordered the six captains who

He fails  
in a design  
upon *Am-  
sterdam*.

who had served under him to be imprisoned likewise. They were supported by the *States of Holland*, and the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, forcing open the prison doors, set the prisoners at liberty. The prince of *Orange* most inconsiderately arrested the six deputies of *Holland*, among whom was *Jacob de Wit*, burgo-master of *Dort*, and father to the famous pensionary of that name. The prince, at first, confined him in his palace, and afterwards in the castle of *Louvestein*, and he ordered a body of troops, under count *de Nassau*, instantly to march and take possession of *Amsterdam*. The design was discovered, and two of the magistrates, *Bitzker* and *Nydecooper*, were so well assisted by the people and the sailors, in preparing for the defence of the city, that upon the count's arrival, he found his design discovered, and sent to the prince of *Orange* for farther orders. The prince was flying to his assistance, when *Berwerwert*, one of his friends, carried him to a rising ground, from whence he shewed him that vast body of waters, which the magistracy of *Amsterdam* had prepared for inundating the whole of his army, by only opening their sluices. The prince was convinced, and the siege raised, by order of the *States General*, under whose authority the prince had all along pretended he was acting; but though the *States General* were undoubtedly the supreme tribunal, they had no power to violate those privileges, upon which their own authority rested.

An accommodation.

This attack upon *Amsterdam*, though quick and unsuccessful, had great consequences. The *Orange* faction slandered the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, with favouring the *English* republicans. The merchants and chief inhabitants had felt the inconveniences of the siege, slight as it was, and the prince's troops were still at the gates of the city. The prince invited the magistrates to treat, to which they had many reasons for agreeing; and among other stipulations, it was concluded, that a proper satisfaction should be given to the prince, who, however, never thought proper to enter into *Amsterdam*; and that the two brave magistrates should be stript of their employments, to which they themselves were magnanimously the first to consent; and thus a most ruinous civil war, which must have put an end to the infant independency of the *States*, was prevented.

Death of the prince of *Orange*.

The memory of the prince of *Orange* has been most severely treated by writers, for his unsuccessful attempt upon *Amsterdam*; but perhaps the chief blame may be found to lye in the rotten texture of the *Dutch* government, who vested the supreme authority in men, who were under the controul of their inferiors; for it now appeared that the sovereignty of the *States General*, and the Stadtholdership of the prince of *Orange*, were but nominal, when opposed to the single province of *Holland*. It is hard to pronounce what the event might have been, had the prince survived; but he was carried off by the small-pox, in the 24th year of his age, on the 6th



of *November*. He died with the character of equalling, if not surpassing, both in genius and ambition, the most illustrious of his predecessors. Every town in *Holland* was in a blaze of triumph when the certainty of his death was known. Never did any prince die in a more critical situation, both for his country and his family. His widow, eight days after his death, was brought to bed of a son, afterwards *William III.* of *Great Britain*; but the splendor, the power, the weight, and the authority of the house of *Orange*, in the *United Provinces*, seemed all of a sudden to be like a tale that was told.

The six deputies of *Holland* who had been imprisoned by the late prince in the castle of *Louvestein*, had been set at liberty, and were now loaded with additional honours and preferments; and all differences between the *States General* and those of *Holland* were immediately compromised with the greatest appearances of cordiality. Under the pretext of bringing the constitution of the republic back to its original principles, the *States of Holland* stript the house of *Orange* of all its power, for the future, to influence the provincial *States*, and indeed of all its rights and privileges in the government, on pretence of their having been usurped. The elder princess-dowager of *Orange*, widow to prince *Henry*, wrote circular letters to the provinces, to put the people in mind of their obligations to the house of *Orange*, and that the infant prince, in his cradle, ought not to be deprived of his birthright, but instated in the Stadtholdership, which he might hold by a lieutenant during his minority. The *States*, who were apprehensive of the spirit of the people, devoted to the house of *Nassau*, returned the princess an evasive, but civil, answer, and the young prince received the name of *William*, with great solemnity, at his baptism. Many were the competitors for being his guardian; but the dispute was decided in favour of his mother, who was, however, to be assisted by the elector of *Brandenburgh*.

Affairs of  
his family,

In 1651, was held an assembly of the *States General*, in which the principles of the union of *Utrecht*, and the synod of *Dort*, were renewed and confirmed; and it was resolved, that all officers, civil and military, even down to the prince's own guards, should take an oath of fidelity to the *States General* and the *States of Holland*. In short, in this assembly, all possible measures were taken to prevent for ever the revival of the Stadtholdership. About this time, a foolish ambassador from *Portugal* thrust himself into the assembly of the *States*, and offered them the protection of his master against the crown of *Spain*; but he was soon silenced, and obliged to make a precipitate retreat, by the high demands which the *States* made upon that crown. This difficulty being over, it soon appeared, that, however dangerous the office of Stadtholder had been to the *States of Holland*, it had been often highly useful in quelling the claims of the antient nobility, particularly in the provincial assemblies, which were now revived;

1651.

and of the  
*States General*,

but the nobles differing among themselves, their pretences were set aside by the *States General*.

who are  
divided  
concern-  
ing their  
behaviour  
towards  
*England*.

A nego-  
tiation set  
on foot.

The civil wars of *England* were a golden æra for the *Dutch*, who engrossed, during that time, most of the *English* trade. His catholic majesty had formally recognized the power of the parliament, which was now intent upon reviving the marine, and restoring the trade of their country. The *Dutch* government saw, that they must make those determined republicans, at once, either their enemies or their friends; and they inclined the rather to the former, because they knew, that, if the latter, they must be their rivals. The *English* republicans demanded immediate satisfaction for the murder of *Dorislau*, and that the sovereignty of their parliament should be acknowledged by the *States*; but in this they were seconded by the *States* of *Zealand* alone. The parliament having confiscated the estates of the royal family and the royalists, cut down the timber that grew upon them, and employed it to the best of purposes, that of raising a marine, that might give law on the ocean. *Strickland* was encouraged by the *States* of *Holland* to go over to *England*, where he brought his masters to consent to enter upon a negotiation; and *St. John*, though he had little or no knowledge in foreign affairs, was appointed to manage it, chiefly because he was the friend of *Cromwell*, then absent in *Scotland*. *St. John*, on his arrival in *Holland*, was obliged to put up with some insults which he received from the royalists, who were very numerous there, and who were encouraged by *Mazarine*, from the dread he had of an alliance taking place between the two republics. The first conferences passed in demands made for arrears, debts, and depredations, by both parties, and which neither would admit of. *St. John* then proceeded to his main business, which was that of an offer of an offensive and defensive alliance between the two republics, but qualified with certain insolent demands, to the disgrace and detriment of the house of *Orange*. The *States General* gave a smooth, but evasive, answer to this proposition, upon which *St. John*, by order of his masters, returned in great disgust to *England*. He was followed by two ambassadors, to apologize for the conduct of the *States*, but no regard was paid to them, and the demands, some of them reaching as far back as the massacre of *Amboyna*, made by the parliament upon the *Dutch*, far exceeded those that ever had been made by the family of the *Stuarts*. In an instant, hostilities commenced, and the *English* had orders to demand, for the meanest frigate they had, the usual honours of the flag, from the strongest *Dutch* ship they met with at sea. This did not exasperate the *Dutch* so much, as the act of navigation, which at this time passed in *England*, and which was one of the best that ever did pass, enacting, “ That no commodity  
“ whatsoever, of the growth or manufacture of *Asia*, *Africa*,  
“ or *America*, as well of the *English* plantations as others,  
“ shall be imported into *England*, *Ireland*, or any the territories  
“ thereof, in any ships or vessels, but in such as do truly be-  
“ long

The act of  
navigation.  
on.

“long to this commonwealth, or the plantations thereof,  
 “under the penalty of the forfeiture of goods and vessels. And  
 “of *Europe* the like, that no commodities whatsoever of foreign  
 “growth or manufacture, which are to be brought into this  
 “commonwealth, in ships belonging to the people thereof,  
 “shall be by them shipped from any places, but only from  
 “those of the same growth, production, or manufacture, or  
 “from those parts where the same commodities can only be,  
 “or usually have been shipped for transportation.”

This act aimed at the vitals of the *Dutch* commerce. The *Blake* more the *States* complained, the parliament stood upon the defeats higher terms, for they now not only demanded two millions *Tromp* by sterling, and satisfaction upon the *Amboyna* murderers, by sea. way of indemnification for their losses, but that every little *English* bark should be at liberty to search the *Dutch* first rate men of war. By this time, the *Dutch* had suffered severely from the *English* captures, and an *English* man of war had sunk a ship of one of their fishing fleets for refusing to pay the tribute demanded for that liberty. After some transactions on both sides, that were rather ceremonious than material, the *Dutch*, in the beginning of the year 1652, laid an embargo upon all the *English* shipping in their harbours, and *Tromp* appeared before *Portsmouth* with a fleet of 45 sail. *Blake*, the *English* admiral, was not in any immediate condition to resent this insult; but getting his fleet together, he perceived that of *Tromp* at the back of the *Goodwin Sands*. *Blake*, though he had with him then no more than 26 ships of the line, demanded, by a discharge of cannon without shot, the honours due to the *English* flag, and he was answered by a broad-side from *Tromp*, and then the fight begun; but while it lasted, *Blake* was critically reinforced by 8 ships under commodore *Bourn*. The engagement continued till it was dark, when it was found that the *English* had taken one of the *Dutch* ships and sunk another, with the loss of no more than 15 men of their own; and next morning the *Dutch* fleet was observed to be four leagues distant from that of *England* towards the coast of *France*. 1652.

This engagement, for it could not be called a victory, exhibited an unusual object to the consideration of *Europe*, that progress of an infant state disputing the sovereignty of the seas against the fleet of a nation which had so long held it, and commanded by the great *Tromp*, who was deservedly accounted the ablest sea officer that that or any other age had produced. Further This phenomenon was no less astonishing to the *States* themselves, who by the meanest palliations sought to excuse their conduct, even to the denying that they had given *Tromp* orders to act hostilely. Their remonstrances were treated with the utmost contempt by the *English* parliament, who both applauded and remunerated their admiral and officers, and gave orders to redouble their naval preparations. The *Dutch*, seeing all hopes of accommodation vanish, did the like, and *Van Galen*, one of their admirals, was sent with a squadron to the *Mediterranean*, against *Bodley* the *English* commodore there.



there. In the mean while, *Van Tromp's* fleet was dispersed, and he himself forced into the *Texel*. *Blake* made use of that opportunity to sail towards *Shetland*, where he attacked the grand fleet of fishing ships, and took all their convoy, consisting of 12 men of war; but suffered the smaller ships to escape, upon their crews promising never to return to fish in those seas without licence from the *English* parliament. Sir *George Ascue*, another *English* admiral, during the absence of *Blake* northwards, lay in the channel with a small squadron, which must have been destroyed had not another storm dissipated *Ruyter's* fleet, which was obliged to return to *Holland*, where it was reinforced to the enormous power of 120 sail. This successor of *Tromp* in his commands, glory, and naval achievements, had raised himself from the condition of a common sailor, but was now put at the head of a separate squadron, and sent to convoy a rich homeward bound merchant fleet. He encountered *Ascue*, but though they fought for three days, they separated without either being able, with justice, to boast of a victory. In the mean while, *Van Galen* engaged and defeated a small *English* squadron under *Bodley* in the *Straits*, but lost his own life in the encounter. *Ruyter* having brought his convoy to *Amsterdam*, complained of his having been ill served by his officers during the late engagement, and the *States General* ordered *Tromp* to take the command of the whole fleet.

*Van Tromp*  
displaced.

The common people now looked on *Van Tromp*, on account of the late storms he had encountered, as being guilty either of incapacity or treachery, and obliged the *States General* to displace both him and *de Ruyter*, and give the command of the fleet to *de Wit*. This produced a mutiny of the seamen, which was, not without applying force, with great difficulty repressed by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*; but *Ruyter* was restored to his command. The mutiny was partly occasioned by the immense losses which the *Dutch* navigation and commerce were every day suffering from the *English*, who were enriched by their spoils. *De Wit's* and *Ruyter's* squadrons being joined, sailed in quest of *Blake*, who was now returned laden with plunder from his northern expedition, and whose fleet was repaired with amazing quickness. The two fleets coming in sight of each other, *Ruyter* made a disposition for an engagement that would have daunted any man but *Blake*; for he drew up his ships in a line of battle behind a sand bank, so that the capital ships of the *English* could not attack them without manifest disadvantage. *Blake* divided his force into three squadrons, one led by himself, another by *Penn*, and the third by *Bourn*; but as *Ruyter* had foreseen, his three large ships struck upon the *Kentish Knock*. Those ships being for the present rendered unserviceable, *de Wit*, against *Ruyter's* judgment, quitted the advantages of his situation to fight the *English* at open sea. The ships got off the *Knock* and engaged *de Wit's* division with the greatest intrepidity. *De Wit* pointed his chief strength against the *Sovereign*, in which *Blake* fought,

The *Dutch*  
again de-  
feated by  
sea.

the

the strongest ship the *English* ever had built; but the coolness and resolution with which *Blake* and the *English* commanders fought, at once exasperated and dispirited the *Dutch*, who now met with a courage, as well as operations, of which they never had entertained the smallest idea. Night parted the combatants, after *Blake* had sunk one of the capital *Dutch* ships, and *Mildmay*, an *English* commander, had taken their rear admiral, but his own ship and two *Dutch* ships were sunk during the engagement.

Though the *English*, who lost no more than 40 of their men, but had 500 wounded, had an undisputed claim to the victory, yet the *Dutch* endeavoured to disguise their own loss, and had *Ruyter* agreed to it, *de Wit* would have renewed the fight next morning; but *Ruyter* knew the genius of the *English* and the *Dutch* too well, and their fleet crowded all the sail they could to the *Goree*, which they entered the 30th of *October*, 1652. *Charles II.* was then at *Paris*, where he made an offer to the *Dutch* ambassador to go as a volunteer on board their fleet, provided he might be at liberty to command such of the *English* ships as should declare for him. This proposal was transmitted to the *States General*, whose mighty ideas of their naval power were now so much abated, that they had resolved upon a peace at any rate with *England*, and therefore his majesty's proposal was set aside. All the palliations of the *States* could not stifle the public discontents which were ready to break out into open rebellion, when the *Dutch* saw their invincible armada, which was to decide the empire of the seas in their favour, ingloriously flying before an enemy inferior in force. *Van Tromp* was restored to his command, and ordered to convoy home a fleet of 300 ships. The reputation of *Tromp* was so high, that his fleet became stronger than that which had been beat, while *Blake* had sent off the greatest part of his to be refitted, or to other destinations. He saw the superiority of the *Dutch*, but he engaged them on the 25th of *November*, though under inexpressible disadvantages, from eleven in the forenoon till six in the afternoon, when the darkness of the night, in all probability, saved the *English* from total destruction. In this engagement, *Blake's* ship was disabled, two others of his fleet were taken, two burnt, and one sunk; while all the loss of the *Dutch* was one ship, which was blown up by accident. But though it is certain that this victory was gained on the side of the *Dutch* by an irresistible superiority of numbers, yet *Tromp*, with a vain-glory which does no honour to his memory, proceeded towards his convoy with a broom fixed on his main-top-mast head, intimating that he intended to sweep the channel clear of the *English*.

The *Dutch* admiral, *Cats*, commanded a squadron in the and are *Mediterranean*, but *Appleton*, the *English* commodore there, victorious being greatly inferior to him in strength, gave him the slip. in the *Me-*  
The instructions of *Cats* led him to commit many insolences *iterra-*  
Vol. IX. C c against *near*.

against the *French* themselves, which his most christian majesty resented by calling upon them for money due to him by treaties. The wealth obtained, during the short continuance of this war, by the *English* on the seas, was so large as to be hardly credible, but it proves the immense trade the *Dutch* then carried on. Those losses fell upon the rich, while the poor suffered severely by the total discontinuance of their herring fishery. Every disaster, as usual, was imputed to the government, and the people of *Zealand* tumultuously demanded a Stadtholder of the family of *Orange*. This was opposed with the greatest warmth and zeal by the states of *Holland*; and the union of *Utrecht* was in danger of being dissolved, when all parties found themselves obliged to reunite against the *English*. Upon the return of *Tromp*, with his immense convoy, he received the thanks of the *States General*, and was continued in his command in conjunction with *Ruyter*.

1653.  
The *Dutch*  
defeated  
by sea.

In the beginning of the year 1653, both nations applied with indefatigable industry to the increase of their marine; and by the beginning of *February*, *Blake* had under his command a gallant fleet of sixty sail, with which he intended to intercept the great convoy which the two *Dutch* admirals were bringing home. On the 18th, both fleets met, that of the *Dutch* being superior in strength. So dreadful a combat on the deep, perhaps, had never been seen; *Van Tromp* wanted to preserve his high reputation, and *Blake* to make amends for his late defeat; the particulars would fill a history itself. *Blake* and *Dean* led up the attack, followed by 12 ships, and sustained the fury of the whole *Dutch* fleet, till disengaged by their other ships. For three days did this dreadful engagement last, till nature seemed to wear a new face in air and sea, through the explosions of smoke, the wrecks of ships, and dead bodies, and every species of marine desolation. The roaring of the cannon was such as hushed the sea into a calm. *Tromp* seemed to be the first who was touched by the shocking appearances of death, which were every moment encreasing; and on the evening of the third day he drew off his fleet in excellent order, after losing 11 capital ships, 30 merchantmen, 2,000 sailors and marines, and having 1,500 wounded, and 1,100 taken prisoners. The loss of the *English*, with regard to men, was perhaps equal to that of the *Dutch*; but though they lost but one ship of war, the whole of their fleet was so shattered that they could not pursue their enemy with any effect.

Affairs of  
the north.

It must be acknowledged that *Van Tromp*, though beaten, carried his point, through the masterly manner in which he brought home his convoy; but the naval glory of the *Dutch* was now eclipsed, and the *Swedens* were inclinable to take part with *England* in the war. All that *Van Buiningen*, the *Dutch* envoy, could obtain, was the promise of a neutrality; but he persuaded his *Danish* majesty to commit a shameful breach of good faith, in seizing into his own hands the ships and



and cargoes of an *English* merchant fleet, to which he had given refuge in the port of *Copenhagen*. His *Danish* majesty afterwards concluded a treaty with the *States General*, by which he was to furnish the *Dutch* with 20 ships of war, upon their paying him a subsidy of 100,000 rix dollars. By this treaty, which was offensive and defensive, the *English* were excluded from the *Baltic*; but the effects of it, upon the whole, were next to nothing, as his *Danish* majesty never would suffer his ships to join the *Dutch* fleets.

Mr. *Pauw*, the pensionary of *Holland*, was now dead, and *De Wit* *John de Wit* was chosen in his room. This great man hated chosen the house of *Orange*, and the power of a Stadtholder, and the pension-first exercise of his office, was to enter into a secret negotia-ary of *Hol-* tion with *England* for peace. By this time, *Cromwell* was land. master of the *English* government, and was by no means averse to that measure. The *English* fleet had been repaired, and refitted with timber and other materials from *Denmark*, and in the beginning of *June*, the three *Dutch* admirals, *Tromp*, *de Wit*, and *Ruyter*, were again at sea, with another vast fleet. *Monk* and *Dean* (*Blake* commanding a separate division) commanded the main fleet of the *English*, which consisted of ninety-five men of war, and five fire-ships, as that of the *Dutch* did of ninety-eight men of war, and seven fire-ships. On the 2d of *June* The *Dutch* both fleets met, and after another most dreadful engagement, defeated in a ter- in which *Van Tromp* exerted himself with great abilities and in a ter- intrepidity, the fury of the *Dutch* gave way to the courage of rible sea- the *English*. The *English* admiral, *Dean*, was killed in the fight. beginning of the engagement, but his loss was concealed by *Monk*, who, with admirable presence of mind, dropt his cloak upon *Dean's* body when it fell. All *Tromp's* authority could not oblige his commanders to keep his line of battle. It is said that he fell short of ammunition, and began to retreat about three in the afternoon, after seeing three of his best ships sunk, two blown up, and eleven taken, with 1500 of his sailors. His own ship had been twice boarded by vice-admiral *Penn*, and must have been taken, had she not been disengaged by *Ruyter* and *de Wit*. A vast number of merchant ships were taken and destroyed on this occasion. The whole of the *Dutch* fleet, in short, must have been destroyed, had not *Tromp* sheltered them behind the banks of *Weilingen*, where the capital *English* ships could not attack them. The most extraordinary circumstance of this battle was, the cheapness of the victory, which the *English* purchased without the loss of a ship, and besides *Dean*, only one captain, and a very few of their common sailors, were killed.

This defeat was the more discouraging to the *Dutch*, as it Repair could admit of no palliation, and as their admirals had been their fleet. unblameable in their conduct. *De Wit* honestly told the *States* that the *English* were their masters, and the masters of the ocean. *Van Tromp* and *Ruyter* remonstrated upon the superiority of the *English* weight of metal to theirs, that their ships

ships were ill provided, and their seamen worse paid. The *States* readily promised them redress, and left it to themselves to execute their own demands. The popular complaints, as usual, were renewed, and it was now known, that a negotiation was far advanced, between *Cromwell* and *Van Buiningen*; but it was carefully concealed from the public, who were swayed by the *Orange* party. *Van Tromp*, who was a sanguine friend to that house, resumed his command, and lost no time in proceeding to hostilities; before *Beverning*, and other deputies who had been sent to treat of peace, could open their commission. The state of the *English* government, at this time, under *Cromwell*, gave them vast advantages, and some of the most staunch *English* republicans, *Blake* in particular, were against pushing a sister commonwealth to ruin. This was the true reason, why the late battle had such inconsiderable consequences. The *Orange* party, by the intelligence they kept up with the friends of the house of *Stuart*, knew of the divisions in *Cromwell's* councils, and pushed for the election of a Stadtholder, which was vigorously opposed by *de Wit*, and the *Louvestein* faction. The latter found the tide of popularity run so high for a war, that they durst not avow the measures they had entered into for peace. Even the children at the *Hague* enlisted themselves under the mock banner of the young prince of *Orange*. This gave offence to *de Wit* and his party. Parents took the parts of their children, tumults ensued, the prisons were soon filled, and the whole province wore a face of uproar and confusion. The inhabitants of *Sluys* rebelled, and a military detachment reduced them to reason by stratagem. The count of *Nassau* interested himself in the military preparations made upon the *Texel*, and he stood rebuked by the *States* for his officiousness. The *Zealanders* in general were even furious for a Stadtholder, but they were disappointed through the address of the *Louvestein* faction.

A treaty.

All this while, the great question about peace or war hung in suspense. *Cromwell* hated *Van Tromp* and the *Orange* party, but secretly hinted, that he was willing to grant peace to the *Dutch* government, provided they would enter into a union with *England*, incorporate as well as federate; a proposal which the *Dutch* very properly considered in the light of forging their own chains. The *Orange* party had a hint of this proposition, and *Cromwell* disowned it, for fear it should hurt him at home. In the mean while, the *Dutch* had again a fleet at sea, stronger and better provided than any of their former. Some writers say, that it amounted to 140 sail, under *Van Tromp*, *Ruyter*, and *de Wit*. The *Louvesteiners* were against its fighting, and for employing it only in protecting their trade, which was now distressed more than ever, as the *English* rode the seas in triumph, and locked up the mouth of the *Texel*; a sight which aroused the *Dutch* spirit so much, that it baffled all the refinements of *de Wit*, and fighting instructions were

were given to their admirals. Young *Van Tromp*, who had destroyed an *English* man of war in the *Straits*, was ordered to join the main body with his squadron. The elder *Van Tromp's* and *de Wit's* division was separated from that under *Ruyter*; but it ventured out, and maintained a dropping fight with the *English* fleet, which was commanded by *Monk*, *Lawson*, and *Penn*. By favour of the storm, *Tromp* joined *Ruyter*, by which the *Dutch* fleet amounted to 120 sail, and they went in a body to fight the *English*, who lay between *Scheveling* and the *Marse*. *Evertzen*, who was now added to the *Dutch* admirals, commanded the center, *Tromp* the right, *Ruyter* the left, and *de Wit* the rear of their fleet.

On the 31st of *July* the engagement began, and was continued with the most tempered intrepidity, that had ever been beheld at sea. It is superfluous for us to repeat, that its horrors and carnage exceeded all description. It is, however, proper to observe, that the *English* had, by this time, almost instructed the *Dutch* how to beat themselves, for their commanders fought in the close *English* manner, which did the greatest execution. *Tromp's* impetuosity penetrated the *English* line, but before he could recover himself he was surrounded by *Goodson's* squadron, and he himself was killed by a musket ball, as he was gallantly giving his orders on the deck. His last words were, "Courage, my lads, I have finished my course with glory." *Bredervode* took his command, but endeavoured to conceal his death. The brave *Ruyter* had been, by this time, so roughly handled by *Lawson*, that his ship was towed out of the line, but he was returning in a shallow to the engagement when *Tromp's* death being known, threw the *Dutch* seamen into an irrevocable dejection. A rout ensued, and the *Dutch* were totally defeated, with the loss of 24, some say 26 of their best ships, 4000 men killed, and 1000 taken prisoners, besides 1000 that were saved from perishing in the waves, by the humanity of the victors. That humanity was the more remarkable, as *Monk*, who commanded the *English* in chief, had given orders, that his men should neither take nor give quarter. The *English* lost some ships. They had 600 men killed, 1000 wounded, and their whole fleet was so shattered, that it was obliged to leave the *Dutch* coasts, which gave them a shallow pretence for disputing the honour of the victory.

Upon the return of the *Dutch* fleet into its harbours, a universal face of dejection overspread the republic. The *States*, of the however, magnanimously returned thanks to *Ruyter* and the surviving admirals. They were comforted by *Mazarine*, and they applied themselves to repair their marine. Two deputies were sent to *England*, where the ambassador from the *States* still resided. *Cromwell* sacrificed all considerations of public utility to his own safety, and he now offered peace to the *States*, on condition of their giving a perpetual exclusion to the house of *Orange* from the *Stadtholdership*, and limiting the

*Dutch* again defeated by sea.

Dejection of the republic.



## A GENERAL HISTORY

Negotia-  
tions of  
peace re-  
newed;

its diffi-  
culties

number of ships in their fleet, according to the pleasure of *England*. The deputies soon perceived, that the first condition was that which *Cromwell* chiefly enforced, and they promised to lay the negotiation before the *States*. *Beverning* accordingly carried it over, and it gave great satisfaction; but the province of *Holland* took such a lead in the negotiation, as gave umbrage to the other provinces; so that the credit of the deputies was greatly lessened in *Cromwell's* eyes. This created new difficulties, and the condition of excluding the *Orange* family from the Stadtholdership, was carefully concealed from the knowledge of the public. Various ridiculous refinements upon this negotiation have been introduced by historians. The truth is, *Cromwell* was bent upon a peace, having long fixed his thoughts upon a breach with *Spain*, with the captures of whose *West India* fleets, he was in hopes to supply the exigencies of his own needy precarious government. Cardinal *Mazarine* encouraged the *Dutch* not to give *Cromwell* all his terms, and *Jongerstal*, one of the deputies in *England*, was heard to say, that if the protector should insist upon the exclusion of the *Orange* family, the *States General* would declare war against his person, and offer peace to the rest of the nation. *Cromwell's* council was divided, and he himself irresolute, which encouraged *Beverning* and some of the other *Dutch* deputies, into some provoking insolences against *Cromwell*. On the other hand, six of the *States* were so immeasurably jealous of the province of *Holland*, that the latter threatened to break off from the confederacy, and *Cromwell* refused to treat with the deputies, because they were not properly authorized according to the forms of their constitution. Necessity obliged the *States* to remove this impediment, for the foreign trade of the *Dutch* was going daily to ruin, by the captures of the *English*, who sometimes seized whole fleets of their richest merchantmen.

*Cromwell*, during the negotiation, gave proofs of that rough commanding genius that had always distinguished his conduct. He knew the province of *Holland* hated the house of *Orange*, and therefore the *Hollanders* became so much his favourites, that he plainly told the deputies, he minded none of the *Dutch* but them, and indeed it is more than probable that he had a secret correspondence with *De Wit*, through *Beverning*, which encouraged his inflexibility. In short, the deputies gave up every thing to *Cromwell*, and the peace was signed in the beginning of *April*. Its chief articles were; That the *States General* should give no shelter, within their dominions, to the family of *Stuart*, or any of its adherents; nor to any enemy of the republic of *England* (by which *France* herself might possibly have been comprehended;) That they should restore to *England* the isle of *Poleton* in the *East Indies*, and pay 300,000 *l.* as a satisfaction for the cruelties that had been committed at *Ambony*; That they should give the honour of the flag to the *English*, comply with their navigation act, and pay for the

*English*

*English* ships that had been sold by the king of *Denmark*. Such were the ingrossed articles, when *Cromwell* insisted upon a separate one, that should perpetually exclude the family of *Orange* from the Stadtholdership, producing, at the same time, a resolution of the *States of Holland*, of the 24th of *August* preceeding, against the making the prince of *Orange* captain-general. He required that this act should be passed by the *States of Holland*, and returned with a ratification to *England* in a month, which was accordingly performed, tho' the consent of the *States* had never regularly been obtained; and even the members who agreed to the exclusion, declared, that they were overawed by *Cromwell*.

Never was a negotiation carried on and concluded under more disgraceful circumstances to a people, than the above was to the *States General*. Even the province of *Holland* durst not avow the exclusion of the *Orange* family, and the young prince's royal mother, with his other guardians, petitioned against it in the most moving terms. The rage of the people and the discontents of the other provinces were inexpressible. The province of *Holland* employed their credit with *Cromwell*, but in vain, to obtain a mitigation of the article, and they made the most submissive apologies to the prince of *Orange*, for what they had been obliged to do against her family; but all this did not hinder them from being considered as the tyrants and violators of the confederacy. To crown the misfortunes and dissensions of the republic, the king of *Denmark* refused to pay one farthing of the money, for which the *States* stood engaged. Nothing is more easy than to divert the attention of the *Dutch*, and *de Wit* did it on this occasion, from their jealousy of *Holland*, by converting it into indignation against the ingratitude of his *Danish* majesty.

After the peace with *England*, the *States of Holland* privately encouraged several writings, intimating, that they held from the kings of *Spain*, as counts of *Holland*, certain prerogative rights over the other provinces of the confederacy. This doctrine was intended as a justification of their conduct, during the late negotiation with *England*, and *de Wit* had the address to make it a public amusement from the press, to his discontented countrymen. The ambition of *Charles Gustavus* of *Sweden*, rendered a treaty between the *United Provinces* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, requisite for their mutual interests. By this treaty, the *States* guaranteed the dutchy of *Cleves* to the elector; who on the other hand, was to give free admission to the *Dutch* shipping in his ports of *Prussia* and *Pomerania*, and to defend the commerce of the *States* in the *Baltic*. This treaty proved of some disadvantage to the elector during the succeeding troubles of *Germany*, in which the *Dutch* acted on the defensive, and indeed *Charles* obliged the elector to break it, and considered the *Dutch* as his capital enemies; so that they were obliged to equip a squadron of 50 ships of war, to protect their trade in

and conclusion.

Affairs of the north,

and in Germany.

the *Baltic*. They sent *Buiningen*, but without success, to engage his *Danish* majesty against the *Swedes*, and *Charles* seemed determined at all events to exclude the *Dutch* from the commerce of the *Baltic*, in which he was countenanced by *Cromwell*.

*Nieuport* was, at this time, envoy from the *States General* in *England*, and had the care of carrying the late treaty into execution. This could not be done, without adjusting the concerns of two *East India* companies, and in doing which, the *Dutch* puzzled the negotiations so artfully, that *Cromwell* was satisfied with receiving, at that time, 70,000*l.* as part of the *Amboyna* indemnification, and great difficulties were raised about the restitution of the isle of *Poleçon*. At last, a treaty between *France* and *England*, in which the *Dutch* were comprehended, gave a truce to farther altercations, and the *States* sent a fleet to the *Mediterranean*, for the protection of their trade, against the *Algerines*. *De Wit*, whom we are now to consider as the head of the *Dutch* republic, laboured with the most unabated assiduity, during this interval of public tranquillity, in the service of the *States*. He persuaded the creditors of the republic to accept of four *per cent.* for their money, though, at the same time, interest in *England* was at nine *per cent.* He had the address to keep the office of marshal-general of the camp, which was vacant by the death of *Brederode*, for some time open, and to set aside a proposal that the young prince of *Orange* should be educated under the inspection of certain members of the *States General*. This last was a policy, dictated by *de Wit*'s abhorrence of every thing, that could indicate a connection between the house of *Orange* and the republic of the *United Provinces*. It was not, however, in his power to extinguish the ardour of the common people, for electing the prince their Stadtholder; but he carefully fomented divisions among them, concerning the qualifications and privileges of the respective provinces and towns.

The *Dutch* The *Dutch* commerce, at this time, was in great disorder in favour the the *Baltic*, through the animosity that still prevailed against *Danes*. them at the court of *Sweden*. They endeavoured once more to interest his *Danish* majesty in their favour, but without effect, and the *Swedes* had even the insolence to put their envoys, whom they sent to complain, under arrest. They were released, and apologies were made; but the *States* ordered *Opdam*, who had succeeded *Van Tromp* in his command, to proceed with a squadron to the *Baltic*, for the protection of their trade. This produced an application from the king of *Sweden*, who was then preparing to besiege *Dantzic*, to persuade his *Danish* majesty to keep the *Dutch* fleet from entering the *Baltic*. This negotiation had no effect, and in the mean while, *Opdam* arrived at *Dantzic*. This produced the peace of *Elbing*, which restored the affairs of the *States General* in the *Baltic*. The war which was then raging, between *Cromwell* and

Great address of  
*De Wit*.

Peace of  
*Elbing*.



and the *Spaniards*, had very disagreeable consequences with regard to the *Dutch*. He complained of their partiality towards the king of *Denmark*, against his favourite ally, *Charles Gustavus*; of their befriending the *Spaniards*, and of their tolerating a chapel at the *Hague*, in which *Charles II.* was prayed for by name. It is certain, that *Cromwell* had, at this time, some thoughts of breaking with the *Dutch*, and that they shut up the *Hague* chapel. He ordered all the *Dutch* ships, employed in the *Spanish* service, to be seized, and the *Dutch* seized the *Postilion*, and other *English India* ships; but, at the same time, they sent off *Nieuport*, as their ambassador to *England*, to appease *Cromwell*. That usurper was, at this time, in deep distress for the death of his beloved daughter, *Claypole*, and was feeling the approaches of the distemper which brought him to his grave; so that *Nieuport* did very little business, besides communicating his instructions to *Andrew Marvel*, who was joint Latin secretary with the famous *Milton*.

In the mean while, *Cromwell* got possession of *Dunkirk*, in a manner that is foreign to this history, and affairs in the *Baltic* took such a turn, that the *States General* refused to ratify the treaty of *Elbing*, as being too favourable for *Sweden*. The non-execution of this treaty does no great honour to the *Dutch* faith, as they insisted that all their countrymen, who built ships in *Sweden*, were to be intitled to the privileges of native *Swedens*, which *Charles* denied unless they were resident in *Sweden*. By those and other altercations, the *States* found themselves involved in a fresh quarrel with that kingdom; and fresh engagements were formed between the *Dutch* and the *Danes*. Matters were not on a better footing between the *States* and the *French*, whose privateers had taken 328 *Dutch* ships, and the people of *Marseilles* had committed an assassination on the body of the *Dutch* consul. The *States* finding all other remonstrances were in vain, ordered *Ruyter* to block up *Toulon* and to make reprisals, which he did of two *French* ships, very richly laden, and this drew forth an order for seizing all *Dutch* ships and effects, that were found in the ports of *France*. *Boreel*, a *Dutchman* of great spirit and capacity, remonstrated to the *French* monarch very freely, upon this proceeding; but *de Thou* was sent as *French* ambassador to the *Hague*, to complain of *Ruyter's* conduct. He found a strong *French* party, but the majority applauded *Ruyter's* conduct, and *Boreel's* behaviour. All the answer *de Thou* got, consisted of reciprocal remonstrances of injustice and depredations on the part of *France*, and the *States* behaved with so firm and high a spirit, that the *French* court soon softened its tone of dictature, and an accommodation took place.

The disputes between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*, in the and the *Brasil*, remained still undetermined, and the *States* sent two *Portuguese* ministers, attended with a strong fleet, to *Lisbon*. The *Portuguese*.

*guefe* prepared to defend themselves, and rejected, in very high terms, the proposals made by the *Dutch* ambassadors, which they termed unjust and insolent. Upon this, hostilities commenced between the two nations. The *Portuguese* seized the *Dutch* shipping in the *Tagus*; *Ruyter* took the *Portuguese* ships at sea, and the *Dutch* deputies, when they took leave, left a declaration of war in the hands of the *Portuguese* ministry. The consequence of this hasty quarrel would, in all probability, have been very disagreeable to the *Portuguese*, had not *Ruyter* been obliged to return to *Holland* to revictual his squadron.

The *Dutch*  
take part  
with the  
burghers  
of *Mun-*  
*ster*.

The exposed state of *Germany* towards the *Rhine*, induced the electors of *Mentz*, *Treves*, and *Cologne*, together with the duke of *Neuburgh*, to propose an alliance with the *States General*. The famous *Bernard Van Galen*, the warlike bishop of *Munster*, was likewise to have been one of the parties; but he quarrelled with the inhabitants of his capital, and the latter applied for protection to the *States General*, whose tedious forms consumed so much time, that the opportunity of so useful an alliance was lost. They, however, offered their mediation between the bishop and his subjects, whom he had besieged, but it was rejected contemptuously by the haughty prelate. Upon this, Mr. *Rhinegrave*, commissary-general, was ordered to march to the assistance of the burghers with some troops, and *Van Galen* thought proper to soften his demands upon the burghers. The nobility interposing, a slight accommodation took place; the bishop was received into the city, but without the usual honours and acclamations, and the troops of the republic returned home, without entering upon any action. Some of the provinces were all this while complaining, that *Holland*, upon all occasions, exercised too despotic a power in matters of government; and the *States* of that province had opposed the revival of the place of *Mareschal de camp*, which the *States General* had filled up. The latter were now called upon to maintain the balance of power in the north, which was endangered by the *Swedes*, who had besieged *Copenhagen*. *De Wit* pressed his countrymen to send immediately a fleet to the assistance of the *Danes*, and though this proposal was opposed by the provinces of *Zealand*, *Friesland*, and *Guelderland*, who insisted upon the previous appointment of a *Mareschal de camp*, yet in the spring, *Opdam* sailed with a fleet to the relief of *Denmark*, with orders to fight the *Swedes*. This spirited conduct was dictated to *de Wit* by his friend *Buiningen*, the *Dutch* resident at *Copenhagen*.

They beat Upon *Opdam's* arrival in the *Sound*, he descried the *Swedish* the *Swedes* fleet, under *Wrangel*, and immediately attacked it. The at sea. *Swedes* fought bravely, but the *Dutch* gained the victory, and *Wrangel* was forced to take refuge under the cannon of *Cronenburg*. Three *Swedish* ships were taken, three were sunk, and four driven ashore. The loss of men on both sides was very

very great, but the *Dutch* lost two admirals, *de Wit* and *Florizen*; and the *Swedes* raised some pretences to the victory, because they were not pursued. *Opdam*, instead of that, wisely followed his instructions, by throwing 2000 men and all kinds of necessaries into *Copenhagen*, by which he saved that city from being taken by the *Swedes*. As there was some likelihood that *Cromwell*, now in possession of *Dunkirk*, would declare for the *Swedes*, *Opdam* was ordered to winter in the *Baltic*, and the critical death of the usurper, which happened at that time, delivered the *States* from vast uneasiness. The accession of *Leopold* to the *Imperial* throne of *Germany*, gave a new turn to the politics of the republic, as they could not behold with indifference, the farther aggrandizement of the house of *Austria*. *Leopold* applied to them for their friendship, which they granted the more readily, as he declared himself a friend to *Denmark*, and the *States* were every day more and more convinced of the ambitious views of *France*.

The quarrel with *Portugal* was now resumed, and though Peace restored the *French* king offered his mediation, *Ruyter* was sent with a squadron to the *Tagus*. His ships arrived there in so shattered a condition, that the *Portuguese* refused to give him any satisfaction. In the *Baltic*, the *Dutch*, as well as the *Danish* fleets, were frozen in. In the spring a *Swedish* squadron was roughly handled by the *Dutch*, and a treaty was concluded, between *France*, *England*, and *Holland*, for restoring the tranquillity of the north. The *Swedes* now treated with the *Dutch*, and the unsettled state of affairs in *England*, deprived *Gustavus* of assistance from thence; for *Montague*, who commanded the *English* fleet, left the *Baltic* with express declarations of neutrality. The *Dutch* being now left at liberty, assisted the *Danes* with so much vigour, that *Gustavus*, king of *Sweden*, was on the point of concluding an equitable accommodation, when he was carried out of the world. After this, peace was restored to the north, by a treaty being concluded between *Sweden* and *Denmark*, under the mediation of *England* and *Holland*.

At this time, the *Dutch*, in *Asia*, made an acquisition of the island of *Ceylon*, the most valuable for spices of any in the *East Indies*. This was effected by *M. Gohens*, a *Batavian*, who drove the *Portuguese* out of the island, and the *Dutch* soon obliged its king to leave them in quiet possession of all that the *Portuguese* had held there. Cardinal *Mazarine* offered his master's mediation, in *Europe*, between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*, who were sensibly humbled by their expulsion from *Ceylon*. The *Dutch* demanded a full indemnification for all their losses in the *Brasils*. The *Portuguese* on the other hand charged the *Dutch*, with too much reason, with practising every species of murder, poisoning, idolatry, infidelity, and treachery, that could advance their interest in those countries; and *Mazarine*, being afraid of disoblighing the court of *Spain*, relaxed in his mediation. The vast revolution that happened now in *England*, gave a very serious turn to the

The  
French  
mediate  
between  
the Dutch  
and the  
Portu-  
guese.



the deliberations of the *States*. They had been always on a very indifferent footing with *Oliver Cromwell*, and they had no reason to think that they were in the good graces of *Charles II.* who was now called to the throne of his ancestors. No sooner was that prince arrived at *Breda*, in his way to *England*, than he was waited upon by a most respectful deputation from the *States*. He afterwards made a magnificent entry into the *Hague*, and left *Holland*, quite surfeited by the fulsome compliments and honours they paid him.

*French king seizes the principality of Orange.*

Hitherto, the prince of *Orange* had always been in possession of that principality, but a dispute that happened between the two princesses-dowager, gave the *French king* a pretext to order the mareschal *Plessis Praslin* to march to the gates of *Orange*, and to demand the keys from the governor, count *Dohna*, which the latter, who was in no condition to resist, was obliged to resign; the king promising to restore both the place and the principality as soon as the prince should come of age. The two princesses complained bitterly, and most pathetically recommended the case of the minor prince to the *States General*. The *States of Zealand, Friesland, and Overijssel*, were for immediately restoring the prince to the high offices held by his ancestors, and within their own provinces they repealed the act of exclusion, which the dread of *Cromwell* had extorted. The younger prince of *Orange* went to *England* to implore the protection of *Charles II.* against the injustice of the *French king*, and the *Orange party* became again formidable to the *States of Holland*. To give way to the torrent, they ordered an appointment of 40,000 florins, to defray the expence of the prince's household and education, and agreed to the repeal of the exclusion act. This, for some time, satisfied the *Orange party*; and the *States General*, in 1661, had leisure to turn their thoughts towards a peace with the king of *Portugal*, who equally desired an accommodation. The *Dutch* were somewhat nettled as well as disconcerted at a marriage, that had been just concluded, between *Charles II.* and the infanta of *Portugal*. They complained to him of the injustice of the *Portuguese*, in not restoring them *Brasil*. His answer, though polite, intimated, that if they insisted upon it, he would declare for the *Portuguese*. The crown of *France* found it her interest, at the same time, to support *Portugal*, but *Spain* gave assurances, that the moment she recovered that crown, she would restore *Brasil* to the *Dutch*. The interest of both *Dutch* and *Portuguese*, led them to make a peace without the intervention of either *France* or *England*. Some of the provinces were for depending on the assurances of *Spain*, which the more enlightened part of the *States General* knew to be but frail and precarious. The count *de Miranda* was the *Portuguese* minister at the *Hague*, and he negotiated with so much address, that a peace was concluded, upon his *Portuguese* majesty engaging to pay the *Dutch* a million of livres, and an annuity of 500,000 in money, sugar and salt, by way

1661.

*Negotiations for peace,*

of

of indemnification, and to allow them the same privileges of commerce to *Portugal*, *Brazil*, and *Africa*, as the *English* enjoyed.

The *Dutch* ambassadors at the court of *England* were far between from being acceptable to *Charles II.* and they are said to have *England* treated him with an inexcusable haughtiness because his ge- and *Hol-*nius was not so warlike as that of *Cromwell*. No prince ever land. knew better, when he pleased to exert himself, than *Charles* did, what was due to his character, and he both hated and despised the *Dutch*. He talked to their deputies in a tone of advanced superiority, by making additional demands to those of the late common-wealth and protector. He renewed the demand of acknowledgment for indulging the *Dutch* in fishing on the *British* coasts; that his crown jewels, pawned by the late usurpers, in *Holland*, should be returned; that all the regicides who had taken refuge in the dominions of the *States* should be given up; and that all arrears due to *Cromwell* should be paid to him. The *Dutch* ambassadors heard those demands with the greater consternation, as they had been instructed to insist upon a repeal of the disgraceful terms, particularly that of search, which they had been constrained to submit to by the late usurpers. They no sooner hinted at this, than *Charles*, so far from granting it, demanded the Stadtholdership for his nephew, and that his ships should not only be at liberty to trade to all ports without distinction in the *East-Indies*, not immediately in the possession of the *Dutch*; but that the *English* factories should be asylums for all natives in those parts.

*Charles* was, at this time, beloved by his people, and the *The Dutch* were in no condition to enter into war. Even *de Wit* temporized so far, that he agreed to give up three of the regicides, who were sent to *England*. This compliance was *Charles II.* far from satisfying *Charles*; and the enemies of the *Orange* family in *Holland* were exasperated beyond all measure, when they understood that the princess of *Orange* had nominated her brother, *Charles II.* to be one of the guardians to her young son. It was resolved to observe no farther measures with her, and during her absence in *England*, they seized her cabinet of papers, in hopes of discovering evidences of the late prince's despotic intentions, and of his having been encouraged in them by some of the members of the *States General* themselves. *Charles* complained of this seizure as an affront done to himself, and the *States* justified it, as being the natural guardians of the prince during his mother's absence in *England*; but they offered to second her in her applications to the court of *France* for the restitution of the principality of *Orange*. They sent accordingly a deputation for that purpose, to renew the treaties of commerce betwixt the *States* and *France*, but the latter had now adopted a very different system of interest.

*Mazarine*

Alterations in the system of France. *Mazarine* was dead; *Lewis* had no first minister, but possessed discernment sufficient to see the merits of *Colbert*, with whom he intrusted the commercial regulations of his kingdom. That great minister persuaded his master, that he could render *France* the most respectable marine power in *Europe*, by at once extending and protecting her trade. *France*, till then, had been considered only in the light of a military state, and the *Dutch* and *English* had carried on her trade; but she was now to become their rival. *Colbert* was not against renewing the treaty of commerce, but *Lewis* objected to that part of it by which he was to guarantee the right of the *Dutch* to fish for herrings on the *British* coasts. This treaty, however, passed, with some modifications.

1662.  
An expedition to *Algiers*.

*De Ruyter*, in 1662, was sent with a strong squadron to chastize the *Algerines* for certain insolences and depredations they had been guilty of against the *Dutch*. His force being vastly superior to theirs, he would have destroyed their whole fleet had he not been prevented by a violent storm; but both they and the *Tunisians* submitted to the terms imposed upon them by *Ruyter*. This expedition being happily accomplished, *de Wit* applied himself to revive the principles of the *Louvestein* party, by cultivating the friendship of *France* against the influence of *England* and the house of *Orange*. In the mean while, violent disputes arose among the provinces, concerning the education of the prince of *Orange*, but *de Wit*'s party was vigorously opposed by *D'Estrades*, the *French* minister. *De Wit*, the more to ingratiate himself with *France*, opposed a project of the *Spanish* ambassador for incorporating the seven united, with the ten *Spanish* provinces, so as to form a strong barrier against the power of *France*; and drew up a counter project, by which the ten provinces were to be eventually formed into a republic by themselves, but with two barriers, one of which was to be granted to *France*, and the other to the *States General*; the event of which must have been, that in a few years *France*, with very little trouble, would have rendered herself mistress of all the ten provinces.

*Charles* demands satisfaction of the *Dutch*.

*Sir George Downing*, a worthless, faithless, but plodding minister under the *English* republic and *Cromwell*, had been continued ambassador by *Charles* with the *States General*, and served him, as he had done them, with a brutal punctuality. He informed *Charles* of the ascendancy the *French* had got among the *States General*; and the commercial differences between *Holland* and *England* becoming every day more perplexed and serious, *Charles* cut all farther altercations short, by declaring that he would receive no farther application from the resident of the *States*, and that he expected a formal embassy to give him satisfaction for the insult he complained of, and for all the unperformed articles of their treaty with *Cromwell*, particularly in the affair of *Ambosna*. Pretending that *Holland* was attacked by an infectious distemper, he ordered ships from thence to perform a quarantine of 30 days, and

*Downing*,



Downing, by his command, exaggerated to the full the demands which the *English* crown and merchants had upon the subjects of the *States General*. We shall not pretend to say, that all those accounts were fair on either side; but the presumption of injustice clearly lies against that of the *Dutch*, who either evaded or refused to perform their most solemn engagements. Sir *Robert Holmes* had dispossessed them of *Cape Verd*, and *Cabo de Corso*, on the coast of *Africa*, and of *Nova Belgia* in *America*, by way of reprisal. Other *English* commanders attacked their settlements at the mouth of *Hudson's Bay*; and the *Dutch* lost the town of *New Amsterdam* in the island of *Manhattan* as it was then called. Matters were equally embroiled in the north of *Europe*, where the crowns of *Sweden* and *Denmark*, encouraged by *England*, preferred great complaints against the encroachments of the *Dutch*. *De Wit* saw that he had now incurred the implacable resentment of almost all the powers of *Europe* excepting *France*, whose protection he endeavoured to court, by prevailing with the states of the ten provinces to send four deputies to confer with him upon the renewal of the project of cantoning those provinces into a commonwealth. This plan, however, was so evidently partial for *France*, and dangerous to the liberties of *Europe*, that *de Wit* durst not venture to carry it into execution.

Other projects of the same nature were set on foot by *de Wit*, all of them tending to an eventual partition of the ten provinces between *France* and the *States General*. *De Wit's* credit among the latter was so great, that when some of the deputies reproached him, he quieted them by the ridiculous suggestion, that if the *Turks* should conquer the empire of *Germany*, they would undoubtedly become masters of the *Spanish*, and consequently the *United Provinces*, unless the latter were protected by the power of *France*. In short, by his assiduities and working on the foibles of his co-patriots, with some little incidents in the *Levant*, which he turned to his own purposes, he prepared his countrymen to agree to a partition of the *Spanish Netherlands* with *France*, and to enter into stricter connections than ever with that crown. The *Spanish* minister was the first who awakened the *States*, and indeed *de Wit* himself, to a sense of their danger. He discovered that the *French* king was on the point of concluding a treaty with *England*, while they were upon the eve of a war with the same crown; and that they were ready to involve themselves in differences with all the powers of *Europe*, without their having the smallest dependence but upon a haughty, faithless state, who at once hated and despised them, and which made use of them only to aggrandize herself. *De Wit* relaxed in his courtship of *France*, especially as he found that he had exasperated the emperor and the empire, by his project of cantoning the *Spanish Netherlands*.

*De*

Prepara-  
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war be-  
tween the  
*English*  
and the  
*Dutch*,

*De Wit* saw that a war with *England* was inevitable. *Walchenberg*, one of the *Dutch East-India* company's directors in *Africa*, had insolently claimed, in the name of his masters, a right to all the coast of *Guinea*, and shut the *English* out from trading there. This was so much resented by the *English* parliament, that they addressed his majesty to take the most speedy and effectual methods for redressing the grievances which the trade of the nation had suffered from the *Dutch*; and that they would support him with their lives and fortunes. It soon appeared that *de Wit's* talents as a great minister, which he certainly was, were not calculated for war; for though he was pushed on by *France*, he durst not venture to come to extremities, though prince *Rupert*, at the head of the *British* fleet, had, by way of reprisals, taken above a hundred *Dutch* merchant ships laden from *Bourdeaux*; while *Opdam*, who was cruizing off the *Flemish* shore, had no orders but to observe his motions. *Ruyter* had obtained several advantages over the *English* in *America*, which, upon his return, were construed by them into hostilities. *De Wit* still endeavoured to ward off a war, and *Charles* agreed to a proposal, at this time made by the *Dutch*, of joining a squadron with that of *Ruyter*, to chastize the *Algerines*. *Lawson*, the *English* admiral, quarrelled with *Ruyter* about the honours of the flag, and the differences rising high, *Ruyter* bore off for the coast of *Africa*, where he dispossessed the *English* of all their late acquisitions, *Cape Coast* excepted, and seized all their merchantmen. The *Dutch*, it is true, pretended to vindicate those proceedings, but their manifest infractions of public treaties gave very little weight to their allegations. The publication of the earl of *Clarendon's* life, by himself, as he was not only first minister of *England* at that time, but a man of an unimpeached veracity, throws greater light upon this part of history than ever it received before. The committee of trade in the house of commons, reflecting on the pride and insolence of the *Hollanders*, said, in one of their reports, that "they observed no laws of commerce, or any conditions which themselves consented to. That by their fraud and practice the *English* were almost driven out of the *East* and *West Indies*, and had their trade in *Turkey* and in *Africa* much diminished. In sum, that besides many insufferable indignities offered by them to his majesty and to the crown of *England*, his subjects had, in a few years, sustained the damage of 7 or 800,000*l.* sterling."

who send  
their fleets  
to sea,

*Charles* affected great moderation, and ordered the address his parliament had presented on this head to be transmitted to the *States General* by *Downing*, who enforced it with great vehemence and acrimony. The *Dutch* pretended that the grievances complained of had happened since the last treaty, but this was far from satisfying *Charles*. The truth is, their friends in *England* had impressed *de Wit* with a notion that *Charles* neither durst nor could make war, for want of money; and

and this had encouraged the *Dutch*, not only to renew their pretensions to an exclusive trade on the coast of *Guinea*, but to send a large fleet to support their factories there, and gave a commission to their commander in chief to make war upon the *English* in those parts, and to do them all the mischief he could. The noble historian already mentioned, accuses them with the treachery of ordering *Ruyter* to betray them in the *Algerine* expedition, and of their ordering him upon that to *Guinea*, at the very time that *Charles* had given orders for his own fleet destined for *Guinea* to be laid up, on condition that that of *Ruyter* should be laid up likewise, till some amicable method of accommodation was found out. The *Danes*, as well as the *English*, complained of the *Dutch* tyranny in *Africa*; and the bishop of *Munster* surprized and fortified *Eydeler*, but are at which lay on the *Dutch* frontiers. The *Dutch* ordered the tacked fort to be invested, and the bishop sent over an agent, one and *de-Gascoigne*, an *English* priest, to offer his alliance to *England*, feared by which was accepted of the more readily as the offer was the bishop backed by the archbishop of *Mentz*, and it was well known of *Munster* that the emperor was himself no friend to the *States General*.

*Van Buiningen*, the *Dutch* ambassador with the *French* king, The *Dutch* had great credit with that court, and *de Wit* finding the *States* endeavour General averse to a war with *England*, instructed him to ap- to gain the ply to *Lewis* for his mediation; but at this very time, through *French* the interest of the *Orange* party, five large *French* ships were king. seized in the ports of *Holland*. The *Dutch*, in general, applauded this seizure, but the ships were restored, and indeed they seem to have been very injuriously detained. This accident did not abate the pressing negotiations of *Buiningen* for a mediation; *Lewis* demanded to know what terms the *States* had to offer to serve as the basis of a treaty; but when they were laid before him, he perceived that they were haughty to the last degree, and such as had been again and again rejected by the *English*. He complained that the *Dutch* wanted to engross to themselves the trade of the whole world; he was answered by *Van Buiningen* putting into his hand a list of the *Dutch* shipping, by which it appeared that the *Dutch* could fit out 300 ships of war. *Lewis*, to gain time, and to keep *Charles* from joining with the *Spaniards*, sent the duke of *Verneuill* over to *England*, with proposals of his own, for an accommodation; but they had no effect.

The engagements entered into by *Charles* with the bishop 1665. of *Munster*, made him resolve to lose no time in declaring *Charles* war, and the duke of *York*, who mortally hated the *Dutch*, fits out was constituted lord high admiral of *England* to command his fleet. against them. Towards the end of *April*, the duke, with the *English* fleet, was cruizing off the *Texel*, where he took great numbers of the *Dutch* ships, and destroyed their trade, the *Dutch* having no fleet at sea to oppose him. *De Wit* and the *Louvoestein* faction had always believed that their friends in par-



liament, and the indolence of *Charles*, would still prevent extremities, but they were deceived. The court was joined by the trading part of the nation, and the parliament furnished *Charles* with two millions and a half of sterling money, amounting to fifty millions of livres, a sum so stupendous, that it sent terror into *France*, as well as *Holland*. It must be confessed, that the principle upon which the *Dutch* made war was highly provoking to the *English* government. They acknowledged the terms of the treaty they had made with *Cromwell*, but they insisted upon its being invalid, because it had been forced upon them by an usurper, and was disgraceful to their sovereignty. Those arguments, ridiculous as they were, had great effect upon the *Dutch* commonality. The duke of *York*, meeting with no enemy, returned to *Harwich*; but in the mean time, the *Holland* and *Zealand* fleets, consisting of 120 sail, joined under the command of their admirals, *Opdam*, *Evertzen*, *Cartemaer*, and young *Van Tromp*. The *English* fleet, by this time, was augmented to 100 sail. The *Dutch* fleet, according to the noble author already mentioned, was commanded in chief by *Opdam*, a young gentleman of a small estate in *Holland*, who had never been at sea before.

and the  
duke of  
*York* beats  
the *Dutch*.

On the first of *June*, the two fleets came within sight of one another, but the *English* having the weather gage, *Opdam*, after a slight skirmish, bore away for the *Meuse*. This conduct was directly against his instructions from the *States*, which he had received from the hands of *de Wit*, who had followed him in his barge two leagues at sea. *De Wit* obtained another order, commanding *Opdam* to fight the *English* under pain of death. *Opdam* immediately weighed anchor and bore directly upon the duke, with a resolution to board him; but his ship was blown up, and all within her perished, while three persons of quality were killed fighting by the duke of *York's* side. *Cartemaer* succeeded *Opdam* in his command, but he was mortally wounded just as he was on the point of boarding the duke's ship, which was skreened by captain *Jeremy Smith*. *Cartemaer's* ship was taken, and he himself was carried on board the duke's ship, where he lived half an hour, and died, exclaiming against the cowardice of his captains, who, contrary to the oath they had taken the day before, had basely deserted him. The fight, notwithstanding their defection, continued to be bravely supported by the two surviving admirals, *Evertzen* and *Tromp*; but finding the dependency of their captains gaining ground on every hand, they were obliged to retreat, after losing 18 ships and 6,000 seamen. The loss of the *English* lay chiefly among men of quality, who served as volunteers, besides 200 seamen who were killed on board the duke's ship; of their shipping they lost but one small vessel. The greatest loss, however, that the *English* that day sustained, was that of Sir *John Lawson*, who was one of the wisest and most modest men, as well as greatest seamen that age produced.

Though

Though *Van Tromp* made an admirable retreat (*Evertzen's* The war ship having been disabled) with the remainder of the *Dutch* continued fleet, yet when *Evertzen*, who had been set ashore, informed by sea. the *States* at the *Hague* of their defeat, they were overwhelmed with confusion. The *Orange* party called for a peace with *England*, and that their prince should be raised to the Stadtholdership. *De Wit* continued undaunted, though disappointed. He obtained an order for *Van Tromp* to keep at sea, which that admiral refused to do, as he could not trust the captains whom he commanded. Three of them were tried and shot, and six of them dismissed the service with ignominy. *De Wit* gave out, that now was the time for the *French* king to declare for them, and re-inspired his countrymen so much, that the fleet was soon repaired, and *Tromp*, though known to be a partizan of the house of *Orange*, was raised to the command in chief, till *Ruyter* should arrive. That great admiral was daily expected from the coast of *Africa*, and his squadron being weak, the *States* were in pain lest he should fall into the hands of the *English*, but he was favoured by a fog, and he landed in the province of *Groningen*, but it was with great difficulty he could keep his crews together, so shocking had been the hardships they suffered.

*De Ruyter's* qualifications and character were unexceptionable. *De Ruyter* The *States* gave him a commission to be their lieutenant-ad-commands miral-general, and silenced the complaints of *Tromp* by order- the *Dutch* ing him, under the pain of treason, to keep the station where fleet. he was. *De Wit* had the success of this sea campaign so much at heart, that he went on board *Ruyter's* ship, and served as a volunteer, to the amazement of all *Europe*, and the vast discouragement of his own party. A great fleet of *Dutch* merchant ships, at this time, had taken refuge at *Bergen* in *Norway*, and Sir *Gilbert Talbot*, the *English* resident at *Copenhagen*, easily persuaded his *Danish* majesty, who, by all accounts, was a very weak man, to seize upon them, or rather to allow the *English* to attack them in *Bergen*. *Charles* gave orders to *Montague*, earl of *Sandwich*, who was now the best sea officer in *England*, to strike that blow. *Sandwich* was in hopes of meeting with the fleet at sea, but perceiving they kept in the harbour of *Bergen*, he sent in an officer with 15 or 16 ships, with a letter to the governor of *Bergen*, informing him of his intention. The governor owned that he had received some instructions from his own court, concerning the attempt, but he pretended that they were not sufficiently full to authorize him to take part with the *English* in seizing the *Dutch* ships. The *English* commodore, being a rough man, declared that he would proceed directly to attack the *Dutch* shipping; but too much time had now been lost. The *Dutch* had lodged most of their rich cargoes in the citadel, and they had drawn up their ships under the protection of a platform well mounted with artillery, with all the burghers of *Bergen*, whom

Their merchant-men attacked by the *English* at *Bergen*. whom they had gained by presents, under arms for their defence. This did not discourage the *English* commodore, and he attacked the shipping with great courage; but some of the *English* guns damaging the town and the castle, the artillery from the latter played upon them so furiously that the *English* were obliged, with some loss, to make a hasty retreat. Soon after, the viceroy of *Norway* arrived with some regiments at *Bergen*, and made a fresh demand upon the *Dutch* shipping to indemnify his master for the damages that had been done him in the late action. While this was in agitation, lord *Sandwich* returned to the coast of *England*, and *Ruyter* received the *Dutch* fleet at *Bergen* under his convoy. Two storms, which arose soon after, did vast damage to the *Dutch* shipping, great part of which was thrown upon the coast of *England*.

The bishop of *Munster* again invades the *Dutch* territories.

*De Wit* continued all this time bent upon remaining on board the fleet. The plague, at that time, was making a most prodigious havoc in *England*, at *London* especially; and this had dispirited the nation, so that no brisk operations were proceeding as formerly. When winter drew on, *de Wit* resigned his naval character, and indeed it was, perhaps, some discouragement to the captains and seamen to see all their operations directed by him and his two associates, *Huygens* and *Boreel*, who had never been bred to the sea service. The *French* king, in the mean while, seemed to take more concern than ever in the affairs of the *States*, but it was only that he might the more readily force the *English* government into his measures. Upon the return of *de Wit* to the *Hague*, the *States* resumed their deliberations with the most sanguine hopes that *France* would not now for a moment delay to declare in their favour; but *Charles* had, by a stroke of policy not usual in his reign, found them employment in another quarter. A considerable subsidy he had granted to the bishop of *Munster* had put that warlike prelate's troops into excellent order. Perceiving that the sea war with *Great Britain* had so entirely engrossed the attention of the *States General* that their land fortifications were in a most miserable condition, he broke into *Overyssel*, and seized upon *Almelo*; he then at the head of 8,000 men besieged *Berkelo*, where he met with a brave resistance, and the place was surrendered on an honourable capitulation, which the prelate disregarded so much, that he no sooner entered the walls, than he put both the garrison and the burghers to the sword. *Van Galen*'s successes procured him soldiers, whom he paid with plunder; and the *States General* found themselves obliged to take into their pay the troops of *Lunenbourg*, *Zell*, and *Osnaburg*. While they were raising their forces, the prelate struck into the heart of the province of *Groningen*, where he proposed to surprize *Delfzil*; but being disappointed in that scheme, he laid siege to *Groningen*, which was bravely defended by the princess of *Friesland*, daughter to *Henry* prince of *Orange*, and she obliged

*Van*



*Van Galen* to abandon his enterprize, and to retire to winter-quarters.

The *French* king could not brook the attack of so petty a prince as the bishop of *Munster* was, and, upon the requisition of the *Dutch*, he ordered the 6000 men he was obliged to lend them by treaty, to march to their assistance. His real design in taking part with the *Dutch*, however, was to balance the power of the two nations at sea, and to prevent the *English* from entirely crushing them. He had, with infinite address, amused the *Dutch* with settling the point of precedency, between his admiral, the duke of *Beaufort*, and *Ruyter*, when their two fleets were joined; and from a seeming zeal for the *Dutch*, he recalled his ambassadors from the court of *London*, and even declared war against *England*, but without any intention of supporting it effectually. The bishop of *Munster*, however, was driven out of the *Dutch* territories; but as *Lewis* had no intention to see them become masters of the ocean, he always found pretexts for delaying the junction of his fleet with theirs, though it was evident that a general action at sea was now inevitable. The *Dutch* fleet put to sea, under their admirals *Ruyter*, *Evertzen*, *Tromp*, *Meppel*, *Nes*, and *Vries*, and it consisted of 83 capital ships, exclusive of ketches, tenders, and fireships, but all of them of enlarged dimensions, and carrying a weight of metal superior to any they had put to sea before. The duke of *York* was not suffered to command the *English* fleet, on pretence that the *Dutch* must be superior, if joined to the *French*, and the command was therefore given to prince *Rupert*, and *Monk*, now duke of *Albemarle*. Prince *Rupert* sailed with his division to fight the duke of *Beaufort*, who was cruising in the chops of the channel, and was ordered equally to avoid to join the *Dutch*, or to fight the *English*.

Though *Albemarle*, by the separation of prince *Rupert* from his fleet, was now far inferior in strength to that of the *Dutch*, yet he gallantly bore down upon *Ruyter*, on the 1st of *June*, and disabled both his and *Tromp*'s ships. We need not repeat a description of the battle, which has occurred in so many former ones, to which it was equal in obstinacy, valour, skill and carnage, till night parted the combatants; the *Dutch* having lost *Evertzen*, with several of their ships blown up, sunk or destroyed, and the *English*, Sir *William Berkley*, one of their admirals.

Next morning continued the engagement with the same intrepidity and fury on both sides. *Ruyter* rescued *Tromp* from destruction, though they were of different parties in the commonwealth. A critical recruit of 16 fresh ships arrived to the assistance of the *Dutch*, upon which the duke of *Albemarle* retired towards *England*; but being pursued by *Ruyter*, he retreated fighting. The wind favoured another attack, and *Ruyter* had begun it, when prince *Rupert*'s squadron, which had been in quest of the *French*, under the duke of *Beaufort*,

appeared in sight, and joined *Albemarle*. The rest of the day was spent in various manœuvres leading to the fourth day's engagement which was more dreadful than any of the former. *Ruyter* exerted himself more than ever he had been known to do before; for he twice broke the *English* line. A fog coming on, the *English*, who, in consequence of their inferiority of numbers, had suffered greatly, retired in so good order, that they seemed to be the conquerors; but this was far from being the case, for they lost 22 ships taken, burnt, sunk, or destroyed. Seven of the *Dutch* ships were sunk, and they lost 2000 men, and their admirals, though they claimed the victory, were generous enough to own, that the *English* had acquired immortal honour by their defeat, and that they were rather overpowered than beaten.

It was in vain for the *English* to pretend to the victory, after the four hard fought days; for the *Dutch* kept the sea, and even insulted the *English* coasts with threats of a descent. The behaviour of *Beaufort* made it plain, that the *French* king intended the two maritime powers should weaken themselves, that his marine might rise upon their ruin. The *English* fleet, on the 24th of *July*, again appeared at sea, under prince *Rupert* and the duke of *Albemarle*. Another desperate engagement followed, in which *Evertzen*, brother to the admiral of that name, who had been killed in the last engagement, was defeated by Sir *Thomas Allen*, and three *Dutch* rear-admirals were killed. *Van Tromp* drove Sir *Jeremy Smith* out of the line, but following the chace too far, he found himself unable to come to the relief of *Ruyter*, who was overpowered by the duke of *Albemarle*, and being obliged to retreat, left to the *English* an undisputed victory. The *English* then attacked *Van Tromp's* detached squadron, but he gallantly fought his way back to the *Texel*. The *Dutch* in this battle, besides the three admirals already mentioned, lost twelve captains, above 2000 sailors, and seven ships, but had none taken. The *English* dearly returned upon the *Dutch* their late insults, and their commonwealth was now in a dangerous situation. Their populace vented upon their magistrates and officers their indignation, at seeing the *English* insult them upon their very quays. *Ruyter* accused *Van Tromp* of having, by his impetuosity, lost the late battle. *Tromp*, who was the admiration of all *Europe* for the gallant retreat he had made to the *Texel* with eight ships, against 30 of equal or superior force, defended himself with a magnanimity that would have done honour to the times of antient heroism. "The only triumph that I am ambitious of, said he, over my rival, is, that by my conduct I may deserve his regard and esteem." Their factions in the fleet were not so delicate, for they often came to blows; that of *Ruyter* was of the *Louvestein*, and *Tromp's* the *Orange* party.

Sir *Robert Holmes*, an *English* admiral, burnt 140 sail of merchantmen, with two men of war, and the village of *Brondavis*

*Brondaris* in the island of *Schelling*, the whole damage being computed at six millions of florins. One *Buat*, a busy participant of the *English*, first suffered the torture and then death, for a conspiracy in favour of the house of *Orange*, and it required all the genius and address of the intrepid *De Wit*, to prevent a general insurrection in the provinces. In this he was greatly assisted by *D'Estrades* the *French* minister, whose master was so much alarmed by the power of the *English* at sea, that he ordered the duke of *Beaufort*, who was then in *Rochelle*, to join the *Dutch* fleet with the first opportunity. *Ruyter*, by the indefatigable diligence of the pensionary, was again at sea, cruising between *Dover* and the mouth of the *Thames*. Prince *Rupert* made ready to engage him; but storms interposed, and *Ruyter*, after retiring towards *Boulogne*, finding himself and his crews sickly, returned to *Holland*, without being joined by the duke of *Beaufort*, who was in quest of him, and lost one of his ships by the *English*. Upon the return of *Ruyter*, whose indisposition disabled him from again putting to sea, *de Wit* took upon him the whole direction of naval affairs under *Van Nes*, who proceeded with the fleet to the *English* coast, but was driven back by a storm. The *English* at this time were in the utmost state of despondency, through the dreadful fire of *London*, which succeeding the pestilence, sunk their public credit, and relaxed all their attention to maritime affairs. *Charles*, in his war with the *Dutch*, did indeed propose several excellent national objects, but his irresistible sway for pleasure had dissipated the sums which his parliament had generously granted for carrying on the war, and he had laid up some of his largest ships, that he might have the more money to spend on his pleasures. His commons perceived this with indignation, and that there was a correspondence between him and *France*, for which reason they were very backward in granting him more supplies, and he took the first opportunity, through the channel of the *Swedish* ambassador, who proposed to act as mediator, to intimate that he was willing to treat of peace with the *States General*.

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the Eng-  
lish.

The latter were in general well disposed, and the *French* negotiating forwarded the negotiation for many reasons, the chief of which was, that when the war was finished, *Charles* having no supplies from his parliament, must become the tool of his ambition, and his pensioner, to supply his expensive pleasures. In the beginning of the negotiation, some difficulties occurred about forms, preliminaries, and the place of treaty; but they were removed by *Lewis*, and *Charles* offered to treat at the *Hague*. This sudden and unusual piece of condescension gave umbrage to *de Wit* and his party, who suspected that the *English* had a mind to avail themselves of the *Orange* interest during the negotiation. After various altercations, *Breda* was fixed upon as the place of the congress. It was plain, at this time to all *Europe*, that *Charles* was in the leading strings of

tions at  
*Breda*.



During which, the Dutch destroy the English shipping in the Medway and the Thames.

Conjecture of lord Clarendon.

*Lewis*; and that the latter had an eye upon the *Spanish Netherlands*. *De Wit* himself was sensible of this, but the support of *France* was necessary to him. *Charles*, on the other hand, would gladly, instead of being the tool, have commenced the rival, of *France*, and have obliged the *French* king to have bought his friendship. This could not be done without detaching the *Dutch* from the *French*, which *de Wit*, though well inclined to it, durst not venture upon. After the conferences at *Breda* had been opened, the indolence of *Charles* had made him neglect to demand a cessation of arms from the *Dutch*. *De Wit* laid hold of that omission, to do somewhat that might raise his own and his party's reputation to the greatest height. Having taken precautions for making *de Ruyter* master of all the soundings in the mouths of the *Thames* and *Medway*, he gave that admiral a fleet of 50 ships, and his brother *Cornelius de Wit* to assist him. *Ruyter*, at first was driven back by stress of weather, and lost some transports, but on the 10th of *June*, he arrived at the mouth of the *Thames*, broke through the boom at the entrance of the *Medway*, and destroyed three guard ships, while *de Ghent*, one of his officers, proceeded up as far as *Rocheſter*, sinking or taking all the *English* merchantmen in his way; but the lord *Middleton*, assembling the *Kentish* militia, prevented his making any descent, and perhaps the *Dutch* did not intend it. By this time, the duke of *Albemarle* had marched down to *Chatham*, with what troops he could get together, but found every thing in the utmost confusion. He ordered some vessels to be sunk, but *Ruyter* forced his passage through them, and demolished *Upnor* castle, with three ships of the line. The intrepidity of *Monk* was such, that he threw himself with a number of noble volunteers who attended him, on board one of those ships, to oppose the whole *Dutch* navy, and it was with difficulty that he was prevailed upon to return to shore. *Ruyter* fell down the *Medway*, and stood towards the *Thames*, where every thing by this time had been provided to receive him.

Lord *Clarendon* is of opinion, that the *Dutch* not having destroyed all the royal navy at *Chatham*, and the shipping up the *Thames*, was owing to their own misconduct, and he acknowledges, that the consternation into which *London*, especially the court end of it, was thrown, was inexpressible. *Ruyter* abandoned his attempt on the *Thames*, according to the *Dutch* historians, for want of boats and land troops, and made fruitless attacks upon *Portsmouth* and *Plymouth*. He failed then to *Torbay*, taking a number of *English* ships in his way; appeared before *Harwich*, and forced Sir *Edward Spragge*, with a small *English* squadron, to fly before him. He then returned to the mouth of the *Thames*; but, by this time, the king, and the duke of *York* (who during all the alarms, had behaved with an admirable constancy) had made such dispositions, that *Ruyter* thought proper to return to *Holland*,

*Holland*, where he and *de Ghent* received triumphal honours, and were magnificently rewarded as the restorers of their country's glory.

*Charles* complained bitterly against the *Dutch* taking advantage of the conferences, to insult his dominions; nor were they justified by the *French*. The conferences at *Breda*, however, were resumed, and *Charles* dropping all airs of superiority over the *Dutch*, agreed, that they should retain the isle of *Polemon*, a stipulation which they pretended had been previously made in their favour by the *French* king; that *England* should remain possessed of the colony of *New York*, in *North America*; that of the *French* should give up the isle *St. Christophers*, and some smaller ones in the *West Indies*; but that the *English* should quit to them all pretensions upon *Acadia*. Those points being concluded, the plenipotentiaries went upon the honours of the flag, which the *French* claimed equally as the *English*; but so many difficulties were started on this point, that it was left unadjusted.

Peace  
concluded  
at *Breda*.

Peace being restored between *England* and *Holland*; the reasons why the *French* king had taken so much concern in making those two great maritime powers his friends, soon appeared. He had, on marrying the infanta of *Spain*, renounced all claim upon that succession. His renunciation was declared void by his clergy; and he had immense armies on foot to support their decision. *Acth*, *Lisle*, *Tourney*, *Courtray*, *Charleroy*, and *Oudenarde*, received *French* garrisons. The *Dutch* trembled at his ambition; they applied to *England*, but placed their hope only in the moderation of *Lewis*. *Charles* gave ear to the application of the *Dutch*, and the *Spaniards*, who offered to make him head of the league against *France*; a measure which he flattered himself would procure him money from his parliament, by restoring his credit with his people. By the 6th of *June*, 1667, *Lewis* had subdued *Furnes*, *Armentieres*, and *Douay*, and before the end of the campaign, he took the strong town of *Lisle*, after a nine days siege, and the approach of winter recalling *Lewis* to *Paris*, the *Dutch* gained some time for deliberation. Sir *William Temple* was then the *English* ambassador at the *Hague*, and had no great difficulty in bringing over *de Wit* to agree to invite *Sweden* to be a third party with *England*, and *Holland*, in a confederacy against *France*. Whatever tended towards a land war, was in favour of the *Orange* party. The pensionary, and his friends, had filled the army of the *States* with officers, who were the sons of burgo-masters, to the prejudice of those, who had seen service under the princes of the *Orange* family. The advantages gained by the bishop of *Munster* made them sensible how ruinous this conduct was; but *de Wit* trembled to see the commissions of the army given to his enemies, and he had credit enough to prevent prince *Maurice* of *Nassau*, though an accomplished general, from being named commander in chief. For some time he struggled to have a foreign

Conquests  
of *France*.

1667.

generalissimo

Peace of  
*Aix-la-  
Chapelle*,  
and vanity  
of the  
*Dutch*.  
1668.

*French*  
negotia-  
tion.

Ridicu-  
lous cause  
of a  
breach be-  
tween  
*England*  
and *Hol-  
land*.

generalissimo appointed; but, at last, the first command was, as it were, put into commission, and given to several general officers. The *French* king having secured the keys of the *Spanish Netherlands*, and being afraid of the new formed confederacy against him, talked in a moderate strain to the queen-regent of *Spain*, and intimated, that he was willing to agree to a peace, provided he was suffered to retain his conquests in the *Low Countries*. Conferences were accordingly opened at *Aix-la-Chapelle*, where a treaty was concluded, the contents of which belong to the history of *France*. The *Dutch* arrogated to themselves so much merit in this negotiation, that they had the vanity to order a medal to be struck, in the year 1668, with the following inscription: "Having confirmed the laws, and reformed religion; having relieved, defended, and reconciled monarchs, secured the liberty of the ocean, and by valour and military force given *Europe* tranquillity, by a glorious peace, the *States General* of the *United Provinces* have ordered this medal to be struck in 1668."

Notwithstanding this vaunting monument of *Dutch* vanity, *de Wit* found himself more embarrassed than ever, and obliged to form new connections with the *French* king, though he knew he was meditating the ruin of his country. He made his court to *D'Estrades*, by representing to him the insupportable haughtiness of the *English*, in insisting upon the honours due to their flag; but *Lewis*, thinking he had a sure game to play, paid no regard to *D'Estrades'* remonstrances, and recalled him from the *Hague*. *Charles* found his people so bent upon an alliance against *France*, that he suffered Sir *William Temple* to return to the *Hague*, and to enter upon a negotiation for strengthening the late triple alliance, by a treaty of commerce, and one of guaranty. The *French* king employed his money so successfully, that all those mighty projects flew into air; and *Sweden*, through the inability of the *Spaniards* to pay her subsidies, was detached from the general alliance, and Sir *William Temple* suddenly recalled from the *Hague*. Perhaps the *English* parliament had carried their distrust of *Charles* to an extravagant, if not an unjustifiable, height; but, however that may be, it is certain that by this time *Lewis* was determined to break the treaty of *Aix-la-Chapelle*, and to conquer *Franch Compté*; and his money had prevailed with *Charles* to renew the war with the *Dutch*.

A small yacht had been sent to bring over the ambassador *Temple's* lady, and while it was sailing through the *Dutch* fleet, in the channel, the captain insisted upon the honours of the flag from the admiral, and this not being readily complied with, he fired upon their ships. Such was the ridiculous incident which had been invented by *Charles* himself, for renewing the war. The farce was carried on to such a height, that the captain of the yacht, upon his arrival at *London*, was committed to the *Tower*, for being satisfied with a salute of

guns



guns from the *Dutch* admiral, without obliging him to lower his topmasts. About this time, the prince of *Orange*, who, with his party, were alarmed at this sudden reversal of his uncle's counsels, came over to *England*, but made no impression; and Sir *George Downing*, the most unamiable minister in *Europe*, was sent to succeed Sir *William Temple* at the *Hague*; while Mr. *Coventry*, a leading man at the court of *England*, was sent to *Stockholm*, to bring the *Swedes* off from the triple alliance. The *States* had been most infamously backward and evasive in fulfilling both the *American* and *East Indian* stipulations in the treaty of *Breda*. *Downing*, though he still pretended that his master intended to fulfill the triple alliance, complained of those infractions, which *de Wit* considered as the prelude to a declaration of war.

As we are now upon the history of *Holland*, it is proper we should exhibit the very peculiar circumstances of *de Wit* at this time. He had formed and carried on his administration under the auspices of *France*, which was then known in no other than a military character. *De Wit's* hatred to the house of *Orange*, and his regard for his own friends, had made him neglect the crisis when *Colbert* began to form the marine and to establish the commerce of *France*. Neither was he sufficiently vigilant, at the time when *Lewis* gave the first indications, that he was resolved to attack the *Spanish Netherlands*. But, at the time we are now treating of, *Lewis* ought to have been more formidable to *de Wit*, than either the *English* or the prince of *Orange*, and a more philosophical minister (though there could not be a better patriot) than *de Wit* was, would have generously risked his head, by sending a *carte blanche* to the prince, and his party in the republic. This conduct might still have rescued *Charles* from the necessity, as he absurdly called it, of depending on the *French* king, because, had there been but one party in *Holland*, and that determined upon a war with *France*, *Charles* and the *English* could have trusted them, and the *French* ambition might have been timely counterworked.

Such was the undesirable situation of the pensionary at this period. Rather than yield the reins to the house of *Orange*, he concluded a defensive treaty with the crown of *Spain*; and this, perhaps, was his most masterly stroke of foreign politics; for the court of *Spain's* detestation of *France* was so real, that all the intrigues of *Charles* and *Lewis* could not shake this alliance. *Charles* returned to his demands upon the *Dutch* for satisfaction, but none being given, *Van Galen*, bishop of *Munster*, the implacable enemy of the *Dutch*, and the elector of *Cologne*, were again taken into the pay of *France* and *England*. *De Wit's* conduct was certainly indecisive, in courting *Lewis* at this very time; meanest of which *Munster* and *Lewis* at once despised and rejected. In the mean while, before war was actually declared between *England* and *Holland*, *Charles* employed Sir *Robert Holmes* to intercept a rich *Dutch* merchant.

*Smyrna*

*Smyrna* fleet, reckoned to be worth two millions sterling, which was expected home, under the convoy of five men of war, commanded by *Van Nes*. *Holmes* thought himself so sure of his booty, that he concealed his instructions from *Spragge*, whom he met returning from the *Mediterranean*, and made a most desperate attack upon the convoy, which was so bravely defended by *Van Nes*, that all escaped but one man of war and four merchant, which were rendered useless to the *English*. This piratical attempt was followed by the *English* seizing four *Dutch East India* ships, and then declaring war. Among other reasons given by *Charles* for the last step, the insolence of the *Dutch* medals was mentioned, and it must be acknowledged that in this respect the *de Wits* had acted childishly and wantonly. The *Dutch* answered this declaration, by destroying the facts it contained, and making some severe, but just, recriminations. But though some points, left unsettled between *England* and *Holland*, might possibly serve as a pretext for a declaration of war, yet that of *Lewis* against the *Dutch*, was insolent and unjustifiable beyond all precedent. It scarcely contained any but general, allegations of the insolence of the *States* against the honour of the *French* crown.

The *Lewis* was, at this time, immeasurably powerful upon the *Dutch* sup- continent of *Europe*. He had three great armies ready to en- plicate the- ter the dominions of the *States*, who most humbly implored *French* to know, what they had to expect, but received no other an- king. swer, than that his majesty was resolved to employ his troops in the manner that he conceived to be the most conducive to his own glory. The *Dutch*, understanding that *Lewis* had taken offence at the ostentatious medal we have mentioned, ordered the die to be broken; but *Lewis* was inexorable, and military preparations went on through all the provinces. The ambition of *France* being no longer equivocal, *de Wit's* situation was rendered more deplorable than ever. He had suffered the land army to go to decay, through his partiality for *France*, and when the voice of the public forced him to give way to the prince of *Orange* being raised to its command, he found all its commissions had been disposed of to the friends and dependants of *de Wit*, who were either boys or burghers, utterly void of military knowledge or experience. *De Wit* applied himself to the marine, which was in excellent condition, and *Ruyter*, assisted by *Cornelius de Wit*, as deputy from the *States*, put to sea with 90 ships of war, besides 40 frigates and storeships.

Sea fight By this time, the *French* squadron, under *D'Etrees*, had between joined the *English*; and the whole lay at *Solebay*, consisting of the *Dutch* 130 ships of the line, commanded in chief by the duke of and Eng- *York*, and under him, by *Montague* earl of *Sandwich*. It is *ish*. said, that the last named brave admiral was affronted the night before by the duke, who refused to draw his ships out in a proper line, and that they were attacked early in the morn- ing

ing by the *Dutch*, before their disposition was formed. The earl of *Sandwich*, with the van of the *English* fleet, engaged *de Ghent's* division, to give the duke time to complete his disposition, and for some time stood the brunt of all the *Dutch* fleet, but after destroying one large ship, and sinking three fireships, he was blown up with his ship. It has been said, that he might have escaped, but that he disdained to survive the imputation that had been thrown out by the duke against his honour. By this time, the duke and *de Ruyter* were vigorously engaged together, with an obstinacy, which the latter confessed exceeded all that he had met with in 32 engagements he had fought, and in the mean while, Sir *John Jordan*, gaining the windward, came to the duke's assistance. Both admirals twice shifted their flags and fought yard arm and yard arm for two hours; but the duke, the second time he left the line, not returning to the charge, gave *Ruyter* leisure to convey to the *Texel* a very rich fleet of merchantmen, by which victory seems to declare for the *Dutch*, though the *English* claimed it with equal confidence. As to the behaviour of the *French*, in this engagement, it was very equivocal, for according to the best accounts, only a very few ships, under *D'Etrees*, were engaged.

While the *Dutch* were thus victorious by sea, they were on the brink of perdition by land. The *French* king, attended by his brother, the duke of *Orleans*, was marching towards the frontiers of *Flanders* and *Holland*, at the head of 120,000 men; the elector of *Cologne*, and the bishop of *Munster*, having under them about 20,000 men. The prince of *Conde* and the marshal *Turenne* commanded under their king, and *Vauban*, whose name speaks his praise, was their engineer. The *Dutch* had not one friend in *Germany*, but the elector of *Brandenburgh*, who had an eye upon their Stadtholdership, and who was in hopes by that means of regaining *Pomerania* from the *Swedes*. He had engaged to lend the *Dutch* 25,000 men, and the regent of *Spain* had promised to spare them what troops she could, and send them some money. The duke of *Lorraine* attempted to befriend them; but *Lewis* stript him of his dominions. The prince of *Orange*, to oppose this prodigious force, had under him about 25,000 men, and he marched towards the *Yffel*. We shall reserve the dispositions of the *French* army to another part of our history. It is sufficient to say, that though, perhaps, not the most numerous, it was the most gay, splendid, and best appointed army that ever had taken the field in *Europe*; and *Lewis* carried with him vast supplies of gold and money, which were to be employed where sword and artillery failed him. *Orsoi*, *Wesel*, and *Burick*, surrendered as soon as they were invested. An *Irish* officer, one *Dossery*, was bribed to betray *Rhimberg*, and was shot by order of the prince of *Orange*, when he came to *Maestricht*. Those four towns were all of them well fortified, under the protection of the *States*, and deemed to be the keys of

The  
*French*  
king in-  
vades  
*Holland*;



his rapid  
progress

of *Holland*. All the strong places upon the *Yffel* followed their fate. As soon as ever a party of the *French* appeared before a town, it surrendered, and some sent their keys to the conqueror. The *French* then advanced towards the *Rhine*, the opposite banks of which was guarded by a body of horse and foot under general *Wartz*. The vast superiority of the *French* in numbers and artillery rendered that famous passage easy. The *Dutch* troops who had advanced to dispute it, retired upon the great compact body of *French* cavalry reaching the shore. The prince of *Conde* had crossed the river in a copper boat, a conveniency which was then first invented, and the *Dutch* were for laying down their arms, when the duke of *Longueville* shot one of their officers dead. The *Dutch* despairing of quarter, resumed their arms, killed the duke, wounded the prince of *Conde*, and retreated in the best manner they could.

in con-  
quering  
three pro-  
vinces.

The *French* had no sooner performed this dazzling, but easy, exploit, than they took *Doeſbourg*, *Zutphen*, *Arnheim*, *Nofembourg*, *Nimeguen*, *Skenk*, *Bommel*, *Crevecœur*, and a vast number of other places, so that scarcely an hour passed without adding to the conquests of *Lewis*. *Skenk*, supposed to be one of the strongest fortresses in the *Netherlands*, and *Nimeguen*, though garrisoned by 8000 men, were reduced by *Turenne*; and the prince of *Orange*, to prevent his being surrounded, retired towards *Rhenen* in the province of *Utrecht*. In the mean while, the duke of *Luxembourg*, the rival and successor of *Conde* and *Turenne*, in their military glory, having joined the elector of *Cologne*, and the bishop of *Munster*, reduced the province of *Overyffel*, and on the 20th of *June*, 1672, *Lewis* made a triumphal entry into the city of *Utrecht*, which had sent him its keys. It was even owing to the accident of a servant-maid's having the courage to pull up a draw-bridge, that *Amsterdam* did not follow the example of *Utrecht*. *Lewis* proceeded in a manner which shewed, that he intended to continue the sovereign of his conquests; for he exercised every part of civil jurisdiction, in the same manner as it had been administered by the *States General*. The latter being now driven to despair, gave orders to lay *Holland*, *Brabant*, and *Dutch Flanders* under water, as the only means of preventing the *French* progress; but at the same time they sent a deputation with *de Groot* at its head, to *Lewis*, and another to *Charles*, to implore their compassion, and to accept of what terms they should please to impose.

1672.

The  
*Dutch*  
supplicate  
the *French*,

*Louvois*, the haughty imperious minister of *Lewis*, with all the insolence, but none of the politeness, of his court, received *de Groot* with a brutal triumph. He demanded to know what terms the *States* had sent. "We are now come," Sir, replied *de Groot*, not to offer terms, but to receive "them." Being informed, that it was expected they should make some proposition, they had the mortification to be obliged to travel several times to and from the *Hague*, with-

out

out receiving any determined answer, and at last they offered to give up their frontier and to defray the expences of the war, provided they were left in possession of their liberty, religion and sovereignty. They were told by *Louvois*, that his master considered all he had conquered as his own, and that it was expected that *French* commodities should be imported into all the provinces of the *States* duty free, and that they should tolerate the catholic equally as the protestant religion; and that, besides the frontier, they should leave him in possession of so many forts and towns, as should render him, in fact, master of their country; and all this, besides indemnifying *Lewis* for the expences of the war, and sending annually a most mortifying embassy with a golden medal of acknowledgment.

The deputies at the court of *England* had better success; and the and they were favoured by two circumstances, the compassion *Englysh*. of the people and the jealousy of the court, which had taken offence at the rapid progress and despotic conduct of *Lewis*. The duke of *Buckingham* and lord *Arlington* were nominated to repair to the *French* king at *Utrecht*. *Charles*, in private, complained that *Lewis* had violated a secret article of the treaty, by which he was to have part of the spoils of the *States General*, the province of *Zealand* particularly. His demands upon the *Dutch* were, the honours of the flag, the fulfilling the treaty of *Breda*, with regard to his subjects of *Surinam*; that his enemies should find no shelter with the *States*; that his nephew should be raised to the Stadtholdership; that he should receive a million sterling, by way of indemnification, and 10,000 *l.* yearly, for the liberty of fishing on his coasts; that his claims in the *East Indies* should be admitted; and that as a security for the performance of those terms, he should be put in possession of *Sluys*, and the isles of *Walcheren*, *Catfant*, *Greece*, and *Voorn*.

During the dependency of those two embassies, the more Despair of spirited part of the *Dutch* republicans were taking measures the *Dutch*. for embarking themselves, their effects and families, for *Batavia*, rather than live slaves in *Europe*; and it was upon a calculation thought, that there was in their ports shipping sufficient for transporting thither 50,000 families. Those desponding thoughts were checked by the glorious spirit of the young prince of *Orange*. Though in his person weak and sickly, he had endured fatigues as if his body had been composed of steel; and when one of his friends asked him what he would do if the *French* should conquer his country? *Die in the last ditch of it*, said he, with a fire very foreign from his natural phlegm. Though the terms proposed by *England* were so flattering to himself, he advised his countrymen to reject them, and to put no confidence in the promises of *France*; but above all, he put them in mind of the traitors amongst themselves, who had been the instruments of the *French* greatness. This naturally turned the eyes and the resentment of

of the enraged populace against the two unhappy brothers, the *de Wits*, who continued to stem the universal tide of affection towards the *Orange* family with a more than stoical patriotism. Though *Cornelius* was ancient burgo-master at *Dort*, the citizens forced their other magistrates to invest the prince with their Stadtholdership, and their example was followed by *Rotterdam*, *Amsterdam*, the *Hague*, and *Middleburg*, and a tempest of popular fury raged in every quarter against the *de Wits*.

The two  
*de Wits* as-  
sassinated.

The life of *John* was attempted by four ruffians on the streets, and he had resigned his office of pensionary. All the lustre of *de Ruyter's* services could not screen him from the like infamous attacks, and *Cornelius de Wit* had magnanimously suffered the rack upon a vile improbable charge, brought against him by a barber, of his having offered to bribe the plebeian to murder the prince of *Orange*. The character and constancy of the *de Wits* is strongly marked by what we are told of *Cornelius*, who, in the intervals of the rack, repeated part of that ode of *Horace* which begins with the line *Iustum et tenacem propositi virum*. After enduring the torture, his estate was confiscated, and he himself condemned to perpetual banishment. *John* attended him through all the paroxysms of his suffering, and with fraternal piety wiped the sweat from his brow. The day of exile came, *John* proposed to attend his brother in banishment, and was waiting with him in the prison to have carried him out of the city in his coach, when the maddening multitude, as if instead of encountering, they had been flying from, punishment, broke into the gaol, put them both to death, and with infernal fury, tore their bodies in a thousand pieces, which were even sold for money and devoured by the monsters of the mob.

Prince of  
*Orange*  
made  
Stadt-  
holder.

The prince of *Orange* was, in an instant, raised to the Stadtholderships of *Holland* and *Zealand*, the only provinces that were destitute of a Stadtholder, for the *French* were still in possession of *Utrecht*, *Guelderland*, and *Overyssel*, and the provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen* had chosen a young prince, *John Casimer of Nassau*, for their Stadtholder. This great revolution was followed by the most extravagant demands on the part of the populace, who seemed intent on crushing the power of the nobility, and the members of the *States*, and sharing all places of power and profit between the prince of *Orange* and themselves. The prince, in short, acted on this occasion as the dictator of the republic, all other tribunals but his being in a state of vacation. In an assembly of the *States* he recalled them from their despondency by one of the most animating, manly, and rational speeches that ever was pronounced. He shewed them the great prizes they fought for, that of religion and independency; he pointed out the resources for maintaining the war; and, in the end, he persuaded them to reject the shameful terms that had been prescribed by the two crowns. At this trying juncture, the be-



ness of upright commercial principles was signally experienced by the *Dutch*. The notes of their bank had hitherto been current as specie, and during the public confusion, the people ran to the bank to realize them. The directors ordered the vaults under their town-house to be opened, and the money which was to answer the demands of the public creditors, was there found full and entire. Most of them went back with their notes, as thinking their property safer in the bank than in their own possession.

The measure of inundating the provinces had been owing and saved to the prince of *Orange*, and it fully answered his expectations by checking the progress of the *French*, who had 24,000 *try*. *Dutch* prisoners in their army. The glorious spirit of the prince of *Orange* interested the emperor, the king of *Denmark*, and the *German* princes, in favour of the *Dutch*; and it was now seen, that if *Charles* continued his connections with *France*, he must be deserted by his parliament and people. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, will perceive the diversion made by *Montecuculi* and the elector of *Brandenburgh*, tho' they were baffled by *Turenne* in all their attempts to join the prince of *Orange*. The *Dutch* deputies were now recalled, and the prince of *Orange* having augmented his army, made a fruitless attempt upon *Naerden*. The fate of the republic was once more balanced. *Lewis*, with a foolish impatience to receive the adulations of his subjects, left the overflown provinces, that he might triumph at *Paris*. He had discharged the *Dutch* prisoners for a trifling ransom; the glorious army he had carried with him into the *Netherlands* was most miserably reduced, partly by diseases, and partly by garrisoning his conquests, which *Conde* and *Turenne* were for demolishing, but in this they were over-ruled by *Louvois*' counsels, which afterwards proved pernicious to his master. In short, the whole of *Lewis*'s conduct, after he had brought the *Dutch* deputies to his feet, was a string of errors; for it was necessary for him to have kept his strength undissipated that he might subdue *Amsterdam*, if he intended to become master of *Holland*.

*Charles* had been nettled at the behaviour of the *French*, but Sea fight he was exasperated at the *Dutch*, and resolved to recommence hostilities. He appointed prince *Rupert*, the earl of the *Dutch* *Offory*, and Sir *Edward Spragge*, to the command of his fleet, and *En* on board of which a body of land troops was put for the conquest of *Zealand*, and it was joined by the squadron under favour of *D'Etrees*. Had the descent taken place, the province probably must have been reduced; but the combined fleet was mer. driven from the *Dutch* coasts by a strong wind, which at the same time carried into the *Dutch* harbours an *East-India* fleet, laden with gold, spices, and rich commodities of every kind. The duke of *Luxemburgh* marched over the ice, to make himself master of *Amsterdam* and the *Hague*, but it failed under his troops by a sudden thaw, and they must have been destroyed had a *Dutch* officer, who commanded a fort by which they

were to pass, done his duty. *Turenne* was obliged to march to *Westphalia*, by which the *States* were delivered from a heavy scourge. The count *de Morterey*, governor of the *Spanish Netherlands*, after many ruinous delays, furnished the prince of *Orange* with 10,000 men, by which he was enabled to make head against his enemies. The *French*, who had so wonderfully escaped under *Luxemburgh*, committed the most dreadful excesses after their deliverance, by plundering the two towns of *Bodgrave* and *Swammerdam*, which served further to alienate the *Dutch* from the *French* interest. The *French* king, however, who had now returned, besieged and took *Maastricht* in thirteen days; but his farther progress was stopped by the inundations.

The  
French  
king takes  
Maastricht.

1673.

The Dutch  
beat the  
English by  
sea.

We are now advanced far in the year 1673, when *Ruyter* again engaged the *English* fleet under prince *Rupert*, but without any remarkable advantage (though the engagement was very bloody) on either side for both retired to their ports to refit. On the 14th of *June* they cannonaded one another off *Flushing*, but were prevented by the weather from coming to a close engagement. The prince, after this, again went into port, and indeed he was thought in his heart to be no friend to the war. In the mean while, the prince of *Orange* had entirely reconciled to each other the two great admirals, *de Ruyter* and *Van Tromp*, and it was not long before the *English* fleet again put to sea, and met with that of the *Dutch*. A severe, but regular, engagement followed; *Ruyter* fought prince *Rupert*, *Tromp* Sir *Edward Spragge*, and the *Dutch* admiral *Bronket*, *D'Etrees*. *D'Etrees* had suffered *Bronket* to shoot a head of him, by which he separated Sir *John Chichely* from prince *Rupert*, who acted with amazing intrepidity, and bore for some time the weight of both *Ruyter's* and *Bronket's* squadrons. At last, he rejoined *Chichely*, and must have gained a complete victory had he been properly supported by *D'Etrees*; but Sir *Edward Spragge*, after performing prodigies of valour against *Tromp*, was, with his ship, sunk by a cannon ball; and the earl of *Offory*, who succeeded *Spragge* in his command, was obliged to fight retreating. Prince *Rupert* found himself likewise under the necessity of collecting his ships, and drawing off towards *England*; but the honour of the victory, as usual, was claimed by both sides.

Successes  
of the  
prince of  
Orange.

During those operations at sea, the prince of *Orange* took *Naerden*, the commandant of which was punished by *Lewis* for not performing impossibilities. After that, he joined the *Imperialists* and reduced *Bonn*. *Spain* declared war against *France*, the *Imperialists* were beginning to act vigorously on the *Rhine*; the troops of *Cologne* and *Munster* had been driven out of *Groningen*; several electoral towns on the *Rhine* had received *Dutch* garrisons, and the prince of *Conde* had been obliged to repass the *Meuse*. So many disastrous circumstances, especially the junction of the prince of *Orange* with *Montecuculi*, which he had effected by a most admirable train of manœuvres,

manœuvres, threatened to cut off the communication of the *French* army from *France*, and determined *Lewis* to evacuate the three *Dutch* provinces he held; after his agents had fleeced them, in particular that of *Utrecht*. The evacuation was performed with a disgraceful precipitation, and *Lewis* lost his conquests while his subjects were preparing the memorials of his having obtained them.

This was a glorious æra for the *Dutch*, perhaps more so than that which fixed the acknowledgment of their sovereignty; but the whole was owing to the spirit, valour, and profound judgment of the prince of *Orange*. Besides the laurels he had reaped in the field, he was a favourite with many of the lesser *German* princes, who had exerted themselves with unusual vigour to assist him, and he held a correspondence with the leading men in the *English* parliament, who dreaded the progress of the *French*, and detested the conduct of their own king. The king of *Sweden* offered his mediation, which the *Dutch* accepted of, but on condition that the two courts should recede from their haughty demands. Conferences were opened at *Cologne*, where the *Dutch* plenipotentiaries threw off their abject appearance, and acted with a lustre becoming the ministers of a sovereign state. The count of *Fus-temberg*, who appeared as plenipotentiary for the elector of *Cologne*, was seized, by order of the court of *Vienna*, as being the servant of a rebel elector; and this served the *French* as a pretext for breaking off the conferences. The most indolent powers in *Europe* were now sensible of the *French* ambition, and their apprehensions were improved, by the prince of *Orange*, to the service of public liberty. *Lewis* had prevailed with the elector of *Brandenburgh* to sign a neutrality, which the prince persuaded him to break. Even the elector of *Cologne* and the bishop of *Munster* abandoned their engagements with *France*, and *Lewis* had not an ally in all *Europe* whom he did not make so by his money. The late treaty with *Spain* turned out to be a master-piece of policy, and provided for the reciprocal interests of the parties in the strongest and most effectual manner, by stipulating that neither should make peace without the consent of the other, and that *France* should be obliged to restore all the conquests she had made upon both since the peace of the *Pyrenees*. Though his catholic majesty was obliged to declare war against *Charles II.* if he continued to side with *France*, yet he was treated with great respect by the contracting parties, who agreed to offer him terms so honourable and advantageous, that he could not refuse them. The court of *Vienna* immediately acceded to this treaty, which likewise accelerated a peace between the *States General* and *Great-Britain*, and proved the basis of the grand confederacy that was afterwards formed against *France*.

The emperor of *Germany*, as well as *Spain* and *Holland*, now declared war against *Lewis*, and the *Spanish* and *Dutch* ministers, favoured by the spirit of the *English*, and a submis-

A negoci-  
ation at  
*Cologne*.  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
  
Terms of  
the peace  
with *Spain*,

1674.



who, with five letters written to *Charles* on the part of the *States*, succeeded in detaching him from the interests of *France*. A treaty was set on foot, which was managed by the *Spanish* minister, the marquis de *Fresno*, and Sir *William Temple*. Former treaties served for the basis of the commercial part of it. The honour due to the *British* flag was allowed by the *Dutch*, and a small sum was granted to the king, proportioned rather to the expences of his court than those of the war. The *Dutch* did not, on this occasion, behave with their usual moderation; in which they were, perhaps, encouraged by the prince of *Orange*, who knew the differences between the king and his parliament, and had conceived too great a contempt for his uncle's court. The public, in short, was surprized at the difference, if not indecency, with which he treated the *English* ministers at his court, where they remained whole days without being admitted to an audience. He had afterwards some cause to repent of this behaviour; *Charles* had offered his mediation between *France* and the *States General*, but upon terms that were highly disagreeable to the prince of *Orange* and his allies. Rather than accept of it, the prince, in 1674, took the field at the head of an army, with which he intended to penetrate into the heart of *France*. He was encountered by the prince of *Conde* at *Seneff*, where both generals did wonders, and both claimed the victory, to which the *French* seem, however, to have had the justest pretence. They were likewise victorious on the *Rhine* under *Turenne*, and in this campaign they again conquered *Franché Comté*.

The war continues. Notwithstanding the labours of *Charles* for effecting an accommodation, it was far from taking place. The emperor and *Spain* were averse to it through interest, and *William* upon principle, the ruling passion of his life being to humble *France*. He pressed the king of *England* to join in the general confederacy, to which the elector of *Brandenburgh* had acceded; and the great *Montecuculi* again taking the command of the allies, balanced matters in *Germany*, and reconciled their clashing interests. *Turenne* was killed by a random cannon shot; the *French* were dispirited, and withdrew out of *Germany*, and the prince of *Conde*, after having baffled the efforts of the confederates on the side of *Flanders*, resigned his command. The prince of *Orange*, while *Charles II.* affected to be undetermined with regard to the part he was to act, was offered the sovereignty of *Guelderland*, upon a pretended family title; but though he would have gladly embraced it, he declined it, as it must have hurt his interest with the *Dutch* in general. In all other departments of his government as Stadtholder, he acted with admirable prudence, as he endeavoured to bring the constitution back to its first principles. The provincial government was invested in three bodies, the acting counselors, the nobility, and the deputies from towns and cities, a partition of power so wisely calculated, that the *Louvestein* faction seemed now to be wholly suppressed, and the Stadtholdership

holdership was rendered hereditary in the heirs male of his body.

The indecision of *Charles II.* was occasioned by the obligations he lay under to *France*, and as a medium between the *French* and the *Dutch* proposals, he prevailed in having conferences for a peace opened at *Nimeguen*. While the deputies were there sitting, their principals acted as if the vigorous prosecution of the war, would entitle them to the better terms of peace. The *French* king took *Conde*, *Aire*, and *Bouchain*, and his generals forced the prince of *Orange* to raise the siege of *Maestricht*. The conferences at *Nimeguen* were all this while going on. *Lewis* and *Charles* endeavoured to make a separate peace with *Holland*. The prince of *Orange* kept staunch to his purpose, and rejected the proposal with becoming indignation. The king and people of *England*, were so much divided in their sentiments with regard to public affairs, that while *Lewis* and *Charles* were embracing each other, the former suffered his privateers to make prizes of *English* merchantmen as if they had been *Dutch* vessels, and so insolent were the *French* become, that they denied the honours of the flag to captain *Herbert* of the *Cambridge*, an *English* ship of war. The *Dutch*, about this time, sent *Ruyter* to join the *Spanish* fleet, in endeavouring to reduce the inhabitants of *Messina*, who had revolted from the crown of *Spain*, and were supported by the *French* admiral, the duke de *Vivonne*. *Ruyter*, though the *Spanish* gallies were obliged to put into *Lipari*, fought *Vivonne*, who found means to succour *Messina*. *Ruyter* sailed to *Leghorn*, and being joined by the *Spanish* fleet, laid siege to *Augusta*. The *French* attempted to relieve it, and this produced another sea fight, in which *Ruyter* was victorious, but received a wound, which bringing on a fever, deprived the world of one of the greatest sea officers it ever produced. Before his death, the title and patent of a duke of *Spain* had been made out for him, but did not arrive till after his death, and his children rejected it.

Conferences opened at Nimeguen.

The prince of *Orange* beheld with grief and astonishment, that *France* was now grown up to rival *England* and *Holland* as a maritime power; but this was so far from damping, that it quickened, his passion for humbling *Lewis*. After *Ruyter's* death, the *Dutch* and *Spanish* fleets proceeded to *Palermo*, where they were attacked under vast disadvantages by the duke de *Vivonne*, and du *Quesne*, who was reputed, now that *Ruyter* was gone, to be the greatest marine genius of the age. The *Dutch* severely felt the loss of their gallant admiral; du *Quesne* attacked them with his fire ships; they and the *Spaniards* lost twelve of their capital ships, and 5,000 men, and *Lewis* remained the undisputed master of the *Mediterranean* navigation. This superiority redoubled the zeal of the prince of *Orange* and the people of *England* against *France*, and *Charles II.* could no longer resist the voice of his people. He invited the prince of *Orange* to *England*, and he gave him in

France victorious at sea.

marriage his niece *Mary*, daughter to the duke of *York*, and, after her father, presumptive heir to the crown of *Great Britain*. Before the prince left *England*, he concerted with *Charles* the plan of a pacification at *Nimeguen*, and the latter promised (though he was far from being so good as his word) to declare against *Lewis* if he refused to accept it. The conferences at *Nimeguen* were still going on; the king of *France* had taken *Valenciennes*, as the young duke of *Lorraine* had *Philippsburg*. The *French*, under the marshals *D'Humiers* and *Luxembourg*, besieged *St. Omer*; the prince of *Orange* advanced to *Mount Cassel* to relieve it, but he was beaten by the duke of *Orleans* with considerable loss, and the town surrendered. The prince then besieged *Charleroy*, but he was baffled in his attempt by *Luxembourg*. The reader, in our history of *Germany*, will find an account of the peace of *Nimeguen* which followed. The *French* had continued to solicit the *Dutch* to make a separate peace, and made some impression upon them, though opposed by the prince of *Orange*. By this peace, the *French* restored *Charleroy*, *Courtray*, *Oudenarde*, *Aeth*, *Ghent*, and *Limburg*. *Maestricht* was delivered up to the *Dutch*, but the *French* king kept the greatest part of *Flanders*. While this treaty was in agitation, the duke of *Luxembourg* was blockading *Mons*, and imagining the peace to be as good as concluded, he had been thrown off his guard, and was attacked and beaten by the prince of *Orange* at *St. Dennis*. The *French* exclaimed against the attack, as being perfidious on the part of the prince of *Orange*, who knew that the peace was concluded. There is no foundation for this charge, because the prince had as good right to attack *Luxembourg* as the latter had to continue the blockade.

*Holland*, by the peace of *Nimeguen*, gained a barrier, and though originally the grand confederacy had been formed for her defence, yet such was the accidental animosity of her allies, that before the end of the war she became only an auxiliary; though in its beginning she was a principal. *France* had agreed to the peace of *Nimeguen* only to gain a breathing, that she might regulate the government of her conquests, and lay a foundation for future ones. The prince of *Orange* had always disliked the treaty, and the *Dutch* ambassadors, who after its conclusion had been sent to the court of *France*, refused to accept of an audience until they had the honours that were usually bestowed upon the ambassadors of crowned heads. They were so obstinate in this point, that they were gratified, and *Lewis* even endeavoured to bring them into a defensive alliance. This was strenuously opposed by the court of *Great Britain*, upon which the *States General*, though loudly menaced by *Lewis*, rejected the proposal. On this occasion, the *States* had entered into a defensive treaty with *England*, which the reviving *Louvestein* faction urged as a precedent for their doing the same with *Lewis*. The truth is, the *French* would have found more benefit in the friendship of

See Vol.  
IX. p. 192

Treaty of  
*Nimeguen*  
concluded.

Ibid. p.  
193.

Haughtiness of the  
*Dutch* ambassadors.

1680.



of *Holland*, than in its conquest, and the whole of the negociation was traversed and rendered ineffectual by the prince of *Orange*. The *French* king, sensible of this, started a demand of contribution arrears, during the late war, which the *States* thought proper to comply with, because they found the crown of *Spain* too weak at this time to assist them.

The navigation of the *Dutch* had, for some time, been pestered by the *Algerines*, with whom a peace was now concluded, but the court of *England* renewed its ruinous connections with *France*, through the perpetual hankering which *Charles* had for being supported without the aid of parliament. After the peace of *Nimeguen*, *Lewis* kept on foot a vast army to support his ambitious projects, that have been mentioned in a former part of this work. He over-ran and reduced all the *Spanish Netherlands*, his catholic majesty having been provoked into a declaration of war against him, and the *States General* thought proper to enter into a treaty with *Sweden*, for guaranteeing the peace of *Nimeguen*, to which the king of *Great Britain* was invited, but in vain, to accede. The *French* king and his ministers stormed against this treaty, and he gave a party of the garrison of *Ypres* orders to seize a *Frenchman*, calling himself the count *de Sardam*, who had taken refuge at *Amsterdam*. This party was discovered and imprisoned by the *States*. The *French* ambassador, *D'Avaux*, pestered them with memorials for their deliverance, and, at last, claimed them, as having done nothing but their king's order. Never did any government behave with more dignity and prudence than the *Dutch* did on that occasion. The *French* captain was tried, condemned to death, and carried to the place of execution, but there pardoned, as were the soldiers of his party, who had been condemned to work upon the dykes and fortifications of the republic; and all this steadiness was exerted while *D'Avaux* was threatening the *States* with the most dreadful effects of his master's resentment.

The emperor, by this time, had acceded to the guarantee treaty between *Spain* and the *States General*, and had an army upon the *Rhine*. *Lewis* considered the prince of *Orange* as the main spring of all the opposition he met with, and took a mean revenge by oppressing the subjects of that principality. The prince's friends endeavoured to make the injuries he suffered a common cause, and after various negociations *Heinsius* was sent to *Paris* by the *States* to solicit against a total confiscation of the principality. The *French* ambassador, in the mean while, laboured hard in reviving the credit of the *Louvestein* faction, and did it so effectually, that the prince was defeated in a motion made to the *States General* for augmenting the army with 16,000 men. In short, *Amsterdam* headed the opposition to the prince, and influenced the deputies of *Leyden*, *Delft*, the *Brill*, and other towns. The prince endeavoured to carry his point by abolishing the constitutional negative in the *Dutch* government against a majority of

and between the *States* and the prince of *Orange*.

They are  
overawed  
by the  
*French*.

Artful  
conduct of  
the prince  
of *Orange*  
at the re-  
volution.

voices. In this he failed, and thereby gave great advantages to his enemies. They insisted on cultivating the friendship of *France*, as *Spain* was too feeble, and *England* too unsteady to assist them. The prince resumed his plan of government, by a majority, and though firmly opposed by *Amsterdam*, and the provinces of *Friesland* and *Groningen*, such was his coolness and perseverance, that he in part succeeded. It was soon found out that the leading men in *Amsterdam* were under the influence of *French* corruption. This turned the tide of popular affection towards the prince, who had intercepted the private correspondence between *D'Avaux* and the *Amsterdammers*. He carried the proposal of an augmentation, and it was actually resolved to have joined the *Spanish* army with 14,000 men to act against the *French*; but a thundering memorial from *D'Avaux*, and the influence of *Lewis* over the *States*, drove them from their resolution, and they agreed to the terms proposed by the *French*. Their troops were ordered to desist from hostilities in *Flanders*, and the city of *Amsterdam* went so far as not only to propose a reduction of all the additional troops that had been made to assist the *Spaniards*, but to create prince *Casimir* of *Nassau* their Stadtholder, an honour he refused from his regard and friendship to the prince of *Orange*. The *French* interest then adopted certain plausible plans of frugality for reducing the army and augmenting the navy, and other economical regulations, which were levelled at the authority of the Stadtholder, whose uncle and father-in-law, *James II.* was now king of *Great Britain*. It was imagined, that his accession to the crown would have been of service to the prince of *Orange*, but *James* had been forced by his brother to agree to his daughter's marriage, and in his heart he detested the principles, cause, and family of the prince. He affected, indeed, an equality with *Lewis*; and had it not been for his bigotted principles, the vast revenue he had, and the situation he found himself in at the time of his accession, might have put him at the head of a confederacy powerful enough to have given law to *France*. The duke of *Monmouth* was in exile in *Holland*, as was the *Scotch* earl of *Argyle*. The prince of *Orange*, by this time, had entered into engagements with the protestant party in *England*, and we can scarcely doubt that he had the *British* crown in his eye. He considered the two illustrious exiles as standing in the way of his ambition, especially as the duke was weak enough to enter a hereditary claim to the throne of *England*, as being the legitimate son of *Charles II.* The prince of *Orange* joined with the *States* in their efforts to oblige the duke and the earl to leave *Holland*; but he privately encouraged both to the mad ill judged attempt of invading *England* and *Scotland*, which ended in their destruction.

*James* rejected all the apologies the *States* made, and looked upon them as the authors of the two rebellions that he had suppressed. He encouraged the *Algerines* in their insults and depredations

depredations upon the *Dutch*, and they in return opened Breach their territories as an asylum to all the disaffected in *England*. between He took the part of the *English* against the *Dutch East-India* *James II.* company; and this, perhaps, was the most justifiable measure and the of his reign, for the all grasping avarice of the latter, at this *States Ge-* time, undoubtedly pointed towards an entire engrossment of *neral*. all the *Asiatic* commerce. This avaritious spirit influenced all their actions; it rendered them tame towards the *French* monarch, who was persecuting his protestant subjects, and oppressing the principality of *Orange*. An encounter between two *Dutch* men of war and a *French* squadron under the count *de Mortemar*, gave the *French* a handle for complaining of an insult offered to their flag, and the *Dutch* were mean enough to make submissions on that head. They were so far from interposing in favour of the *French* protestants, that they saw them with silent joy taking refuge in *Holland*, and by the manufactures they introduced erecting new sources of commerce to their state. The king of *England* was, at this time, very powerful both by sea and land, but he was advancing with wide steps towards his own destruction, that is, in his endeavours to introduce popery into his kingdoms. He still continued to affect a rivalry with *Lewis*, and, more than ever he was known to do, he caressed the prince of *Orange* and the *Dutch*, whose interests on that occasion were very different. They pretended to be alarmed at the vast preparations he was making, and their ambassador, *Dykeveldt*, who was in the prince's interest, openly remonstrated at *London* against the king's conduct. If *James* had, at this time, any serious thoughts of acting against *France*, they arose from the differences between the pope and *Lewis*; and if the *Dutch* meant any thing by their remonstrances, it was dictated by the prince of *Orange*, who thought that such representations were necessary to justify his future conduct, and encrease the number of his partizans in *England*.

Matters stood on this footing between *James* and the 1688. *Dutch* till the year 1688, when the prince of *Orange* actually The refused to give any sanction of his countenance to the repeal prince of of the penal laws. *James* redoubled his preparations for war; *Orange* he demanded the six *British* regiments in the service of the invades *States General* to be sent home; but he was refused, and the *England*, prince was daily getting ground in the assembly of the *States*. Nothing was now thought to be wanting but a formal declaration of war, for the commencement of hostilities between the *English* and the *Dutch*. The dispute between prince *Clement* of *Bavaria*, and the cardinal of *Furtemberg*, about the electorate of *Cologne*, served as a specious pretext for their warlike preparations; and the prince of *Orange* at last informed the electors of *Brandenburgh* and *Saxony*, the heads of the house of *Lunenbourg* (the duke of *Zell* in particular) of his real design to make a descent upon *England*.

When



When we consider the situation of *Europe* for a century past, and the danger her liberties were now in from *French* power and ambition, we cannot be surprized that the protestants of *Europe* gladly embraced the prospect of seeing the crown of *England* on the head of a prince bred up in an hereditary aversion to the house of *Bourbon*. The *Dutch* saw their interest in this great event, and a fleet of 50 large ships of war, with 10,000 land forces on board, was equipped. The *French* ambassador demanded the reason of this armament, and threatened the *States* with his master's immediate indignation if it was intended against *England*. The *English* ambassador remonstrated against it; and *James* endeavoured to cajole the *States*, who knew their interest too well, and had gone too far to mind either his threats or his promises. Every thing for the invasion being ready, the *States* avowed the destination of their armament, and both they and the prince published manifestos on the head, justifying their own conduct. The first time the fleet attempted to sail, it was driven back by contrary winds. It was more fortunate the second time; the prince of *Orange* landed in *England*; he and his wife were rewarded with its crown, and the *Dutch* made the *English* parliament their debtors to the amount of an enormous sum, for the assistance given them on this occasion. *Lewis* endeavoured to anticipate king *William* in hostilities; he seized the *Dutch* shipping in his ports; he invaded *Germany*, and declared war against the *Dutch* on pretence of their having opposed cardinal *Furstemburg*. The *Dutch* answered by a counter manifesto, in which they loaded *Lewis* with tyranny, ambition, and breach of faith, with a spirit, and in terms, which sufficiently demonstrated their close connections with *England*. Both parties took the field, and *France* opposed her single power to that of almost all *Europe*. Prince *Waldeck* commanded the army of the confederates on the frontiers of the *States*, consisting of the *Dutch*, the *Brandenburghers*, *Lunenburghers*, *Hessians*, and other *German* protestants; but he was beaten at *Fleuris* by the *French* marshal *Luxembourg*. This did not discourage the *States*, whose troops behaved admirably well; they not only recruited, but rewarded them, and, being joined by a fresh body of *Brandenburghers*, put a stop to *Luxembourg's* farther conquests.

and receives that crown.

The confederacy against *France* renewed.

King *William* was, at this time, in *Ireland*, fighting against the party of king *James* there, and the *Dutch* had joined the *English* fleet at *St. Helen's* in 1690. The *French* fleet consisted of 119 sail, of which 80 were of the line; and though the combined fleet did not exceed 56 of the line, they fought them off *Beachy-Head*. The superiority of the *French* gave them the advantage in the engagement; but both king *William* and the *Dutch* accused lord *Torrington*, the *English* admiral, of not having done his duty, and of having abandoned the *Dutch* to their enemies. It is certain, that in this engagement three of their ships were sunk, and they themselves set fire

1690.  
The *Dutch* beat at sea.

fire to three others, who were stranded on the coast of *Suffex*, besides losing a 60 gun ship next day. Their admirals were *Evertzen*, *Callenberg* and *Vander Putten*. Two of their rear admirals, *Dick* and *Brokel*, were killed, and the *States General*, with a truly *Roman* spirit, bestowed marks of honour on all their officers, who had behaved gallantly. King *William*, by this time, was victorious in *Ireland*, and at full liberty to gratify his favourite view of humbling *France*. He went over to the *Hague*, and there he presided in one of the most illustrious assemblies ever seen in *Europe*, composed of powerful sovereign princes, who now formed the grand confederacy against *France*. *William* made it no secret, that he was resolved to employ all the force of his new acquired kingdoms, in that glorious cause, as well as his own person and revenues. He animated the assembly by his spirited, yet rational exhortations; and the settlement of the contingencies amounted to 200,000 men, of whom the *States* were to furnish 35,000. *Lewis* beheld the gathering storm with the utmost composure, because he knew the confederates had no force in readiness to oppose him. He took *Mons*, which was deemed next to impregnable, in sight of *William* himself, who lay with his army inactive at *Hall*, and who soon after returned to *England*, as *Lewis* did to *Paris*. The latter instigated the king of *Denmark* to seize the *Dutch* shipping, because they would not comply with his exorbitant demands of *Sound-duty*; but *William's* interposition, and the *Dutch* preparations soon brought his *Danish* majesty to reason.

In 1692, *William* received a fresh mortification, by the duke of *Luxembourg* taking *Namur*, and beating him at *Steinkirk*. *William* was then in danger of beholding all his promising schemes blown into the air, as the *French* were every day gaining ground in the *Netherlands*. *Spain* was weak and spiritless; the *German* princes, excepting the duke of *Zell*, and the elector of *Brandenburg*, had failed in their engagements, being unwilling to provoke *Lewis*; and the emperor was employed against the *Turks* and his protestant subjects in *Hungary*. *England* and *Holland*, connected by *William's* authority, made prodigious efforts against *France*, and it was now plain, that the strength and revenues of *Great Britain*, were to be appropriated to the service of the *States General*, under the specious pretext of resisting the power of *France*. *Lewis*, on the other hand, knew what a vast party king *James* still had in *England*, and that great numbers of *William's* new subjects thought him too much of a *Dutchman*. *Lewis* had a squadron, under his admiral, *Tourville*, at *la Hogue*, waiting to be joined by his *Toulon* squadron, under *d'Étrees*. The *Dutch* squadron was expected every day to join the *English*, and *Tourville* had positive orders to fight the latter before the junction could be formed. It was effected without the knowledge of *Tourville*, who attacked both squadrons. The fight lasted for almost three days, but ended in the ruin of the *French* fleet, who lost

1692.

The Eng-  
lish and  
Dutch de-  
feat the  
French  
at la  
Hogue.

16 of its capital ships. *Allemonde* was the *Dutch* admiral in this engagement, and it is certain, that considering the vast superiority of strength the confederates had over the *French*, something more decisive than the destruction of 16 ships, ought to have followed. The *English* blamed the *Dutch*, but the latter rewarded their admiral's behaviour, though far from being unexceptionable. It is, however, certain that the *French* marine has never yet recovered the blow it then received, and that the victory at *la Hogue* disabled the *French* from making a descent upon *England*, which might have been dangerous to her liberties, by restoring the abdicated monarch.

1693.  
The  
*French* re-  
pair their  
marine.

In the year 1693, *France* recovered her marine so much, that *Tourville* was enabled to burn or sink a considerable number of *Dutch* merchant ships, under a strong convoy, commanded by Sir *George Rooke*, the *English*, and rear-admiral *Vanderdoes*, the *Dutch*, commanders. After this, *Tourville* harassed the *Dutch* navigation, and did great damage both to them and the *English*, but without much advancing his master's cause. In *Flanders*, *Luxembourg* baffled all the designs king *William* had formed upon *Brabant*, and covered *Villeroy's* army, while he took *Huy*. He afterwards engaged *William* at *Landen* and beat him, with the loss of 8000 men and 60 pieces of cannon, besides the surrender of *Charleroy*, which soon followed. King *William* was censured for fighting that battle, but he repaired his fault by the admirable dispositions he made after he lost it.

The con-  
federates  
complain  
of the  
*Swiss*.

It is plain that the genius of *Lewis*, at this time, had the ascendent over that of *William*, though superior to him in capacity, application, courage, and almost every qualification that enters into the composition of a great prince; but the life of *Lewis* demonstrates the vast advantages of despotic government, which rests on a single principle in the operations of the field and cabinet. *England*, by becoming the capital member of the confederacy, endangered the liberties of *Europe*. The other confederates trusting to her wealth and riches, and the spirit of her king, grew remiss and indolent, and never were awakened to danger till it was at their doors. *Lewis* found more benefit from his generosity and magnificence, than from all his other qualities. He had engaged a body of *Swiss* in his service, to whom his successes were greatly owing. The confederates complained of this as an infraction of the neutrality which the cantons were obliged to observe, and cut off all communication with them, which put them to some inconveniences; but so devoted were they to the service of *France*, that they refused to withdraw their troops from the *French* armies, and the allies thought proper to remove their interdiction of commerce. The disjointed state of the confederacy, at this time, required another congress, which was held at *Cologne*, and ministers from the chief princes of the confederacy assisted at it, but without any great

effect,



effect, so prevalent, even in that assembly, were *French* intrigues. *Lewis* had established an interest at the *Porte*, by which, he rendered ineffectual all the endeavours of the *Dutch* and *English* to make peace between the *German* and *Turkish* emperors. The allies endeavoured to be revenged by the combined fleets of *England* and *Holland* bombarding *St. France Maloe's*, but without any considerable effect, and in the winter of the year 1694, pacific thoughts began to take place. The landed interest of *England* complained of their being too deep in a war, from which, however successful, they could reap no benefit; and the *French* complained, that every victory they gained added to their distress, misery and depopulation.

*Lewis* was sensible of this, and made the first advances to peace, by offering the *Dutch* a sufficient barrier; that he would demolish *Charleroy*, restore *Mons* and *Namur* to *Spain*, annexing *Huy* to the bishopric of *Liege*, and referring all other disputed matters to arbiters. The *Danish* ambassador undertook the office of mediation, and pressed the republic to accept of those terms; but they were haughtily rejected by king *William*, whose authority in the assembly of the *States* was now almost despotic. *France* then strengthened her connections with *Sweden* and *Denmark*, and the latter renewed her exorbitant demands of the *Sound* duties from the *States*. *England* and *Holland* resented this proceeding, by stopping and searching all *Swedish* and *Danish* ships, bound to or from the *French* ports, and the *Dutch* made prize of 24 *Danish* ships in their own harbours, to indemnify themselves for the seizure of their ships, which had been made by his *Danish* majesty. *England* concurring with *Holland* in this resentment, the effect was, that the northern powers were intimidated into an accommodation, and the ships on both sides were released. The *French* were this year insulted on their coasts by the confederate fleets, who, however, did little that was answerable to their great force, but their obliging *Lewis* to send a considerable body of troops from the *Netherlands* to his maritime provinces. In other respects, the operations at sea were disgraceful to the *Dutch*. *Du Bart*, a *French* commodore, attacked, with a fleet of privateers, the *Dutch* admiral *de Vires*, who had under his convoy a rich merchant fleet, between the *Meuse* and the *Texel*; and *de Vires*, not being supported by his captains, lost the greatest part of his convoy, after being beaten and taken prisoner. The *States* cashiered the captains, and received some consolation by the news that *Pondicherry*, in the *East Indies*, had surrendered to their governor-general of *Batavia*.

The *Dutch*, before the end of the year, began to entertain some ridiculous religious disputations, but they were quieted by the interpositions of the *Stadtholder* and the *States General*. The year 1695 was glorious to king *William*, by the reduction of *Namur*; but we are here to observe, that the marshal

Differences in the north,

The *French* beat the *Dutch* by

Religious disputes revived in *Holland*.

*Luxembourg*,

*Luxembourg*, whom we may pronounce to have been the last great military genius of *France*, was now dead, and was succeeded by *Villeroy*, who was far inferior to him in martial merit. The *French* king, by way of revenge, ordered *Brussels* to be bombarded; but this was far from indemnifying him for the effect of the destructive visits which the *English* and *Dutch* squadrons paid to his coasts. The people of *Holland*, however, did not consider the damage they did to the *French*, as any indemnification for the vast taxes they paid to support the war. They saw themselves disappointed in their expectations of the *French* power, being reduced in one, or at most two campaigns, and a tax upon burials imposed by the magistrates of *Amsterdam*, put the populace there into a ferment. They threatened to fire the city, and they pillaged the house of *Boreel*, one of their most respectable magistrates. *Spaarogge*, an officer, got some soldiers together, and fired upon the insurgents, but he was so roughly handled by them, that he was obliged to retreat. In the morning, public notice was given, that the tax was abolished, and the most considerable of the citizens put themselves under arms. The mob, instead of being quieted, plundered the house of the *English* consul, and attacked the *Jews*, who, however unwarlike, armed themselves and fought in defence of their vast property, and being supported by the burghers, the mob was not only repulsed, but a few wholesome examples of severity restored the city to its usual tranquillity.

Great tumult in  
*Amsterdam*.

Conferences opened at  
*Ryswick*,

The active *du Bart*, about this time, fell in with a fleet of *Dutch* merchantmen homeward bound, from *Lisbon*, defeated their convoy, and took 30 of their ships; but at the appearance of a superior *Dutch* force, he unloaded their cargoes, burnt their hulks, and made his escape. Those and many other discouragements, which the allies met with, in the course of the war, inclined them to peace, especially as they saw the duke of *Savoy* deserting the grand alliance. The king of *Sweden* offered his mediation, and *Callieres*, the *French* plenipotentiary, in a conference he had with *Dykeveldt*, offered all that the *Imperial* court had demanded, in consequence of the treaties of *Westphalia* and *Nimeguen*. It is well known, that king *William* himself began now to be doubtful, as to the event of the war, and that his minister, *Bentinck* (afterwards earl of *Portland*) was instructed privately to confer with the *French* marshal *Boufflers*, in the neighbourhood of *Brussels*, upon that subject, while conferences were opened at *Ryswick*. The preliminaries being adjusted, between those two great men, the peace was concluded, the substance of which the reader will find in the history of *Germany*. During the conferences at *Ryswick*, the *French* carried on a kind of privateering war with the *Dutch* from *Dunkirk*, and filled that harbour with their captures. In the bay of *Biscay*, a *French* squadron fell upon three *Dutch* men of war, commanded by admiral *Wassenaar*, who convoyed a fleet of merchantmen,

P. 203.

*Wassenaar*,

*Wassenaar*, after a gallant resistance, was killed, and all the ships he had in charge were taken, as well as the men of war. The peace of *Ryswick* continued to meet with difficulties from the *French* and *Spanish* courts; but after the *Dutch* had concluded their treaty of commerce with *France*, they were obliged to comply.

Never was there a peace so necessary, and, at the same time, so disgraceful to all parties as that of *Ryswick* was. They had desisted from fighting merely through reciprocal weakness, and they found they had carried on a long, bloody, and expensive war to no purpose. After the peace was settled, *William*, who was seldom easy but when he was in *Holland*, returned thither, partly to avoid the affronts he daily met with from the house of commons, and partly to conclude the partition-treaty, of which the reader has already received an account. This impolitic treaty being concluded, the *Dutch*, for some time, made no great figure in the affairs of *Europe*, and applied themselves to the cultivation of their commerce. They were still at war with the *Spaniards* in *America*. The emperor was dissatisfied. King *William* perceived, that he had made a wrong step in concluding the partition-treaty, and the *Dutch* wanted a better barrier. Those considerations produced a new treaty at the *Hague*, between his Imperial majesty, *England*, and *Holland*. The death of king *William* happened just at the crisis of a new war, between the confederates and the *French*, who had proclaimed the pretended prince of *Wales*, king of *Great Britain*. His influence still remained in the assembly of the *States General*, though its members were immeasurably dejected at the news of his death. Queen *Anne* wrote them a letter, tending to confirm them in the measures pursued by her predecessor, and this revived them so much that they entered into all the views of the grand alliance. To this they were greatly invigorated by the earl of *Marlborough*, whom she sent to concert with them the operations of the succeeding campaign. The *French* minister, *Barre*, affected to compliment the *States General*, as being now restored to their freedom by king *William's* death; but they resented his insolence, and war was declared against *France* on the same day at *Vienna*, *London*, and the *Hague*. When *Lewis* heard of this step taken by the *Dutch*, he expressed himself, with a mixture of acrimony and contempt, against their presumption.

It is certain, that, at this time, the *Dutch* maintained above 100,000 men in their garrisons and in the field; but it is as certain, that during the course of the war, they endeavoured all they could to lessen their burden, and that the *English* often complained of them on that account. In the beginning of *January*, 1703, they pressed queen *Anne* to augment her forces, to which her parliament agreed, upon condition that the *States General* should immediately prohibit all commerce between their subjects and those of *France* and *Spain*. This



Authority  
of the  
duke of  
*Marlbo-*  
*rough* with  
the *States*.

P. 227,  
and 230.

1742.

Ascen-  
dency of  
the *French*  
in *Holland*,

was a condition the more reasonable, as at this time the *French* king made most of his remittances through the hands of *Dutch* merchants, who furnished him with powder, shot, and materials of every kind for making war. The *States* were terribly disgusted at the prescriptive tone made use of by the *English* on this occasion; but they thought proper to comply, and the prohibition was accordingly issued. We shall not repeat to the reader the particulars of the war which followed, because they are to be found in other parts of this work. Their general, old *Auverquerque*, proved, while he lived, to be a second worthy of the great duke of *Marlborough*, and co-operated with him and prince *Eugene*, in their most glorious achievements. With regard to the conduct of the *States General*, what we have here to observe, is, that the duke seemed to succeed to the authority of king *William* in their assemblies; and their generals, through the whole course of the war, appeared to act in a perfect conformity to his sentiments. We are, however, not to stretch this opinion too far; for it is certain, that though the duke of *Marlborough* was too wise a man, and too great a politician, to appear to have the least difference with the *Dutch* field deputies, yet they were too fond of continuing the war in the *Netherlands*, on account of their own frontier, though it might have been pushed against *France* to much greater advantage in other parts. This was but too much to the liking of *Marlborough* himself, though his friends gave out, that he had many private disputes with the *Dutch* deputies on that head. We are likewise not to dissemble, that the *Dutch* were far from fulfilling their engagements during the course of the war, and threw the vast expence of it upon the *English*. The reader, in the history of *Germany*, will see in what manner the war was terminated, by the treaties of *Utrecht* and *Rastadt*.

At the time the war broke out, concerning the succession to the emperor *Charles VI.* the *Dutch* counsels were mostly governed by the *Louvestein* faction; and cardinal *Fleury* the *French* found means to engage in his interest *Van Hooy*, the *Dutch* ambassador at the *French* court, a vain, weak, pedant, but who lulled his masters into a security, which had almost proved fatal to *Europe*. His presumption, in writing to the *British* ministry in favour of the rebels, procured him a severe reprimand from the *States*, but no other punishment. All the spirited remonstrances presented by the *British* ministry to the *Dutch*, could not bring them to such a sense of their danger, as to prevail upon them to act heartily against the common enemy, till they saw almost all *Flanders*, *Brabant*, and *Hainault*, subdued by count *Saxe*. The *Orange* party, who were very numerous, and comprehended the bulk of the common people, clamoured for a Stadtholder; but in the mean while, the allies were beat at *Roucoux*, *Namur* was taken, and the *French* were every where victorious. Application was made by the *States General* to his *Britannic* majesty, and they offered

to exert their utmost, just as the *French* were preparing to make a descent upon *Zealand*, which must have brought them to the gates of *Amsterdam*. King *George*, whose regal dominions had been burthened with the load of this war, likewise saved *Zealand* from the invasion, by the orders he sent to commodore *Mitchel*, and when the campaign opened, the *Dutch* troops took post near *Breda*, under prince *Waldeck*. He was a young man, brave and well intentioned, but hampered by the field deputies, so that he did nothing effectual, for preventing *Sluys*, *Sas Van Ghent*, and many other places in *Dutch Brabant*, from falling into the hands of the *French*. Even *Hulst*, though well provided for a defence, was shamefully given up by its *Dutch* governor, and the demands of the people for a Stadtholder, in the person of the prince of *Orange*, became now intractable. The people of *Zealand* complained, that they had been betrayed by their government, and were encouraged by the friends of that prince, who offered his services to defend them, to nominate him on the 28th of *April*, captain-general and admiral of *Zealand*. Other states and cities followed the example of the *Zealanders*, and on the 2d of *May* following, he was, in the assembly of the *States General*, invested with the power and dignity of Stadtholder, captain-general, and admiral of the *United Provinces*. His advancement to this dignity was too late for him to be able to stop the rapid progress of the *French*; but the vigorous measures he took, in a great measure facilitated the peace of *Aix-la-Chapelle* in 1748.

Though the prince had seen very little service in the field, yet he proved an active and able head of the republic. He had great application, and had he lived, it is thought he would have restored the republic of the *United Provinces* to its former lustre. He died in the year 1751, leaving a son and daughter, who were both minors; the administration of the Stadtholdership, which had been rendered hereditary in his family, was committed to his widow, eldest daughter of king *George II.* Her authority was not sufficient for restoring the true system of the *Dutch*, who, in the beginning of the late war, which broke out between the *English* and the *French*, ungratefully refused to lend the former the troops stipulated by treaty. In short, during the whole course of the war, they studied by all means to oblige the *French*, and even granted them a free passage through *Namur* and *Maestricht*, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery, of their army on the *Rhine*. They suffered *Ostend* and *Neuport* to be put into the hands of the *French* by the queen of *Hungary*, without paying great attention to the representation of colonel *Yorke*, the *British* ambassador, on that head. They favoured the *French* in their attempts against the *English* upon the coast of *Africa*, and their partiality to the enemies of *Great Britain* was without all bounds.

Commer-  
cial differ-  
ences with  
*England*.

1758.

*English*  
claims  
upon the  
*Dutch*.

Under pretence of being a neutral power, they carried on the *French* trade through all ports of the world, but the *British* government issued orders for their cruizers to make prize of all neutral ships having *French* property on board. The order was punctually executed in *Great Britain* and the *English West Indies* in 1758, and great number of *Dutch* ships were condemned as lawful prizes. Their merchants complained of this rigour, as being no better than piracy; but the *British* ministry very properly represented, that while the *Dutch* were at liberty to supply their enemies with naval stores, and to indemnify them for all the losses they met with from *Great Britain*, it was impossible for his *Britannic* majesty to carry on the war with any appearance of success. Those were considerations that had no weight with the *Dutch* merchants, 259 of whom sent in a memorial to the *States General*, complaining of the rapaciousness and cruelty of the *English* ships of war and privateers; each subscriber offering his contingent towards entering upon offensive measures. The people of *England* were, at this time, so thoroughly exasperated against the *Dutch*, that they would willingly have entered into a war with their republic; and it is hard to say what the event might have been, had not the princess governante interposed with wisdom and moderation. She exhorted them to arm against *France*, and the *French* faction among the *States* were intimidated by that of *England*, and the house of *Orange*. The *English* were so far from making any satisfaction for the seizure of *Dutch* ships, that it was intimated to the *States General*, that the behaviour of their merchants, if authorized by their government, had forfeited all the claims of friendship which the *Dutch* had upon *England* in virtue of former treaties. The *Dutch* urged the stipulation of the treaty of 1668, "That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of *Great Britain*, shall be free and unmolested; except those be prohibited goods, which are to be served in the manner proscribed by the foregoing articles." The *English* very justly ridiculed this plea, which they said contained an absurdity, and therefore was void of itself, if urged in the sense of the *Dutch*. They proved, that the stipulation could regard only the common cause of trade, as carried on in time of peace, and they produced a secret article of the treaty of 1675, stipulating, "That neither of the contracting parties should give, nor consent that any of their subjects, and inhabitants, should give any aid, favour, or counsel, directly or indirectly, by land or sea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish, or permit the subjects, or inhabitants of their respective territories, to furnish any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals, monies, instruments of war, to the enemies of either party, of any rank or condition soever." This article had been so palpably contravened,



vened, that it superseded the observance of all prior stipulations, especially as the *Dutch* had positively refused to furnish the troops demanded by *England* in compliance with former treaties, under the frivolous pretence of their not being obliged to enter into a quarrel that took its rise in *America*. The *English* alledged, that the *French* never would fail to begin all their quarrels with *Great Britain* in *America*, and that it was notorious, they had attacked his *Britannic* majesty's *German* dominions, only for the part he was acting in defending the liberties of *Europe*.

The *English* farther insisted, that giving the treaty of 1668 <sup>Disputes</sup> all the force the *Dutch* desired, it never could justify their in *Hol-* carrying on a trade that was not practised in time of peace, *land*. when they were admitted to no commerce with either the *French* or *Spanish* settlements in *America*, and that it was in vain for the *English* shipping to distress and block up the *French* ports there, if they were relieved by the *Dutch* shipping, carrying on their commerce on pretence of their being neutral bottoms. In short, the *British* ambassador declared, in plain terms, to the *States General*, that his master had given orders to his commanders and officers, to attack and make prize of *French* property wherever they could discover it. All the unprejudiced part of *Europe* was convinced, by the reasoning of the *British* ministry, especially when they saw the tenderness with which the courts of admiralty, in *England*, proceeded in cases of their captures. The *Dutch* still complained, that they ought to have had some warning of their ships being to be seized, and a deputation from their merchants waited upon the princess of *Orange*, desiring her to agree to an augmentation of their navy for the protection of their trade. The princess promised to employ her good offices at the court of *Great Britain*, and conferences without any effect were opened at the *Hague*. Upon their breaking up, the clamour of the *Dutch*, for reprisals, grew more fierce and untractable than ever. The princess declared for an augmentation of their army, for the defence of the provinces of *Gueldres* and *Overyssel*, and to prevent the armies of either of the belligerent powers from taking refuge in the territories of the republic. A fresh deputation of merchants waited upon her, and she threw the blame upon the towns of *Dort*, *Haerlem*, *Amsterdam*, *Torgau*, *Rotterdam*, and the *Brille*, that their forces were not in a better condition both by sea and land. This artful conduct disconcerted the merchants among themselves, and diverted their eagerness for a rupture with *England*. The princess continued to press the augmentation both by sea and land, in the assembly of the *States General*, and the warlike preparations then making in *England*, farther relaxed the ardour of the party.

The *States General* communicated the sentiments of the princess regent, in a letter to the provinces of *Holland* and *West Friesland*, in which they insisted upon an augmentation

The *States General* of the republic's forces both by sea and land, in order to prevent the republic from becoming a prey to any of its neighbours. Upon cooler thoughts, it was found expedient that on an interest should give way to necessity; but the death of the princess of *Orange* was an irreparable loss to the republic, as well as her own family. Before her death, which happened on the 12th of *January*, 1759, she sent two of her attendants for two papers that she had ordered to be drawn up; one was a contract of marriage, which she signed, between her daughter and the prince of *Nassau Weilburg*; and the other, a letter to the *States General*, which she signed likewise, desiring them to consent to the marriage, and not to make any change in the regulations she had made, with regard to the tutelage and education of the young prince her son. By her will, she appointed the king her father, and her mother-in-law, the princess-dowager of *Orange*, to be honorary tutors, and prince *Lewis* of *Brunswic*, to be acting tutor to her children. The issue of her daughter, as the prince of *Nassau Weilburg* was a *Lutheran*, was, by the contract of marriage, to be educated in the established religion of *Holland*.

During the illness of the princess of *Orange*, the *States of Holland* had several times assembled, and the day before her death, came to a resolution to fit out 25 ships of war. The day after her death, both the *States General* and the *States of Holland*, confirmed the regulations she had made for her son's minority, and the oaths of captain-general of the union were administered to prince *Lewis* of *Brunswic*, who assisted in the assembly of *Holland*, and likewise in that of the *States General*, who consoled with his *Britannic* majesty in very pathetic terms; in short, they carried all the arrangements, made by the late princess, into execution. The loss of the princess of *Orange*, was sensibly felt by all true *Dutch* patriots. The resolutions they had come to of augmenting their navy, was considered by the *English* as an indirect insult upon their court, and every day furnished out fresh examples of *Dutch* ships being confiscated, notwithstanding all their angry remonstrances. When they came to fit out their navy, they found themselves unable to do it, through the miserable condition in which their arsenals and dock-yards lay, and yet they continued to provoke the *English*. The inhabitants of *Martinico*, in a memorial presented by the lieutenants of the several districts of that island, to the general of the *French* islands, declared, that they had been abandoned by every dependence but that upon the *Dutch*. In like manner, when the *British* troops made their descent upon *Guadaloupe*, and had forced the inhabitants to retire to the mountains, the *Dutch* traders supplied them with all kinds of necessaries and provisions, to hold out against the *English*, till two ships of war were ordered to intercept them. But the chief scene of the *Dutch* enmity, at this time against the *English*, lay in the

*East*

The  
weakness  
of the  
*Dutch* by  
sea.

*East Indies*, where matters took a very serious and alarming turn.

The vast successes of the *English* in *Bengal*, had been attended with suitable advantages in point of commerce in that rich country, where the *Dutch* formerly used to give law. They had a strong fort at *Chinsura* on the river of *Bengal*, and they could not, without the deepest regret, behold the profitable contracts, which the *English* had obtained in the salt-petre trade, which had formerly belonged almost entirely to themselves. They had seen a monarch given by colonel *Clive* to *Bengal*, in the person of nabob *Mbir Jaffer*. They knew the treachery and ingratitude of the natives, and perhaps they more than suspected that the new nabob was uneasy under his late obligations to the *English*, and would be glad of being supported by the *Dutch*. Whatever may be in this, it seems certain, that the governor of *Batavia* adopted a plan for making his countrymen masters of the salt-petre trade in *Bengal*. No sooner did he understand that the *English* squadron had retired to the coast of *Malabar*, than this governor equipped seven ships, on board of which he put 500 *European* troops, and 600 *Malayese*, under the command of one colonel *Russel*. All this was done, on pretence of reinforcing the *Dutch* garrisons in *Bengal*. The armament touched at *Negapatam*; but instead of proceeding by the nearest course to their settlements they proceeded up the bay, and about the beginning of *October* they arrived in the river of *Bengal*. Colonel *Clive* was then at *Calcutta*, and as the intention of the *Dutch* admitted of no doubt, he obtained from the new nabob or subah, an order to the *Dutch* director and council at *Hughley*, prohibiting the *Dutch* from advancing farther up the river. Only two of the *Dutch* ships were yet arrived in the river, and colonel *Clive* very plainly intimated to their commodore, that he was no stranger to their design, and that he would oppose force by force, if he should offer to land any troops that were to proceed to *Chinsura*. The commodore being as yet in no condition to force a landing, declared, that he did not intend to send troops to *Chinsura*, but obtained leave to put some ashore for refreshment provided they did not advance.

Their attempt against *Bengal*,

No sooner did the rest of the *Dutch* armament arrive in the river, than he seized all the *English* ships he could master, disembarked his troops in the neighbourhood of *Tannah-Fort*, from whence they proceeded towards *Chinsura*. When the *Calcutta* by the *Indiaman*, commanded by captain *Wilson*, fell down the river, in her voyage to *England*, the *Dutch* commodore, without any ceremony, threatened to sink him if he passed him. Upon which, *Wilson* returned to *Calcutta*, where two other *India* ships lay at anchor, to consult colonel *Clive*. The colonel immediately resolved on an engagement, for which the three *English* ships prepared themselves, and falling down the river, they found the *Dutch* ready to receive them. Three of



their ships were mounted with 36 guns each; three with 26 guns, and one with 16. Captain *Forester*, in the duke of *Dorset Indiaman*, began the engagement by exchanging a broadside with the enemy, but a dead calm prevented the two other *English* ships from coming up to his assistance; so that for some time he bore the fire of all the *Dutch* seven. A breeze springing up, the *Hardwicke*, another *English East Indiaman*, and the *Calcutta* advanced, and a smart engagement ensued, till two of the *Dutch* ships bore away, and a third was driven ashore, while their commodore, and three others, struck to captain *Wilson*.

with considerable slaughter.

This engagement, though it did not cost the *English* a man, was of the utmost importance to their establishment, if not their existence, in *Bengal*. Had the *Dutch* obtained the victory, the nabob and his barbarous subjects, who are always determined by events, would most undoubtedly have attached themselves to the *Dutch*, to obtain a mitigation of the terms imposed upon them by the *English*. Captain *Wilson* found that the *English* artillery had done considerable execution in the enemy's ships, of which he immediately took possession and sent the crews prisoners to *Calcutta*. Before the engagement, the *Dutch* had landed no fewer than 1100 men, who were in full march to *Chinsura*, where colonel *Clive* sent colonel *Ford* with about 500 men, to take post at a place called the *French Gardens* to intercept them. When *Ford* entered the town of *Cbandanagore*, he was obliged to fight and defeat a detachment from *Chinsura*, which had been sent to receive their countrymen, whom, on the 25th of *November*, he found ready to give him battle, in a plain near *Chinsura*. A sharp engagement accordingly followed, in which the *Dutch* were entirely defeated, and all who escaped the sword were sent prisoners to colonel *Clive*.

The vindication offered by the *Dutch*.

Having represented this affair in the light most favourable for the *English*, it is but just that we should attend to the defence made by the *Dutch*; but we must inform our readers, that we have in our narrative omitted many immaterial circumstances. The *Dutch* acknowledged their having shipped troops at *Batavia*, in *June 1759*, and insisted upon their governor of *Batavia* having a right, without giving any just umbrage to the *English*, to send troops to their garrisons and settlements at *Bengal*, where they had suffered some insults on account of their weakness in that province. They denied that their troops were destined against the *English*, and appealed to their having touched at *Negapatam*. They denied that the *English* had any right to stop and visit their vessels, and they justified their officers having opposed them by force. They maintained the right they had to march their troops to *Chinsura*, and that, therefore, colonel *Ford* was unjustifiable in attacking them and cutting them to pieces. To confirm this defence, they pretended, that they had been invited by the nabob to join him against the *English*, which they had always refused

refused to do, though greatly to their own detriment. To prove the *Ganges*, or as is called the river of *Bengal*, to be a neutral river, they said that it runs through a country where no *European* can claim any right, but through the Great Mogul. That the *English* never had obtained any right from him of stopping their ships; but that, on the contrary, the *Dutch East India* company has, from time immemorial, by virtue of grants from the mogul, the right of free navigation and passage, and of carrying up and down men and goods to and from their frontiers in *Bengal*. They alledged, that they had always exercised that right, and they said, that the nabob, being an officer subordinate to the Great Mogul, had no right to countermand what he had done. They said, that one *European* nation cannot be justified in falling upon another, in an hostile manner, by any alliance offensive and defensive with a native prince; because this may terminate in the total ruin of all foreign settlements; and, with respect to *England* and *Holland*, is totally inconsistent with treaties subsisting between the two *States*, which expressly and particularly stipulate, that neither company shall do violence or wrong to the other; nor aid, counsel, or suffer any such violence, under any show or pretext whatsoever.

They pretended, that it was a tendernefs for those treaties, Their which prevented their accepting the nabob's offers, and con- complaints a- tended, that it was unjust for the *English* to make use of their influence over *Jaffier*, for engrossing the salt-petre trade, and gainst the pleaded a grant from the Great Mogul, which they obtained *English*. at a large expence, for purchasing that commodity. The *English* having alledged, that the *Dutch* company had admitted the nabob's right of granting that trade exclusively, by a petition which they presented to the late nabob, for engrossing that trade to themselves, and that he had actually granted such a privilege to *Choja Wazid*; the *Dutch* replied, that their petition was intended only to represent to the nabob, the prejudice which his grant to *Choja Wazid* would be to them, and to procure only the liberty, according to the standing custom of making the necessary purchases, immediately of the salt-petre boilers, without the intervention of others; nor was there one single word in that petition from which it could be inferred, that the *Dutch* had a design to ingross the trade, and exclude the *English*. And as to the grant to *Choja Wazid*, it was given in violation of the mogul's grants; and therefore, as it was without authority, it cannot be made a precedent. The *Dutch* complained farther of the arbitrary proceedings of the *English*, who, when any *Indian* weaver undertook to fabricate a piece of callico, for any other nation but the *English*, cut the work out of the loom, and threatened them severely, if they should dare to work for the *Dutch*. Several other subjects of complaint were added upon this occasion, particularly the seizing a crab, called the *Charlotte*, by admiral *Pacock*, in 1757, which, with its lading, was condemned,

upon pretence, that the commander was a subject of *France*, though the ship was hired by some of the company's servants at *Surat*, who loaded her with cotton on their own private account, and was the property of one *Benjaans*, a merchant; the commander also, though a native of *France*, had been admitted as a freeman by the director and council of the *Dutch* company at *Surat*, and had taken the oaths of fidelity to the *States* and company.

The *Dutch* had even the meanness to place to the account of the *English*, a small ship called the *Anne*, which struck upon one of the bars of the *Ganges*, and was lost, with some of her crew. All those grievances, and some that we have not mentioned, were by the *Dutch East India* company digested into the form of a memorial, and presented to the assembly of the *States General*, with the most bitter complaints upon the infolence of the *English*, and predicting the ruin of the *Dutch* trade, not only in *Bengal*, but in other parts of the world.

Candid  
refutation  
of all their  
argu-  
ments.

As the *English*, at this time, were by no means inclined to continue the war, and far less to begin a new one with the *Dutch*, they would have given great attention to this reply, had it not been for the virulence with which it was loaded, and its being destitute of all kind of evidence. It appeared from unquestionable authority, that the armament fitted out at *Batavia*, was directly intended against the *English* in *Bengal*; that their troops were disembarked at *Coromandel* only for a blind, because all of them had been reimbarcked, and the *Dutch* commanding officer, when a prisoner, confessed, that when he came to *Negapatam*, he found orders from *Batavia*, to go to *Bengal*. The *Dutch*, as appeared from the confession of *Mbir Jaffier* himself, had long put him in mind, that he was no better than a cypher, and that he must depend upon them for freeing him from his tutelage; and those insinuations had such an effect upon him, that both he and his son had actually connived at the *Dutch* invading *Bengal*, and had not colonel *Clive*, in the mean while, repelled *Shah Zaddah*, who pretended to dethrone *Jaffier*, they undoubtedly would have joined them; but, the *English*, being then in every respect their masters, they durst not. When the *Dutch* found the nabob's backwardness, they upbraided him for his breach of promise, in having prevailed with them to equip their armament, and represented to him, that all his insignificancy was owing to the avarice and ambition of his and their enemies, the *English*. The letters containing those expressions were printed, and it was proved, by the most indisputable authority, that the *Dutch* set out upon their expedition, in which, from the strength of their armament, they thought they could not miss of success, with a declared intention of not leaving one *Englishman* alive in *Bengal*.

It appeared that the *Dutch* armament, in proceeding to *Bengal*, had strengthened itself at *Ceylon*. While they were upon



upon their voyage, they did all they could to ingratiate themselves with the nabob, and to form a kind of an alliance with the *French*, who were left in the country, under one *M. Courtin*, to act against their common enemy the *English*, and they actually joined the *Dutch* settlement at *Chinsura*. While this was doing, (said the *English* in their own vindication against the *Dutch* charge) some of the council of *Chinsura* were employed in pestering the government of *Calcutta* with unintelligible remonstrances, tending merely to embarrass them, and divert their attention from the danger which threatened their lives, the *Dutch* at *Chinsura* being then actually busied in gaining intelligence of the state of our works, debauching and tempting our soldiers to desert, and forming plans of attack. This appears from some papers found in a pocket book of the *Dutch* commanding officer on the field of battle; among which is a plan for a storm; an offer of service in the intended expedition, though avowed by the *Dutch* to be chiefly intended for *Coromandel*; a plan for the attack of *Calcutta*; resolutions of a council of war for attacking our ships, clearing the shore, and disembarking the troops, assigning to each ship its situation and employment. Thus does it appear, contrary to their express affirmation, that the subsequent hostilities were not accidental or involuntary, but the consequence of previous resolution.

With regard to that part, which indeed was the heaviest and incontestable proof of the charge against the *English*, that they had no right to stop and search the *Dutch* ships in the *Ganges*, which was a neutral river. The *English* replied, that during a declared war between *England* and *France*, the *English* have a right to stop and search the vessels of the *Dutch*, or any other neutral ship, even on the high seas, and far more in a river upon which the *French* so lately had settlements, and where they were still unsubdued. With regard to the right which the *Dutch* pretended of their introducing troops in *Bengal*, the *English* treated this pretence with the greatest contempt, as the mogul could never be supposed to grant them rights which were incompatible with his own, as sovereign of the country. We therefore, said the *English*, notwithstanding the pretences of the *Dutch*, deny that any such does, or ever did, exist; and if they are inclined to dispute it, we call upon them to produce copies of such grant, which they ought to have done to support their charge, if any such they had. If the *Dutch*, therefore, had not a right to bring troops to *Bengal* independent of the will of the nabob, it follows, that he had a right to oppose it; and, indeed, that he had such right is expressly allowed by the *Dutch* themselves, notwithstanding their pretended grant, for they not only solicited his permission to bring their armament thither, and excused their coming thither when he had forbidden them, by pretending they were forced by stress of weather, with promises to depart as soon as they could; but in a petition to him, dated *October 24, 1759*, they say,

say, "As it is possible we may have some disputes, we have sent for forces; in this affair his excellency is lord of the country, we wait his pleasure."

Their endeavouring to monopolize the Bengal trade.

The *Dutch* mentioned no injury that had been done them by the nabob, whose allies the *English* were, and therefore their invading his dominions against his express orders, was a good reason for the *English* to assist him. The *Dutch*, in this case, pretended that the treaties between *England* and *Holland* did not admit of the subjects of either nation indiscriminately assisting the nabob against the other. But this was the very reverse of the doctrine they held when, as auxiliaries to the king of *Bantam*, they destroyed an *English* factory there, merely by the authority of that prince's orders, for the justice of which they pretended they were not accountable. As to the charge brought, that the *English* had made use of their influence with the nabob to the prejudice of the *Dutch* and their trade; the fact was so far otherwise, that when the nabob's son, by his father's orders, was marching to root them out of *Chinsura*, colonel *Clive* interposed so strenuously in their favour, that all their prisoners were released, and they obtained a treaty, by which they were permitted to carry on their trade as formerly. The complaints of the *English* having ingrossed the saltpetre trade, appeared to be entirely groundless, as the nabob had a right to farm it to whom he pleased, and the *Dutch* had never failed to take the like and much greater advantages over the *English* as often as any opportunity presented itself. It appeared farther, that the *Dutch* had solicited for themselves, not only the very farm in question, but a monopoly of opium, which never had been farmed, and which they offered not to farm, but to purchase, that they might become the sole proprietors of that commodity. The *English* had been offered the farm of opium as well as that of saltpetre, but they rejected it, because of the vast loss it must have occasioned to the *Dutch*.

The charge of the *English* having interrupted the *Dutch* callico trade, and having destroyed the work in their looms, appeared to be entirely groundless with regard to the *English*, and owing to some irregular practices of the moor merchants in the country. The *Dutch* brought a few more charges against the *English East-India* company's servants in *Bengal*, but they were either too frivolous in themselves to be taken notice of, or they related to private persons, for whose actions the company could not be answerable.

Vindication of the *English*.

We have been the more explicit in stating this controversy because it is of the utmost importance to the future good understanding between the two nations in the *East-Indies*. The truth is, neither the law of nations, nor particular treaties between the two people, are sufficient to found any regular system, either of friendship or enmity, in a country where almost all access to the sovereign power is cut off, and where such an object often does not exist; the possession of it being sometimes

sometimes disputed and sometimes extinguished. The practice of the two nations therefore upon former similar occasions, is all that can be appealed to, and the all ingrossing exclusive rights of the *Dutch*, whenever they could obtain a superiority in *Asia*, set no favourable example to the *English* in the like case. After colonel *Ford's* victory, the *Dutch* factory at *Chinsura* were overwhelmed with consternation on their receiving news they so little expected, and immediately they set on foot a negociation. The *English* demanded satisfaction for the insults that had been offered to the *British* flag, and the detention of their vessels, with other hostilities committed in breach of treaties, and that the company at *Chinsura* should repair all damages of whatever kind, whether they happened by their orders or not. The *Chinsura* company pretended to be affected with the deepest concern at the past hostilities, which, they said, had been committed on the part of the *Dutch* inadvertently, and without their knowledge or order.

After this, the *Dutch* gave in a paper of demands, which chiefly related to the nabob. That prince was still at the head of an army in the field, and had expressed the most violent resentment against the *Dutch* at *Chinsura*, whom he threatened to exterminate without any assistance from the *English*. This gave the *Chinsura* company terrible uneasiness, and their first demand was, that the *English* should prevail upon the nabob either to return or to remain quiet in his camp, and that he should confirm whatever agreement should be made between the two companies. Their second demand was conceived in the following terms: "That what has passed, during the troubles which have now ceased, shall be mutually forgot, and an assurance given of a perfect friendship, fidelity, and correspondence, being kept up between the two nations by their respective chiefs, without permitting any hostility on one side or the other, on any pretence whatsoever; that each shall do his utmost to preserve this good intelligence; and to contribute, as far as possible, to the good of both, without assisting, directly or indirectly, those who would prejudice either." The next article demanded a release of their captives, who they said, were not to be considered as prisoners of war; the fourth article required that they should be left in free possession of their settlements, commerce, rights and privileges, and the same demand ran through the fifth article.

It must be acknowledged, that the *English*, through the whole of this affair, acted with a circumspection that bordered upon craft. They had desired the nabob to consider the attack made by the *Dutch* as an attempt made upon them alone, and the nabob had accordingly remained inactive during colonel *Ford's* battle; but they seem now to have considered themselves as the allies of the nabob, and him as the sovereign of the country, and the disposer of peace and war. In answer to the first demand of the *Chinsura* company, they said, "They

The nabob is directed by the *English*.



“ They should use their utmost endeavours to prevail upon the nabob to withdraw his arms as soon as the *Dutch* government should fulfil his orders, but that he had no concern in the particular differences between the *Dutch* and the *English*.” They approved of the second article so far as it was consistent with the alliance between them and the nabob, and while peace subsisted between *England* and *Holland* in *Europe*. In answer to the third article, they said, “ They considered the *Dutch* officers and troops not as being prisoners to them but to the nabob, and that they were ready, as soon as they had finished their treaty, to deliver up all of them but those who were willing to enter into the *English* service.” They denied that they ever had interrupted the *Dutch* in their just rights and privileges, and they said, “ That they were ready to deliver up all the *Dutch* shipping they had as soon as their demands were complied with, or that they received assurance thereof from the director and council of *Hughley*.” As the differences now between the two companies could not be finally compromised without a previous treaty between the *Dutch* and the nabob, a negotiation was set on foot for that purpose on the 5th of *December*, 1759.

Treaty concluded between them and the nabob, The demands of the *Dutch* upon the nabob in general, turned upon the *Dutch* commerce being restored to the same footing as in former times, which was granted with an exception to the article of saltpetre, and then a treaty was concluded between them and the nabob. By this treaty, which was sufficiently mortifying to the *Dutch*, they were obliged to send off all the *Europeans* and others who had been employed in the late invasion, and they engaged to bring no more armed forces into the country of *Bengal*, nor ever make war in the country, nor to erect any fortifications, nor make any military preparations; or to entertain more than 125 *European* foldiers in all their factories within the three provinces. Lastly, they promised, if they met with any obstructions, disputes, or oppressions, to apply to the nabob of the province. Those terms being settled, all differences seemed to be compromised between the *Dutch* and the *English*. About 200 *Dutch* prisoners entered into the service of *Great Britain*, and the rest embarked for *Batavia* in ships which were restored them upon the conclusion of the treaties.

whose resentment against them still continues. The internal troubles of *Bengal* still continued, and the *Dutch* were too much galled by the late treaties they had concluded not to endeavour to profit by them. A pretended son of the late nabob was then in arms against the nabob of *Bengal*, and some of the *Dutch*, had, it seems, sent him a letter, promising him assistance. This letter was intercepted, or pretended to be intercepted, by the *English*, who put it into the hands of the nabob; and on the 11th of *February* one of his generals appeared with an army before the walls of the *Dutch* fort *Augustus*. After investing the town, and cutting off all its

its communications with the neighbourhood, he demanded that all the out-works should be razed, and that the *Dutch* should pay 50,000 florins by way of penalty, which they were obliged to comply with. In the following *April* the nabob complained that the *Dutch* factory at *Cassembuzar* entertained a greater number of troops than they were allowed by the late treaty, and that they intended to employ them in assisting his enemies, and therefore, in the true mercenary stile, he demanded from them a contribution of half a million sterling. The *Dutch* strenuously denied the charge, but this was so far from satisfying the nabob, that their chief being ill, he put their second in command under arrest, and, investing their factory he planted 11 pieces of cannon before it. The *Dutch* endeavoured all they could to deprecate the nabob's wrath, by paying or remitting him 200,000*l.* and discharging the troops they had taken into pay. The nabob, however, still continued the blockade of the fort, and intimated that he could not raise it without the consent of the *English*. The latter, on their part, alledged, that they had undoubted proofs of the *Dutch* being in the interest of their enemies, and the nabob's general, *Cosim Caun*, continued the blockade till commissioners could be sent to *Calcutta*, to terminate all differences with the *English*.

From this management it appears sufficiently plain, whatever the *English* may pretend, that the nabob was entirely under their direction, and that the real difference lay between them and the *Dutch*. The *English* president at *Calcutta* wrote a letter to Mr. *Bisdem*, the *Dutch* chief at *Cassembuzar*, advising him in a friendly manner to satisfy all the nabob's demands, and to submit to whatever he should require, as they were not in a condition to resist; adding, that it was unnecessary to mention the disagreeable part which the *English* would be necessitated to take in the differences of the *Dutch* with the moors, and how ardently they wished to act as mediators. Two deputies accordingly set out from *Cassembuzar* to *Calcutta* on the 29th of *May*, and were obliged to agree to a very extraordinary treaty, which, among other stipulations, contains, that the *Dutch* should, whenever the nabob should require it, permit one of his officers, accompanied by one of the *English*, to muster and visit their troops and military stores at all their factories, or take such other method as should be agreed upon to assure the governor and council of *Fort William* of the number of *Dutch* troops, and quantity of their stores, that they, as umpire between the *Dutch* and the nabob, might give the nabob a satisfactory answer as to the security of his country.

The *Dutch* complained bitterly of those stipulations, and indeed we must be of opinion, that they were of a nature which by no means became the servants of a trading country to prescribe. It was plain, that they meant to give the *English* an uncontrouled power over all the *Dutch* settlements, under

under pretence of satisfying the nabob. The immense sums which the latter was engaged to pay to the *English*, obliged him to have recourse to the most cruel and oppressive methods for raising them; and when his own subjects were exhausted he fell upon the *Dutch*, who were unable to resist him. The *English*, it must be acknowledged, had received but too much provocation from the *Dutch* to justify this severe method of proceeding; they thought, perhaps with some justice, that they had nothing to trust to but the weakness of a people who had been so long the tyrants of the *Asiatic* commerce. They had, in the beginning of the war, presumed to stop *English* ships on the high seas, on pretence of their carrying on a contraband trade; upon which an *English* commander told them, that if they continued in that practice, he would pay a visit with his Squadron to *Batavia* itself.

Memo-  
rials

When authentic accounts of all those transactions arrived in *Europe*, both sides prepared memorials for the justification of their conduct; but, as the *English* were far better informed, than the *Dutch* were, of facts, their reasoning was far more clear and precise, and those of the *Dutch* served only to render them despicable in the eyes of the rest of *Europe*. There was, however, a necessity for mollifying the court of *England*, which was exasperated with them on other accounts. Though the government of *France*, at this time, had in a manner declared itself bankrupt, and were carrying on a war ruinous to themselves in *Germany*, yet they found resources of money in the pockets of the *Dutch* merchants. They continued the equipment of their 25 ships of war, and their private merchants carried on a contraband trade of the most dangerous kind in favour of *France*, by transporting, in the names of private persons, great quantities of artillery and military stores from the *Baltic* to *Holland*, from whence they were carried through the towns and fortresses of the republic to *Dunkirk* and other parts of *France*. Major general *Yorke* presented to the *States General* a memorial, complaining of the behaviour of the *Dutch* in *Bengal*, in which he said, "He was ordered to demand, in the name of the king his master, signal satisfaction; and that all who shall be found to have had any share in this offence, which manifestly tended to the destruction of the *British* settlements in that country, should be exemplarily punished; and that their high mightinesses should moreover give orders that the stipulations agreed on, the day after the action, between the directors of the respective companies, in consideration of which the *Dutch* had their ships restored, after they had acknowledged their fault, and that they were the aggressors, should be strictly complied with." The substance of the *States General's* answer was as follows: "That nothing had as yet come to the knowledge of their high mightinesses of what their subjects were charged with; that they requested his *Britannic* majesty to suspend his judgment till he should be exactly

and trans-  
actions in  
*Europe*.



"exactly informed of the grounds of those disputes; and that  
 "his majesty should have reason to be satisfied with the ex-  
 "emplary punishment of all who should be found to be con-  
 "cerned in that affair."

The memorial presented by the same minister on the sub-  
 ject of the artillery, was attended with far greater difficulties. He demanded that the king his master should be made easy on  
 that head by the *States General*, by their immediately putting  
 a stop to the practices complained of; and put them in mind  
 that his majesty's moderation had of late procured an act of  
 parliament in favour of the *Dutch* captures, in consequence of  
 their representations, and that the commerce of *Holland* had  
 been considerably benefitted by the freedom of naviga-  
 tion which the *Dutch* enjoyed through his *Britannic* ma-  
 jesty's friendship. He affirmed that their high mightinesses  
 had suffered *French* artillery, which was to be employed in an  
 invasion of *Great Britain* to pass through their territories. He  
 complained that the court of *Vienna*, under colour of the bar-  
 rier treaty, which itself had in a manner annihilated, had lent  
 its name to obtain passes for warlike stores and provisions for  
 the *French* troops.

The *States General* seemed to be startled with this memo-  
 rial, and as a great quantity of stores belonging to the *French*  
 was then lying at *Amsterdam*, they hesitated about giving them  
 permission to be removed; upon which the *French* court in-  
 structed their ambassador, count *D'Affry*, to present a counter  
 memorial to that of general *Yorke*. In this memorial he ob-  
 liquely upbraids the republic for its tameness towards the  
*English* and the *Hanoverians*, who, he said, had often saved  
 their persons, effects, and artillery, under the neutrality al-  
 lowed to the territories of the republic; and that at that very  
 time they had magazines and were purchasing powder in its  
 dominions without *France* taking any umbrage. He added,  
 that if his master should hear that the cannon and balls be-  
 longing to him were detained there, he would look upon it  
 as a violation of the neutrality. He, therefore, peremptorily  
 demanded, that the artillery in question should be instantly  
 carried by the canals of *Amsterdam* and the inland navigation  
 to *Flanders*. The decisive tone which this memorial carried  
 with it, had such an effect on the *States General*, that the ne-  
 cessary passports were immediately expedited, and the artillery  
 was sent to *Flanders*.

When we consider the completion of the people of *Eng-*  
*land* at this time, and the immense burdens they bore in a war favoured  
 in which the *Dutch* favoured their enemies, with all the other  
 provocations they received, it is not unreasonable to conclude, II.  
 that they met with a powerful advocate in that predilection  
 which *George II.* still retained for the ancient system of *Eu-*  
*rope*, in which the *Dutch* made so great a figure against the  
*French*. He had received part of his own education at the  
*Hague*, and had contracted intimate connections with many  
 of

Remon-  
 strances of  
 the *English*  
 and the  
*French*  
 ambassa-  
 dors.

of the leading families in the republic; nor did he doubt, that by a little management the *English* interest would yet regain an ascendancy in the assembly of the *States General*. This being intimated by some of their leaders, it was resolved to send over to *England* a formal deputation for reconciling all differences between the two nations, and Mr. *Boreel*, with two other members of the *States* being nominated for that purpose, arrived in *England* in *February*. They addressed the king in the most softening manner; they represented the impossibility of their mariners and merchants complying with the terms insisted upon by the *British* courts of admiralty for the confiscation of their ships; but threw themselves entirely upon his majesty's equity. Their representations were far from being without weight, and we perceive, that about this time, several favourable sentences were obtained from the court of delegates, to which the causes of some *Dutch* ships had been appealed from the courts of admiralty. In this situation stood matters at the death of *George II*. In the month of *January*, 1761, captain *Elphinston*, commander of a *British* ship of war, destroyed a *French* ship so near the coast of *Holland*, that the *States General*, at the instigation of the *French*, demanded satisfaction for violating the neutrality of their republic. The peace which followed removed all misunderstanding of that kind.

The *Dutch* During the dependency of the negotiations for peace, an account came of a most dreadful catastrophe which happened ruined in to one of their settlements upon the isle of *Ceylon*. The island of *Ceylon*. - tory there had been in use to pay to the king of *Candia*, as he is called, certain duties which they discontinued, and thereby gave the natives some suspicion that they intended to dispossess the king and make themselves masters of his country. This notion operated so powerfully upon the minds of the inhabitants, that they assembled in vast numbers under that prince, and took the principal settlement called *Columbo*, massacred all the *Dutch* who fell into their hands, without regard to sex, age or condition, and cut down all the cinnamon and spice trees belonging to them upon the island. Having thus finished the *European* history of this great republic, we shall now take a view of its *Asiatic* history, without which we apprehend this division of our work would be imperfect.

*The Asiatic History of the Dutch.*

## BOOK V.

THE emulation between the *Portuguese* and the *Dutch* in 1595. commercial matters, gave the latter the first hint of an Wars be-  
*East-Indian* trade. About the year 1595, a Zealander, one tween the  
*Balthazar Moucheran*, who was at the head of a company Dutch and  
that had been formed to trade to *China* and the *East-Indies*, the *Portu-*  
petitioned prince *Maurice* for leave to discover a passage to *China* gueze in  
by the north-east, which being granted, one *William Barentz*, Asia.  
an able navigator, sailed with four ships on the 5th of June  
to the latitude of 78 degrees north; but his company refusing  
to proceed farther, he returned in September following. He  
and *James Heemskerk*, next year, made a fresh attempt, but  
without success, upon a reward of 25,000 florins offered by  
the *States* for the discovery. Most of their ships were wrecked;  
and their crews perished, and *Barentz* among the rest. In the  
mean time, one *Houtman*, a *Dutchman*, prisoner at *Lisbon*, in-  
formed himself of the *Portuguese* course to the *East-Indies*, and  
discovered it to his countrymen, who thereupon instituted a  
company for remote countries. *Houtman* had the direction of  
the expedition, which proceeded by the *Cape of Good Hope*,  
and the adventurers were instructed to pursue the spice trade  
in such islands and countries where the *Portuguese* were not  
settled. In 28 months they returned, and gave so promising  
an account of their voyage, that a fleet of 8 ships sailed from  
the *Texel* in 1596, under the command of *James Van Neck*.  
No sooner did this new expedition fail, than the most con-  
siderable merchants in the *Low Countries* formed themselves  
into companies for prosecuting the *East-India* trade, which  
was carried on with such ardour, that, in the year 1601, their  
republic was so much enriched by their *East-Indian* commerce,  
that they fitted out considerable fleets, which beat those of the  
*Spaniards* and *Portuguese*.

The latter, upon this, employed emissaries among the *East- Vaft trade*  
*Indian* princes, representing the *Dutch* as rebels and pirates; of the  
but *Heemskerk*, their most active commander, behaved with *Dutch*  
so much courage and address, that the *Portuguese* endeavours there,  
were ineffectual, and their trade every where ruined in those  
countries. We have in the preceding part of this history  
often mentioned the amazing wealth which this commerce  
brought to the *States General*; but the interests of several  
companies clashing, the whole was formed into one in 1602; 1602.  
the capital of which consisted of 6,600,000 florins, divid-  
ed into as many chambers as there had been companies,  
and with an exclusive right to trade to the *East-Indies*, by the  
*Cape of Good Hope* or the *Straits of Magellan*. The new  
company soon fitted out 14 large ships, by which they pre-  
served



- served their footing in the *East Indies* against all the efforts made by the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese* to dispossess them. About
1605. the year 1605, the affairs of the company were in so prosperous a situation, that they sent out soldiers to garrison their settlements, and every season brought home their fleets with immense riches; so that before the middle of the year, 1607,
1607. they were in possession of the fort of *Tydore*, and almost a monopoly of the spice trade. The truce that followed with the court of *Spain* and the archduke, did not relax their ardour, and they sent, under the command of admiral *Verhoeven*, a fleet of 13 large ships to protect their *Asiatic* commerce, till the court of *Madrid* became so jealous of the greatness of the *Dutch*, that its ministers threatened to break off the negotiations then on foot. This had no other effect than to give fresh spirits to the republic, and, in the mean while, they dispossessed the *Spaniards* of all the *Molucca* islands, excepting that of *Ternate*. In 1609, they employed *Hudson*, an *Englishman*, in another attempt to find out the *North-East* passage, but without effect, and, at last, they gave over all thoughts of prosecuting it farther. It is said, at this time, that they had fifty ships, the smallest of which was 800 tons burthen, employed in the *East Indies*; but one of their most powerful squadrons, under admiral *Wittert*, was beat by *Don Juan de Sylva*, the *Spanish* governor of the *Philippines*. *Wittert* was killed, and the *Dutch* lost 200,000 crowns. This happened during the truce, which neither party observed on the other side the line. *Don Juan* after this, drove the *Dutch*, in their turn, out of the *Molucca* islands. But the haughtiness and insolence of the *Spaniards* ruined their affairs at the eastern courts, where the *Dutch* generally prevailed. The latter were likewise greatly favoured by the animosities which subsisted between the *Spaniards* and *Portuguese*.
- who are defeated by the *Spaniards*. In August 1614, the command of six ships was given to *George Spilbergen*, for the discovery of a passage through the *Magellan* to the *East Indies*. It was thought that the chief intention of this fleet was to make discoveries in the *South Seas*, where it actually defeated that of the *Spaniards*; after which they re-established their settlements in the *Moluccas*.
1614. Adventures of *Spilbergen*. Next year, a separate company discovered the *Straits of Le Maire*, which were different from that of *Magellan*, and were so called from *Isaac le Maire*, a rich merchant who planned the expedition. The *East India* company considered this attempt as an invasion upon their charter, and *le Maire*, with his associate *Schouten*, were sent home prisoners in *Spilbergen's* fleet. *Le Maire* dyed in the passage; and thus this great attempt was frustrated. The public spirit of the *Dutch*, about this time, began to degenerate. Luxury had crept into their *Asiatic* settlements, and their merchants failed
1615. in the performance of their contracts. This awakened the attention of their chiefs in *Europe*; and the *States General* complied

complied with every proposal that could retrieve their credit, which was in a great measure effected. The pride of their *Asiatics* embroiled them, however, with the *English East India* company; but their money found access even to the court of *London*, and no signal reparation was made for the complaints of the *English*.

Those differences, at last, rose so high, that the king of *War in Jacatra*, a small principality on the coast of *Java*, on whose dominions, the *Dutch* had built two forts, where the splendid city of *Batavia* now stands, declared for the *English*, who beat the *Dutch* in a sea engagement. The *English* being thus victorious, became masters of the port of *Jacatra*, while the *Dutch* retired to *Amboyna*. In the mean while, the king of *Jacatra* besieged one of their forts, called *Maurice*, and found means to decoy into his power the *Dutch* commandant, upon which the fortress was given up to the *English*, who were commanded by Sir *Thomas Dale*, and the effects found in it to the king of *Jacatra*. While this happened, *Vander Broecke*, the *Dutch* commandant, prevailed with the governor of *Bantam* to dethrone the king of *Jacatra*, who was reduced to the condition of a fisherman; and the *Bantamese* possessed themselves of his capital, but *Vander Broecke* was obliged to own himself their prisoner, and changed the name of his fortress into *Batavia*. Next year, commodore *Koen* destroyed the town of *Jacatra*, from which the *English* were withdrawn, and laid the foundations of the city of *Batavia*, which was declared to be the capital of the *Dutch Asiatic* settlements. The appearance of a police, carried on with regularity and magnificence, had vast effect upon the *Chinese*, *Japanese*, and other *East Indians*, in favour of the *Dutch*; and, in 1622, the company obtained a renewal of their charter from the *States General*, for the farther term of 21 years. Though great fault was found with the exclusive privileges of those charters, yet the incredible sums which the trade brought to the republic, during their wars with *Spain* and the arch-  
duke, silenced all opposition.

1622.

We have already mentioned the infamous massacre at *Amboyna*, which happened about this time, and the measures taken by the *Dutch*, at once, to extend and protect their commerce. *Koen* still continued to reside at *Batavia*, and prodigious discoveries were made in the *Southern* continent, till the emperor of *Java* became jealous of the *Dutch* power, and invested *Batavia* with 200,000 men. It was bravely defended by *Koen*, who baffled all the attempts of the barbarians, who after raising the siege with vast loss, renewed it, but with no better success than before, till their dead bodies became infectious to the air; but, in the mean time, the brave *Koen* died, and was succeeded by *James Specks*, who restored the order and tranquillity of their settlement. As we have little of the *Dutch Asiatic* history, but from themselves, we undoubtedly are in the dark with regard to many particulars of their com-  
merce

1631. merce there. It is certain, that in 1631, their fleets returned to *Holland*, with incredible riches, and had found means to ingross to themselves almost all the trade of *Japan*. One *Nuyts* had been named ambassador to that empire, which he entered with the assumed title of ambassador from the king of *Holland*. His imposture being discovered, he was sent back by the emperor of *Japan* to *Batavia* with disgrace; but he had interest to be promoted to a government in the island of *Formosa*, where he ordered two large *Japanese* ships to be seized and detained. The *Japanese* remonstrated against this detention, but in vain; and being 500 in number, they suddenly attacked the governor's palace, and became masters of his person, with almost unparalleled resolution and address. After this, they forced him and his council to agree to their own terms, and carried off five of the principal inhabitants of the island as hostages, with the sails and rudders of the *Dutch* ships, to prevent a pursuit. They likewise obliged *Nuyts* and his council to acknowledge their own villainous proceeding, and to justify the *Japanese* by writing, in the strongest manner.

where the  
*Dutch* are  
defeated.

The *Ja-*  
*pane*  
*se* are  
appeased.

1634.

When the *Japanese* arrived in their own country, the *Dutch* factory there was immediately blockaded, and put under a kind of an interdict, all communication with it being cut off; but no farther violence was offered to their persons. The *Dutch*, in vain, petitioned to know what crime they had committed, to deserve this treatment. The *Japanese* refused to give them any satisfaction; but their sufferings, and the cause of them, coming to the knowledge of the governor-general of *Batavia*, he ordered *Nuyts* to be arrested, and in the year 1634, he was sent prisoner to the emperor of *Japan*, to be treated as his majesty pleased. This had a wonderful effect, and the identity of *Nuyts's* person being proved, the emperor demanded of the factory, whether they were willing that the prisoner should be broiled on the coals, or crucified, if such was his sentence. The reply of the factory was so prudent and so submissive to his *Imperial* majesty, that all the interdictions were taken off from the factory, and *Nuyts's* punishment converted into confinement at large. When their ships arrived at *Batavia*, from *Japan*, their cargoes proved to be of immense value, and, on that account, they sent him by the next season a most magnificent chandelier, which threw a lustre upon the funeral ceremonies then performing for the late emperor, and whose son was so well pleased with it, that he set *Nuyts* at liberty, and made a considerable present to the government of *Batavia*. From that time, the *Dutch* always took care to retain one of his *Japanese* majesty's ministers as their protector at that court.

1644.

The *Dutch*  
*East India*  
charter  
renewed.

When the *East India* company's charter was near expiring, their directors applied to have it renewed, which was accordingly done, in 1644, for the payment of 1,600,000 florins. The luxury and magnificence that had now crept into the *Dutch*



*Dutch Asiatic settlements*, especially in *Batavia*, had diminished the dividends of the company, though they continued still to be very great; and we have already seen in what manner their trade was hurt by their quarrel with the republic of *England*. Amongst the most important transactions of the *Dutch* at this time, was their acquisition of the island of *Ceylon*.

*Rajah Singa*, the king of *Candia* in that island, having been provoked by the insolence of a *Portuguese* governor, in 1638, made an alliance with the government of *Batavia*, who undertook to furnish him with troops for driving the *Portuguese* out of the island. This produced a war between the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* there, which was carried on with such inveteracy, that no quarter was given or taken on either side. Upon peace being concluded between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese* in *Europe*, an attempt was made to reconcile them in *Ceylon* likewise. This attempt proved fruitless; and the injustice of the *Portuguese* towards the king of *Candia*, gave such advantage to the *Dutch* general, *Francis Caron*, that he took *Negombo*, and cut in pieces a large body of *Portuguese* upon the island. The surviving *Portuguese*, upon this, retired to *Columbo*, and soon after, an order came from the king of *Portugal*, for giving up to the *Dutch* all the disputed districts. Peace being thus resettled between the *Dutch* and *Portuguese* in *Ceylon*, the *Dutch* governor of *Ponte de Gallo*, incautiously provoked *Singa* to surprize his garrison, which, however, he soon after set at liberty. It was not long before hostilities recommenced between the *Dutch* and the *Portuguese*, to the advantage of the latter, where general *Figueira* defeated the king of *Candia*.

1638.  
War and

peace, be-  
tween the  
*Dutch* and  
*Portu-  
guese*;

The *Dutch* at *Batavia*, sent *Gerard Hulst*, with a fleet and an army, to support the king, and in *October* 1655, he defeated *Figueira*, and laid siege to *Columbo*, which he took. The king of *Candia* demanded possession of the place, and the *Dutch* refused to deliver it up, upon which a war between them commenced, and it ended in the entire reduction of *Ceylon* by the *Dutch*, in *June* 1658. The *Dutch* pretending that they had succeeded to all that the *Portuguese* ever had possessed in *Ceylon*, from that time treated the kings of *Candia* with very little ceremony, farther than suffering them to retain the title and badges of sovereignty; and this, no doubt, produced the late revolution in that country, mentioned in the preceding chapter.

1655.  
but the  
war con-  
tinues in  
the *East  
Indies*.  
1658.

In *June*, 1655, the governor-general, and council of *Batavia*, sent *Peter Boyer*, and *James Keyssel*, as their plenipotentiaries to the emperor of *China*, the famous *Kang-Hi*, who was then at *Peking*. The attachment which that great monarch had to the *Jesuits*, and especially to father *Adam Schaal*, will be ever mentioned to his honour, as he always preserved himself from being the dupe of their principles, either religious or civil. When the plenipotentiaries arrived at

Various  
transac-  
tions of the  
*Dutch* in  
*Asia*.

*Canton*, and desired leave to repair to the *Imperial* presence at *Peking*, *Schaal* prepossest the emperor against them so effectually, that the emperor sent them back to *Batavia*, in a very polite manner, but without seeing them. About this time, one *Zachary Wagenaer* was sent from *Batavia* as ambassador to the emperor of *Japan*, who put the *Dutch* under several restrictions; but he soon won the good graces of his *Japanese* majesty and his ministry. The *Dutch* affairs in *Java*, at this time, were in great disorder. They had hitherto found means to keep their footing there, by balancing the power and interest of the emperor of *Java*, and the king of *Bantam* against each other. A rebellion breaking out in *Java*; in 1650, the king of *Bantam* besieged *Batavia*, but he was obliged to desist from his attempt by the troops of the company, which was now in so flourishing a condition, that they not only gave law to both those monarchs, but reestablished in his dominions, the king of *Bengal*, who, in gratitude for the services done him, gave them leave to build their fort at *Hughly*, which for a long time gave them a vast superiority over the *English* in that country.

1660.  
They take  
and de-  
stroy a  
great Por-  
tuguese  
fleet.

In 1660, a rich *Portuguese* fleet, the effects of which mostly belonged to the *Jesuits*, lay at *Macassar*, the capital of an island of that name. The *Dutch* imputed their disappointments in *China* to the *Jesuits*; and though the whole of their embassy and applications did not cost them much above 10,000 l. yet they resolved to be revenged in a signal manner; for they attacked the port of *Macassar* by sea and land, destroyed five *Portuguese* ships, and took one of sufficient value to indemnify all their expences. The *Dutch* are accused of the most enormous inhumanities and treachery during this expedition; and though it must be admitted, that the chief charge against them comes from their enemies, yet by their own relations, they are far from having been defensible in their proceedings. They attacked the king of *Macassar*, only for defending his allies, the *Portuguese*, and obliged him not only to make the most humiliating submissions to the council of *Batavia*; but to grant them an exclusive trade, throughout all his dominions, to expel the *Portuguese*, to ruin all the settlements and churches of the *Jesuits*, to confiscate all their effects for the benefit of the company, to grant them, in perpetual property, the fortress and port of *Sompandam*; and, to make their triumph complete, they forced the king to buy from the company, with considerable sums, the ratification of this shameful peace.

History of  
the Dutch  
in For-  
mosa.

Among the finest of the *Dutch Asiatic* settlements, was that on the island of *Formosa*, so called, by *Europeans*, from its beauty. Here they were powerful, rich, and flourishing, and had acquired an immense commerce, by sheltering many of the *Chinese* natives, who had taken refuge there, when their country was conquered by the *Tartars*. The rapacity of the *Dutch* was so intolerable, that the natives and the *Chinese* had entered

entered into several conspiracies against them, but being destitute both of conduct and courage, they always miscarried, and the *Dutch* governors, particularly one *Nicholas Werburgh*, conceived so great a contempt for them, that they were scarcely at the pains to keep their settlements in a posture of defence. A *Chinese* refugee, one *Iquon*, by trade a taylor, but a determined enemy to the *Tartars*, had, by applying himself to sea affairs, become so formidable to the *Tartar* emperor of *China*, that he offered to make him a king, but getting him in his power he poisoned him. He was succeeded in the command of his fleet by his son *Coxenga*; but the *Dutch* refusing to join him against the *Tartars*, he assembled a fleet of 600 sail, of which 100 are said to have been frigates of between 30 and 40 guns, and in 1661, they appeared before the *Dutch* settlement on *Formosa*, where he landed about 40,000 men. There is little room to doubt, and indeed it has been acknowledged by the *Dutch* themselves, that *Werburgh*, and their other governors, had committed the most dreadful massacres among the natives, which were now revenged on the *Dutch* and their adherents. The *Dutch* governor, *Frederic Cojet*, being disappointed in the succours he expected from *Batavia*; retired into *Fort Zeeland*; and because he refused to surrender, *Coxenga* cut the throats of all the *Dutch* and their adherents, who fell into his hands. While the blockade of this fort continued, a squadron of nine men of war came to its relief from *Batavia*, under admiral *Cawen*, who attempted to land, but was repulsed with the loss of half his squadron, and its crews.

1661.

Upon his return to *Batavia*, his bad success filled the *Dutch* Their war there with consternation, and in the mean while, *Coxenga* with Cox- pressed the siege of the fort so vigorously, that he, at last, eng- forced *Cojet* to surrender it, though a new fleet from *Batavia*, fitted out for his relief, was then in sight of the harbour. The company applied to the *Tartar* emperor of *China*; but all they could obtain was a promise that he would assist them against *Coxenga*, who was now master of *Formosa*, and of many other *Dutch* settlements on the neighbouring islands. The *Tartar* emperor's promise encouraged the company to fit out a fleet of 17 large ships, under *Balthazar Borth*, against *Coxenga*. This officer had orders to do somewhat to give the *Dutch* *Tartar* allies an opinion of their power and courage, and on finding *Coxenga* in possession of the island of *Quemoy* on the coast of *China*, he attacked and defeated his fleet, after a bloody engagement; while the *Tartar* general remained a cool spectator at the head of his army; and *Borth*, at his persuasion, attacked *Coxenga* again, killed him, and destroyed his fleet. The *Dutch* had now some reasonable expectations of recovering *Formosa*; and they might have regained from *Suja*, *Coxenga's* uncle, a comfortable settlement, had not *Coxenga's* son imprisoned his grand uncle, attacked the *Dutch*, and forced their admiral to return to *Batavia*. This young prince



soon after died, and being succeeded by his son, a soft young man, the island of *Formosa* was reunited to the *Chinese* empire, upon his receiving a moderate pension.

The *Dutch* were not equally unfortunate in other parts of *Asia*, where they prosecuted the war with great vigour and success against the *Portuguese*, though negotiations for peace, between the two nations, were going on in *Europe*, under the mediation of *Charles II.* of *England*. On the coast of *Malabar*, the *Portuguese*, in 1603, lost *Coulan* and *Gananor*, and were, at last, driven by the *Dutch* commodore *Goens*, out of *Cochin*, a city of great consequence. *Goens* being reinforced from *Batavia*, reduced *Porca* and *Cranganor*; and, at last, he dispossessed the *Portuguese* of all they held on the coast of *Malabar*. As the *Dutch* continued to find the vast effects of pomp and grandeur among the *Asiatics*, they sent a most magnificent embassy to *Aurengzebe*, the famous Great Mogul, who received it with politeness and seeming satisfaction, though he is said to have secretly despised their vanity. They were, at this time, courted by the king of *Siam*; and *Batavia* became a kind of academy for the education of *East Indian* young princes.

Their war with the king of *Macassar* renewed, 1666. The king of *Macassar*, who reigned over a brave and independent people, and was in possession of the greatest part of the island of *Celebes*, did not tamely bear the yoke that had been imposed upon him by the *Dutch*. Various expedients were proposed and agreed upon for an accommodation, but, in 1665, *Speelman*, a *Danish* admiral, appeared with a squadron of 13 ships of war, besides transports, before *Macassar*. The king offered him a pecuniary satisfaction, for what the *Dutch* had suffered from his subjects; but this was not accepted of, and *Speelman*, landing on the island, did incredible damage to the natives, by burning their towns and their ships. He then proceeded to the island of *Bouton*, where he defeated the *Macassar* army, and forced it to surrender at discretion, and after distributing the soldiers among their allies in those parts, *Speelman* returned triumphantly laden with immense plunder to *Batavia*. The king of *Macassar* seized the first moment of his absence, to form a general confederacy of all the neighbouring princes and people against the *Dutch*, whom they now looked upon as their tyrants, equally perfidious, bloody, and rapacious. The government of *Batavia* prepared to resist this formidable league, and *Speelman*, on the 19th of July, 1667, with 16 vessels, and 14 shallops, attacked the port of *Macassar*, but was repulsed. Being reinforced, he effected a landing, at a place called *Gliffon*, which he took. The king of *Macassar*, who acted as general of the league, attempted to retake this place, at the head of 20,000 men; but the *Dutch* plied their artillery so well, that he was defeated, and his *Indian* allies beginning to desert him, a negotiation was set on foot, which terminated in his being again obliged to renew his presents and submissions to the haughty *Batavians*.

By

By this peace, both the *Portuguese* and *English* were expelled out of *Macassar*; and the *Dutch*, once more, entered into the absolute monopoly of the *East India* spice trade.

The famous pensionary, *John de Wit*, as we have seen in the preceding part of this history, may, at this time, be considered as the legislator of the *Dutch* republic. Upon the expiration of the *East India* company's third charter, though he was fully sensible of the prodigious utility of that commerce to the state, yet he entertained some doubts as to the propriety of renewing its exclusive privileges. All his scruples gave way to the necessities of the republic, and the charter was renewed for 21 years, from 1666; and it is remarkable, that at the time of this renewal, notwithstanding the almost incredible expences of the company, the directors divided 450 *per cent.* upon their capital. One of the chief objections *de Wit* had to the company's exclusive privileges, was the infamous abandoned character of its *Asiatic* traders and directors, by which, about this time, they lost their gainful trade from *Japan* to *Tonquin*. They still, however, persisted in embellishing the city of *Batavia* with every thing that *European* genius and *Asiatic* wealth could execute. During the long government of *John Matzuyker*, the magazines, works, apartments, halls, palaces, and all kind of public and private buildings, are said to exceed every thing that imagination can conceive, and tend equally to the safety and convenience, as to the beauty and magnificence of the city. But an incident, at this time, gave a considerable shock to their *East India* commerce.

One *Carron*, who had been in the company's service, being disobliged by some treatment he had received at *Batavia*, offered himself to the *French*, who were then forming vast projects of commerce and naval power. His discoveries were greedily embraced, and terminated in a proposal for making a descent upon the island of *Ceylon*, where the *French* were to make themselves masters of *Ponte de Gallo*, and to drive the *Dutch* out of all the spice trade. Sixteen *French* ships were equipped, and put under the command of the *Sieur de la Haye*, who attacked *Ponte de Gallo*, but was repulsed. *De la Haye*, after this, reduced a fortress upon *Trinquemala*-bay; which he soon lost to the *Dutch*; but he took the important settlement of *St. Thomas*, on the coast of *Coromandel*, and then returned to *Europe*; but *Mr. Carron* was drowned in sight of the port of *Lisbon*. The *Dutch*, after liberally rewarding commodore *Van Goens*, who had retaken *Trinquemala* fort, applied to the king of *Golconda*, by whose assistance they took *St. Thomas* from the *French*, after a long and obstinate defence. The garrison obtained an honourable capitulation, and to its commandant was owing the foundation of *Pondicherry*. We cannot here enter into a detail of the politics, and particular management of the *Dutch East India* company, when partly by force, and partly by craft, they became masters of all the commerce

They are  
opposed  
by the  
*French* in  
*Ceylon*.

commerce of the kingdom of *Bantam*, against the natural dispositions of the people; neither shall we attempt to recount all the bickerings and disputes between them and the *English East India* company, till the breaking out of the general war in *Europe*, towards the close of the last century.

Origin of  
the French  
settle-  
ment of  
*Pondi-  
cherry*.

1693.

1698.

A medal.

1704.

1722.  
Conspira-  
cy against  
them in  
*Java*.

Their dif-  
ficulties in  
renewing  
their  
charter.

1740.

The prosperous state of the *French* establishment at *Pondicherry* then gave the *Dutch* uneasiness, and they besieged it in 1693, with one of the greatest armaments, that, till then, had been fitted out by any *European* nation in the *East Indies*. Mr. *Martin*, the *French* governor, being obliged to surrender the place, the *Dutch* expended considerable sums on its fortifications, for which they were allowed a consideration, when it was restored to the *French* by the peace of *Nimeguen*. In 1698, the *Dutch East India* company bought, at a very great expence, a renewal of their charter, to the year 1740. On this occasion, the company ordered a very fine medal to be struck, with the device, *In altera secula pergo*, "I proceed to future ages." This great affair being settled, in 1704, the *Dutch* were engaged in a war in support of a candidate for the crown of *Java*, which continued for some years, when it was terminated by a patched-up peace; but it broke out again by intervals, and the *Dutch* perceived that the *Javanese*, by being often-beat, had acquired a considerable knowledge of their discipline. In the year 1722, the *Javanese* entered into a conspiracy, for exterminating the *Dutch* empire in the *East Indies*. Some of the inhabitants of *Batavia*, but of no considerable rank, were among the conspirators, and one *Peter Erberfeldt*, a *Batavian*, was to be at their head. The manner in which the conspiracy was discovered is not clear, but it probably took air from more quarters than one, through the vast numbers of those concerned in it, who were of different nations, complexions and interests. It is said, that their scheme was to have murdered all who were not of their party, with the governor-general, the council, and the magistrates of *Batavia*, and then *Erberfeldt* was to have been declared king. The heads of the conspirators were privately discovered, and seized, at the time when their plot was on the point of execution, and put to the most excruciating deaths; though some have thought that the plot itself was an invention of the *Batavian* government, to strike terror into the natives, and to give them a colour for extending their oppressions.

The new channels of commerce which, about this time, were opened by the *Europeans* to the *East-Indies*, and the establishment of the *Imperial* company of *Ostend*, mentioned in other parts of this work, gave vast disquiet to the directors of the *Dutch East-India* company, who found great difficulties in obtaining a renewal of their charter but for a single year, upon its expiration in 1740, when the settlement in *Batavia* exhibited a most dreadful scene of conspiracy, which seems



seems to have grown out of that extinguished by the death of *Erberfeldt* and his accomplices. The inquisitorial manner in which the governors and council at *Batavia* manage all their affairs, sometimes to the prejudice of their principals, obliges us to take up with the accounts of this conspiracy as transmitted from thence, and published in *Holland*.

The *Chinese*, a frugal industrious set of mortals, and the Great-  
most patient perhaps of any in the world, were, at this time, spiracy  
settled at *Java* and at *Batavia*, to the number of about 90,000 against  
men. They had, by their commerce, acquired immense them in  
riches, and being composed of the meanest of their country- *Batavia*,  
men, they had from time to time given vast sums to the go-  
vernment of *Batavia* for the toleration of their religion,  
which, in effect, was no better than rank idolatry. As they  
lived in great friendship with the *Javanese*, whom they con-  
sidered as their brethren, it is said, but with the highest im-  
probability, that they united under a common leader in a  
conspiracy to murder all the *Dutch* in *Batavia*, and that they  
were to attack that city both from without and within at the  
same instant. For this purpose, many of the *Chinese* resorted  
to the country at the time of one of their high festivals, in  
which they indulged themselves in an unusual degree of jollity.  
It was no wonder if, during such a season, some irregularities  
were committed, which induced the *Dutch* government to  
send out some detachments to suppress the rioters, in doing  
which, it was pretended that some of the prisoners discovered  
the whole of the conspiracy. Be that as it will, it is certain  
that the *Dutch*, in all respects, acted as if a real conspiracy  
had been formed. They doubled their guards, shut the gates  
of the city, and ordered that no *Chinese* should stir out of his  
house, or have any light within it, on pain of death. It can-  
not be supposed, that all this could be done so secretly as not  
to come to the ears of the *Chinese* in the country, who very  
probably thought their properties, friends, and families within  
the city, in danger; and for that reason they united together  
to attack it, which they did in the most tumultuous manner,  
and though their numbers were computed to be 50,000 men,  
were repulsed by the *Dutch*, who had not in the place above  
3,000 regular troops. This attempt to enter the city was, by  
the *Dutch* government, construed into a signal for an insur-  
rection of the *Chinese* within the town, though it appears  
even from the *Dutch* accounts, that they continued quietly in  
their own houses. Notwithstanding this, an order was pub-  
lished by the *Dutch* council for breaking up the houses of the  
*Chinese*, and putting all their men to the sword, while their wo-  
men and children were to be conveyed to their hospital.  
This barbarous order was so punctually executed, that in a  
short time the people on the streets walked over their shoes in  
blood, and their canals were choaked with dead bodies. It  
was no wonder if this dreadful scene, and the putting all the  
prisoners to death in cold blood, rendered the surviving *Chi-  
nese*

Their in-  
human  
conduct  
there.

*nefe* within the wall desperate, and that they barricaded their houses and fired the city in several places, by which great part of it was reduced to ashes. Such of them who endeavoured to escape the flames were instantly put to death by the *Dutch*, for it does not appear that the unhappy people had among them any weapons, either of offence or defence; and, according to the *Dutch* accounts, 12,000 *Chinese* were massacred in one night. The same infernal spirit raged without the city, where all the *Chinese* the *Dutch* could find, were likewise put to death, excepting a few, who were reserved that confessions might be extorted from them by the force of tortures.

Conse- During this terrible massacre, the effects of the *Chinese*,  
quences of who were in the city, fell to the share of every rapa-  
the same. cious *Dutchman* who had been active in the scene of blood,  
and soon after the governor-general published a reward of 200 crowns for killing any *Chinese*, and 500 for bringing him in alive, if they did not surrender before the 22d of *November*. Nothing can give the reader a stronger idea of the similarity between the *Dutch* and the *Chinese*, than what happened on this occasion. All who survived of the latter surrendered themselves before the time appointed, and were restored to their former occupations. They were joined by others of their countrymen, who were received with open arms by the *Dutch*, so that in a short time the *Chinese* were as numerous as ever in *Batavia*, and all remembrance of their massacre seemed to be buried in their minds. Thus, so prevalent is the love of gain, that the one nation could readmit the other after the terrible charges brought against it; and that the other should resume their friendship and connections with a people who had given them such recent marks of their resentment and cruelty. When the account of this massacre arrived in *Europe*, the *Dutch* directors of the *East-India* company made the best apology they could for the conduct of their servants at *Batavia*; but the *States General* being sensible of their villainy, declared *Gustavus William D'Imhoff* their governor-general of that settlement, and ordered that the former governor-general, who was on his return to *Europe* with immense wealth, should be carried back, and tried for his conduct in the government. Two of his chief counsellors, and the fiscal or attorney-general, were deprived of their employments and imprisoned. We are not, however, informed that the late governor-general ever was tried, for he died in his confinement. The directors of the company employed an agent to explain and to apologize for the massacre at the court of *Peking*, which expressed so much indifference as to the whole matter, that the good correspondence between the *Dutch* and the *Chinese* never was interrupted.

*Imhoff*, the new governor-general, had been governor of *Ceylon*, where he acquitted himself with great prudence, and his conduct at *Batavia* answered all the ideas his countrymen had

had conceived of his abilities. He rebuilt the city, restored a good correspondence with the natives, and died with great reputation in 1750. Since his death, the affairs of the *Dutch* in the *East-Indies* seem to be declining, as appears from the relation we have already given of their success against the *English* settlements in *Bengal*, and the catastrophe of their affairs upon the island of *Ceylon*. We shall close this volume by giving our reader some idea of the constitution of the *Dutch* settlements at *Batavia*, and in other parts of the *East Indies*.

*Batavia* contains two supreme councils, one called the council of the *Indies*, and the other the council of justice; the former for the administration of commercial affairs and matters of government, and the latter for the exercise of justice and affairs of equity. The council of the *Indies* has the governor-general for its president, and is commonly composed of about twenty members. It has in its gift seven very rich governments, and assembles twice a week, but oftener upon extraordinary occasions. Their authority is very extensive over other governments, and even over a great part of *Java*. The council of justice is composed of eight counsellors and a president, who is commonly taken from the counsellors of the *Indies*, and is provided with a fiscal, secretary, and other officers. They divide their jurisdiction into two parts, with a fiscal for each; the one has under his cognizance the inland, and the other, the maritime affairs. Besides those supreme courts, we are told of another which has been erected, consisting of nine aldermen, a president, vice-president, the bailiff of *Batavia*, and the commissary of the neighbouring country. This court is said to have the direction of the finances, and a power to controul even the governor-general, if the members should think that he abuses his power. Several other inferior courts are likewise instituted, but appeals lie from them to the higher. The truth is, the constitution of *Batavia* seems in a great measure to have arisen out of temporary incidents, and the jealousy which the directors of the company in *Europe* have of their *Asiatic* servants.

Account  
of the  
constitution  
of  
*Batavia*.

The office of governor-general is a state of splendid slavery. Appointed He is in some cases despotic, and has the disposal of all the company's effects in *Batavia*. His power is so great, that the *States General* reserve to themselves the disposal of his place; nor, but, for the most part, confirm the council of the *Indies*, who, in case of a demise, chuse his successor. The revenue allowed him by the company is 1,300 rix-dollars a month, besides paying the appointments of his servants and officers. This, however, we are told, composes but a small part of their income, which, by its perquisites, is immense, so that they commonly die very rich. The director-general is the second officer in the company's service at *Batavia*; he acts as their factor, and in the nature of a supercargo, by transacting the bargains and sales, and giving directions in all their commercial

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neral,



and major cial affairs. Next to him is the major, who has the command of the troops in time of peace, but in time of war he acts as major-general, and the command of his officers under him are proportionably enlarged. Of late, however, the *States* have thought proper to give the title of lieutenant-generals to their governor of *Batavia*. The regular troops in the company's service abroad, consist of about 12,000 men, and it is said, that with the militia they can bring 100,000 men into the field. We are not to understand that those are all *Dutch*, but the *States* order the militia to be strictly kept up among the *Indians* in their subjection, as well as the *Dutch*; and this is one of the principal means of their prosperity in *Asia*.

Naval  
and eccle-  
siastical  
establissh-  
ments.

The naval force of the company in the *Indies* is said, by themselves, to consist of 180 ships, from 30 to 60 guns; but perhaps this account is exaggerated, especially as they tell us, that they can, upon an emergency, fit out 40 larger ships at *Batavia*. The whole is under a commodore, and manned by about 13,000 seamen. The ecclesiastical government at *Batavia*, as in *Holland*, is presbyterian, and consists of eleven persons, three of whom preach in the *Portuguese*, and one in the *Malayan* language. These are, however, checked by a superintendent, appointed by the civil government, and they have under them a kind of seminary of clergymen, who serve as missionaries to their other possessions. It is highly remarkable, that though the *Dutch* abroad tolerate *Mahometans*, idolaters, and even those who professedly worship the devil, yet they tolerate no sect of christians but the *Calvinists* or presbyterians, and even have refused a church in *Batavia* to the *Lutherans*.

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The END of the NINTH VOLUME.

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